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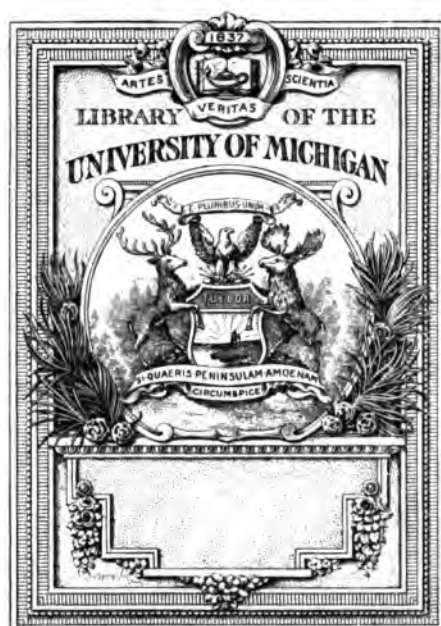
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MAGAZINE
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY
WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XXVII.

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1892

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VOL. XXVII

JANUARY, 1891

No. 1

THE ENTERPRISE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

A CRITICAL AND COMMON SENSE VIEW

PART I

IN a few months this continent and the whole world will be ringing with the names of the adventurous navigators of Columbus' day, and an early retrospect will enable us the better to understand and to take part in the discussions and celebrations which are soon to occur. Nor will it be unwise to commence in a somewhat critical mood, for, as is usual in centennials and other commemorative occasions, much hyperbole will be indulged in: we shall hear Columbus all but canonized, Isabella of Castile exalted as a most illustrious patroness of science, and mayhap the infamous deeds of the conquistadores will be glorified. This treatise aims to present a common-sense view of the facts connected with the voyages and discoveries of Columbus.

The nineteenth century has been a marvelous epoch for investigating and mastering physical forces, but scarcely less wonderful was the fifteenth, which Humboldt rightly calls the epoch of oceanic discovery. He might perhaps have better said re-discovery, but prior knowledge had not led to great results: the world had not been ripe for it, and Punic, Greek, and Norse adventures are matters for the curious historian alone.

As a preface to the grand volume which was to record its achievements we have in the middle of the fourteenth century the re-discovery of the Fortunate Islands—*μακάρων νῆσοι*—now the Canaries, which are said to have been known to and reserved by the Carthaginians as a refuge in case of extreme danger to their commonwealth. It was not, however, until 1402 that Juan de Bethencourt, sailing from La Rochelle, took possession of them and ruled them. Rapidly, after this prelude, followed the important discoveries due to the initiative of Prince Henry of Portugal, third son of John I. of Portugal and Philippa, daughter of our John of Gaunt. This prince, a skilled mathematician, an enthusiastic geographer, and an aggressive Christian, seated himself at Sagres, a promontory just south of Lisbon,



THE WORLD AS KNOWN TO EUROPEANS IN 1400.

whence he directed the continual expeditions against the Mahometans on the western coast of Africa which successively discovered Porto Santo, Madeira, and passed Cape Bojador in 1434. The Cape de Verd islands, the Gambia river, and Sierra Leone were next visited, and Prince Henry,

thenceforward to be known in history as the navigator, died in 1463.

I agree with Sir Arthur Helps in admiration of his noble figure, standing at full height on the promontory of Sagres, whence he had unobstructed view of the Atlantic surges, and could see in fancy the southwestern lands and people then springing into commercial importance—bringing about him adventurous captains, clever geographers, the ablest men of science—and directing all his and their endeavors to the exploration of unknown parts of the earth, not fitfully, but with steady purpose undaunted by reverses. But I see clearly that if he had not been at the taking of Ceuta in 1415, if the Moorish power had not been declining, soon indeed, and in Columbus' own presence, to be driven from Grenada its last foothold in western Europe, there would have been no Portuguese discoveries on the African coasts just then. The Moorish civilization had fulfilled its part in the life of humanity, it was at length yielding up its European stations to the might of the European sword, and the shrewd commercial folks of the southwestern peninsula rushed to take advantage of the opening. In the language of to-day, "there was a boom in West-African business," so great that historians gravely say that towards the end of Prince Henry's time, half the Portuguese nation had become interested in the negro slaves and the gold to be obtained on the Guinea Coast. Now one of Prince Henry's captains, Perestrelo, whom he made governor of Porto Santo, was father-in-law to Columbus. Again, after Prince Henry died, John II. farmed out the trade with Africa for five years for one thousand ducats a year, the concessionaire undertaking to explore the coast from Sierra Leone down, three hundred miles each year. The Gold Coast was thus discovered, which further fanned the lust for land. The king took the title of "Lord of Guinea" and sent out expeditions which

discovered the Congo, and in 1487 the Cabo Tormentoso (Cape Stormy), re-named the Cape of Good Hope. Las Casas says that Bartholomew Columbus, brother of Christopher, sailed with Bartholomew Diaz when he made this discovery.

Thus we begin to see that to the uprising of Christendom against Moorish dominion in the west, to the taking of Ceuta (even more important than the fall of Grenada, which in about half a century it entailed), to the initiative of Prince Henry in seizing the scientific and commercial fruits of that event, is due the work of Columbus, to which we will now turn.

Though Christopher Columbus in his will expressly notes that he was born in Genoa (*essere a Genora nato e de la venito*), several other places have claimed either his birth or his origin. It seems, however, clear from De Simoni's review in the *Atta della Societa Ligure de Storia Patria* (Genoa, 1889) of Harisse's papers on the subject, that he saw the light there in 1447 or 1448, his father being a butcher. The old gentleman went to Savona during Columbus' boyhood, and carried on that trade there, also turning tavern-keeper; but he went back to Genoa in a few years, where he owned two houses and was fairly well-to-do, though he died in embarrassed circumstances. Columbus must have been a clever lad, for he was sent to school at Pavia, where he did not stay very long, going off to sea at fourteen. He visited the whole of the eastern and western shores of the Mediterranean,* traveled as far as England and even beyond Ice-

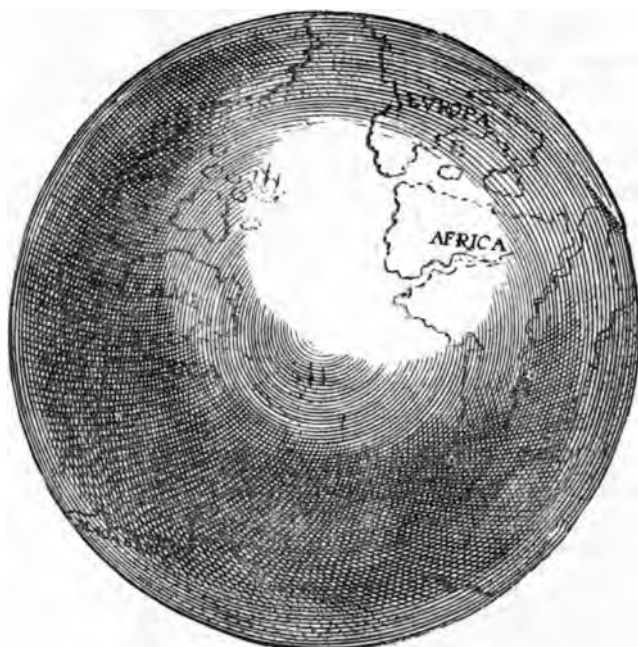


PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

* "Vi todo el Levante y Poniente."—Navarrete.

land,* and coasted Africa as far as Mina. He had been employed, he tells us, by René of Provence to intercept a Venetian galliot. Then he went to Portugal, married the above-mentioned Perestrelo's daughter, and visited and lived for some time in the aforesaid Porto Santo.

Humboldt doubts whether in his voyage to Bristol and to Iceland Columbus heard of the old Norse expeditions to America, and of their settlements in Greenland, Nova Scotia, and Massachusetts. I have always inclined to think he did. I think both English and Norwegian fishermen



THE WORLD AS KNOWN TO EUROPEANS IN 1500.

resorted to the banks of Newfoundland, and that from some of them Columbus would hear of a world across the Atlantic. It seems that in the year of Columbus' first voyage, if not before, the folks of Bristol had begun annual expeditions into the west, to find the Indies, until at last in 1497 or 1498, Cabot was the first to find the mainland of America. And one can scarcely imagine a man of fair education, so much concerned with practical seafaring, at a time when astronomy and geography were being

* "Yo navegue el año de cuatro cientos y setenta y siete en el mes de Febrero ultra Tele . . . estangrande come Inglaterra, van los Ingleses con mercaderia, especialmente los de Bristol."—Las Casas, *Hist. de los Indias*.

carefully studied, habitually using the newly improved instruments in aid of navigation, not coming to believe in the roundness of the earth, and in the possibility of reaching, in the latitudes assigned to China and



PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL, 1450.

[Facsimile of engraving from an authenticated copy at the Royal Printing house, Lisbon.]

Japan, the coasts of which the fishing people must have spoken. Still, one cannot take from him the credit of an earnest determination to seek for them by sailing boldly in a southern latitude across the western ocean.

It is much to have reckoned up the distance in degrees, from the Canaries to Cathay, as Toscanelli did, whose map Columbus had and whose calculations he in some way checked; but to cut the knot of theory with the glaive of practice is surely a claim to distinction not in this case to be disputed.

Propounding a voyage of discovery in this sense to the Genoese, Columbus was rebuffed. That republic saw no money in the scheme. He then betook himself to Portugal, and the rascally Portuguese, after hearing his statements and reasonings, quietly sent out a caravel to the west, but the sailors lacked confidence in themselves to go on and on, and they returned from a fruitless errand. Hearing of this, Columbus sent to ask Henry VII. of England to take up the enterprise, while he himself left Portugal for Spain—one biographer believing that he went by way of Genoa, where his propositions were again rejected. This was in 1484, and eight heart-breaking seasons followed.

It took two years to obtain an interview with the Spanish sovereigns, who referred him to the scientists of the day, a council of churchmen who came dangerously near convicting him of heresy, because his opinions scarcely agreed with the received interpretations of some Scripture texts, and finally reported that his scheme was too groundless to be recommended. Weary and sad, he was leaving for France, when his friend Luis de Santangel, receiver of church revenues, addressed the queen with energy, as being the last chance. He cleverly suggested that the enterprise might fall into the hands of other princes. With adroit flattery he laid stress on the fact that it was the part of great sovereigns to ascertain the secrets of the world, and that Columbus only wanted a million of maravedis to set his enterprise afloat. The queen is said to have listened graciously, but asked that the matter should stand over until the finances had recovered from the strain imposed by the recent conquest of Grenada. This seeming impracticable, Columbus having either in earnest or in pretence set his face towards France, a messenger was hastily sent to recall the navigator, and an agreement between the sovereigns and himself was forthwith signed April 17, 1492. The queen is reported to have said she would pledge her jewels to cover the expense, but as a million of maravedis means fifteen hundred dollars only, which Santangel readily lent from private resources, this looks apocryphal.

Now if Columbus' views had been confined to the mere glory of discovering a way to the Indies, sailing west, he could surely have found enough commercial support in the various countries he visited, and among his many friends, if not from his family resources. It was, however, not



PORTRAIT OF JOHN OF GAUNT, KING OF CASTILE AND LEON.

[From the window of "All Souls," Oxford.]

mere scientific renown he was seeking, but such titles, authority, and commercial privileges as could only be conferred by a sovereign state. His negotiations with the Spanish court, and perhaps with some of the others, might indeed have been much earlier concluded, had it not been for the largeness of his conditions—to be made an admiral at once, to be appointed viceroy of the countries he might discover, to have an eighth of the profits of the expedition. Helps says: "He carried the chivalrous ideas of the twelfth century into the somewhat self-seeking fifteenth." It seems to me, rather, that Columbus was a keen hand at a bargain. For he even insisted that certain large monopolies, referred to in the law-suits of 1513-15 among his heirs, should be continued to his posterity. Perhaps, indeed, we may suspect there never was a time when personal profit was not considered by mankind, and that if we were closely to examine the events of the chivalrous twelfth century, we should find the usual amount of self-seeking behind its splendid blazonry.

On Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, the new admiral and three small vessels, the whole manned by only ninety mariners and provisioned for a year, set sail from behind the bar of Saltes, making for the Canary islands. Thence, after refitting, they sailed out into the west, and the intense interest of the voyage begins. Those whose minds chiefly dwell on the old conceptions of the earth and the ocean, the dread of the wild unknown, which has come down from Egyptian and Norse mythologies, would have us admire the boldness of the captains and their sailors in thus confronting hosts of imaginary as well as real dangers. I think it is as useful to consider their timidity. They feared, e. g., that while they might sail *down*, they never could get back *up* the stream of Ocean, which of course flowed off and around the edge of the earth. "Very needful for me," said Columbus afterward, "was this contrary wind, for the people were tormented with the idea that there were no winds on these seas that could take them back to Spain." When they had gone a great distance across plains of seaweed, and found the needle declining to the west, they believed "it would be their best plan to throw the admiral quietly into the sea, and say he unfortunately fell overboard while absorbed in gazing at the stars."

It is evident that such men as these were not very noble volunteers in the cause of discovery. Our people are ready nowadays to sail into the ever-present dangers of the Arctic regions, where no possible pecuniary gain can be had, but where for years they take their lives daily in their hands. The contrast is remarkable, but perhaps we cannot blame these Spaniards who knew that they were going for a more or less sordid object, to gain territory and riches for the admiral and the queen.

Notwithstanding this, the longest books about the voyage and the discoveries are all too short, and every page is full of marvels, truth quite exceeding fiction. What then can I do in the brief space allotted me for this article? When condensed, such accounts lose force and beauty, as if instead of presenting to an expectant bridegroom a lovely helpmate, palpitating with life, glowing with health, sweet in speech, one were to give him her skeleton, labeled indeed with a scientific name, but only fit for the cases of a museum. Again, all translations lack the full savor of the originals. Yet, I must plunge somewhat into facts to justify my argument, and I will venture to take you near to these originals, giving you the first letter of Columbus, which I have translated with the special endeavor to preserve his picturesque and concise style. It is a letter to the above-named chancellor of church revenues, Santangel :

“SIR :

Because I know the grand success Our Lord has granted me on this voyage will be pleasing to you, I write to say that in 33 days I crossed to the Indies with the fleet which the illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, gave me. I found there very many islands, with innumerable inhabitants. Of all I took possession for their Highnesses, by proclamation and by unfurling the Royal Standard. The island first discovered I named San Salvador—the Indians called it Guanahani. The second I called Santa Maria de Concepcion, the third Fernandina, the fourth Isabella, the fifth Juana—each one thus having a new name. I found Juana so large that I thought it must be the main land, the province of Cathay, and as I saw no towns or villages on the coast, but only trifling settlements with whose people I could hold no conversation because they all incontinently fled, I kept on coasting in the expectation of finding some large cities. Herein failing, I returned to a harbor I had observed and sent two men ashore to enquire if there was a King or if there were towns of any size. They travelled for two days, found numberless hamlets and untold people, but no semblance of any Government, so they returned. Meantime I learned from some Indians whom I seized that it was an island, so I followed the coast eastward for 320 miles until it ended in a cape, whence I saw another island fifty miles away. This I named La Spafiola, and followed its northern shore for five hundred and thirty miles due east. It is very fertile, like the rest, and particularly extensive, with wonderfully safe and capacious harbors. The land is high, with mountains loftier than Teneriffe, of lovely shapes, covered with trees of a thousand kinds, so tall that they seem to reach the sky, and they are said never to lose their leaves. This indeed I can well believe, for I saw them as green as they might be in a Spanish May—some in bloom, some with fruit, nightingales and a thousand other birds singing—and this in November. There are six or eight kinds of palms, of singular but beautiful forms, wonderful to observe, as are the other trees, fruits and vegetables. There are groves of pine, extensive plains, honey, many kinds of birds and fruits, many mines of metals, and innumerable people. Espafiola is a wonder; the mountains, hills, plains, meadows and fields are so beautiful to plant and sow, so suited for raising cattle and for building towns and cities. You must see the harbors to understand how fine they are, and so too with the many large and excellent streams, most of which carry gold. There are also many spices and grand mines of gold

and other metals. The trees and plants with their fruits are quite different from those of Juana (Cuba).

The people of this and of all the other islands I have discovered or heard of, all go as naked as when they were born—men and women alike, except that some women screen themselves a little with a single leaf or a piece of cotton made for the purpose. They possess no iron, steel or arms, nor are they fit to use them; not but that they are well built and of handsome stature, but that they are curiously timid. Their only weapons are the flower-stalks of reeds, to which they fasten small bits of wood, and these they dare not use, for I have often sent ashore two or three men to hold a parley at some village, when the people would come out in countless numbers, but on seeing our men approach they would run away in such a manner that fathers would not even look after their children. This was not because we harmed any one, for on going anywhere to have a talk I gave them what I had—cloth and many other things—without any return, but because they are incurably timid. When however they have been re-assured, they never say no, but offer things before being asked, and shew so much kindness that they would give their very hearts away, and are content to exchange things of great value for a very little stuff of any kind. I forbade giving them bits of broken crockery or glass, and the ends of old straps, though when they did get such things it seemed as if they had the finest jewels in the world, but it was ascertained that a sailor got for a strap gold weighing two castellanos and a half.* . . . For new blancas† they would give all they had, two or three castellanos of gold‡ or an arroba or two of spun cotton.§ They accepted bits of the broken hoops of wine casks, and gave for them all they had, like fools—so that it seemed wrong and I forbade it and gave them a thousand good and pretty things I had brought on purpose to gain their affection, to lead them to become Christians and incline to love and serve their Highnesses and the whole Spanish nation; also to induce them to help us by giving us what we need and they possess in abundance.

They are not idolaters and know of no religion, save that they all believe the source of Power and of Good is in Heaven. They very firmly think that I, with these ships and crews, came from the sky, and in this spirit they received me everywhere, so soon as their fears were quieted. Nor does this spring from stupidity, for they are of a very subtle mind, and they navigate all these seas, while it is wonderful what good accounts they give of everything . . . but they have never seen men with clothes on or ships resembling ours. When I reached the Indies, on the first island I discovered, I seized some of the people, so that they might learn and give me information about these parts, and we have come to understand them either by words or signs, and they have been very useful.

They still think I came from Heaven, and wherever I have been they run from house to house and to the neighboring villages crying aloud, 'Come, come, and see the folks from Heaven.' Thus re-assured, they came, men and women, high and low, all bringing something to eat and drink, which they most lovingly gave. In all the islands they have numerous canoes, like our row-boats, of various sizes, some much larger than a barge of eighteen seats but not so wide, being made of a single piece of timber. Our boats could not keep up with them in rowing, for they go with incredible speed, and herein these folks navigate among the innumerable isles, and exchange their merchandize. I have seen seventy or eighty men in some of these canoes, each with his paddle. I did not notice much difference in the looks of the people, their customs and language: they all

* Twelve dollars.

† Copper coins.

‡ \$10.00 to \$15 00.

§ 25 to 50 lbs.

understand each other, which is singular, and leads me to hope their Highnesses will take means for their conversion to our holy faith. . . . Juana is larger than England and Scotland put together, because I sailed three hundred and twenty miles along the coast, while there are two provinces beyond that, which I have not visited, one of which is called Avau where people are born with tails. Española has a longer coast line than all Spain. This is something to covet, and, when found, not to be lost sight of. . . . There was one large town in Española to which I gave the name of Villa de Navidad, of which especially I took possession—most conveniently situated for working the gold mines and for commerce, either with our continent or that of the great Khan. I fortified it, and left in it a sufficient force, with arms artillery and provisions for more than a year, a barge and a sailing master skilled in the arts necessary to build more, and I formed such a friendship with the King of the place that he called me his brother. But even though this disposition should change and become hostile, yet as the people know nothing of arms and are naked, the men I left could destroy the whole country, and the island contains no terrors for those who know how to govern themselves.

In all the islands it would seem that the men are content with one wife, though to their ruler or king they allot twenty. It looks as if the women did more work than the men. I have not been able to understand whether they own separate property, but it rather seems they have things in common, especially victuals. I have not found men of monstrous shapes, as many thought likely, nor are they black as they are in Guinea, and their hair is straight. . . . In these islands, where there are mountains, I felt the cold this winter considerably, but they endure it through being used to it and eating things with spices and very hot ingredients. I heard of no monsters except in the second island of these Indies where dwells a race believed to be very ferocious, who are cannibals, and have many canoes in which they visit all the islands, robbing and plundering what they can. They are no worse formed than the rest, but they wear their hair long, like women, and use bows with arrows of reeds tipped with wood, for want of iron. . . . They are thought by these very timid people to be fierce, but I count them for no more than the rest. These are the men who have relations with the women of Matenino, the first island met with in coming from Spain, in which there are no men: these women doing no women's work but having bows and arrows of reeds as above mentioned and arming and covering themselves with plates of copper, of which they possess much. I am informed there is another island, larger than Española, in which the inhabitants have no hair, but there is gold in it beyond measure, and from this as well as the others I bring some Indians for testimony.

Finally, and referring to this voyage alone, hasty as it has been, their Highnesses can see that I shall be able to give them all the gold they want, with but trifling help; spices also and as much cotton as they shall order shipped; mastic, as much as they wish for, which at present is only found in the island of Chios and is sold by the Genoese Senate at their own price; lign-aloes, whatever quantity they desire imported, and slaves, as many of these idolaters as they wish to have kidnapped. I think too I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and I shall discover a thousand other things of value by means of the agents I left behind, for I myself tarried nowhere when the wind allowed of my proceeding, except in the town of Navidad, which I fortified and established well. This is much, and praised be our Lord the Eternal God, who grants to all who walk in His ways the victory over apparently impossible things, of which this has been a signal instance, for though others have written or spoken of these countries, it was all guess work, not having seen

them, while it was understood that the listeners thought they were hearing fiction rather than fact. But now that our Saviour has given the victory to our illustrious king and queen and to their kingdoms, which have acquired great renown through such an important event, all Christendom should rejoice and keep high holiday, giving solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity, with many serious prayers, for the great honor which will accrue from converting so many peoples to our holy faith, as well as for the temporal benefits which will bring refreshment and profit not only to Spain but to all Christians. . . .

Done on board the Caravel, off the Canary Islands, February 15, 1493.

Yours to command,

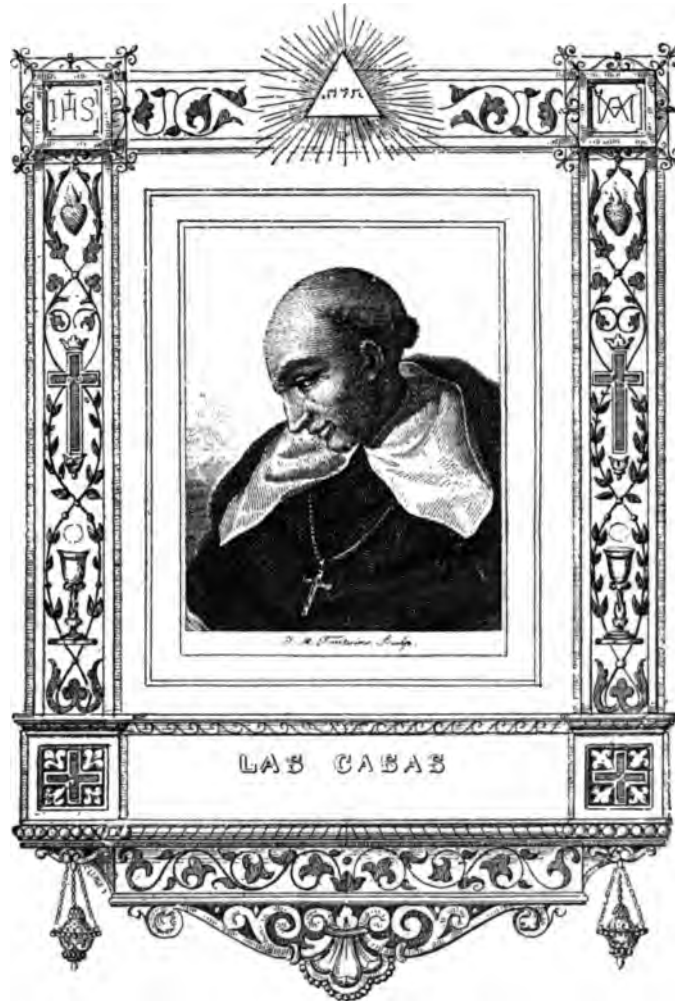
The Admiral."

From what is ancient, grand, and poetic, I turn for an instant to what is recent and commonplace. I saw Guanahani last spring from the deck of an Atlas liner. It is now called Watling's Island, a Mr. Watling having once bought the whole of it for raising sheep. It is bare of trees, with only a few agaves and scrubby palms. A fine lighthouse replaces the torch which Columbus saw an Indian carrying among the huts. Indians there are none, nor are there any in Jamaica, Cuba, or Hispaniola, and this recalls me to my text.

I have been arguing that Columbus was keeping a shrewd eye to the main chance. I do not wish to belittle the man or his achievements, or to judge with harshness even his weaknesses, but I think it wrong to exalt any one beyond reasonable measure; it is idolatrous to ascribe semi-divine qualities to those mere mortals who have in a regular chain of events come, as we term it, to the front. Moreover, the spirit of the *fin de siècle* is upon us, and it is only by applying to illustrious names the test of evolutionary doctrines that we can now form a well-balanced judgment and truly appreciate their position in the procession of events too often mis-called the path of progress. We have seen biology re-written; geology, astronomy, psychology, sociology reformed; history is now under close examination. You will have noted that I am no hero worshiper, nor do I wish to be the iconoclast my friends have sometimes called me. In a progressive age there cannot be many men distinguished above their fellows, there must be groups of men of talent; it is only in an unenlightened time that individual men can stand out plainly above the ruck. As when a meteor darts across the sky, the less the light diffused by sun or moon the brighter shines the shooting star: with all the heavens afire, incandescent meteorites are scarcely seen. Perhaps we misuse the name "leader" as applied in this sense to men; we ought not to call "leaders" those who happening to be in the van of general movement are by it pushed forward.

The life of a country, a city, of any organized or unorganized body of men, is of more consequence to the world than that of an individual. So

thinking, a Curtius leaps into the gulf, a Regulus returns to torture and to death, a Leonidas keeps the pass. It is right to record their acts, for guidance or avoidance, but not by undue adulation to dissociate them



MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS OF THE NEW WORLD DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS. CONSECRATED BISHOP
AT SEVILLE, IN 1544.

from their surroundings. Nor must we do this with Columbus. As Robertson has well said, it was the destiny of mankind that before the end of the fifteenth century the new continent should be known to European navigators. I suppose it was in the same way the destiny of mankind

that in the sixteenth century the new continent should exhibit the most frightful scenes of cruelty and carnage, that avarice and tyranny should have full swing, that reckless and ferocious disregard for life as horrid as that of the old Romans should be shown by their brutal successors in speech and empire, that saturnalia of slaughter, dissipation, piracy, and all manner of crimes should be acted on the American stage, and that because much of all this wholesale murder and robbery was done in the name of civilization and religion, we should glorify the men who were in authority—canonize Columbus, the root of all the evil, and honor instead of execrating Cortez, Pizarro, and Quesada. Now here is the sequence of events:—

1. The Moors, who once were strongly posted in the southwest of Europe, had been driven out of their settlements in Septimania and were losing ground in Spain.

2. Their base of supplies at Ceuta was captured—Prince Henry of Portugal being at the siege.

3. Their authority thus crumbling, the conquering races intruded commercially along their coasts.

4. Discoveries southward followed fast; the seizure of slaves and the exchange of European manufactures for African gold being the great inducements.

5. The Renaissance having permitted the study of the old geographers, and trade with the Indies by land having assumed importance.

6. Columbus, a fairly educated lad, taking to the sea, became a skilled navigator, and learning that a coast he thought to be Asia was in northern latitudes not far to seek, resolved to find it by sailing west from a more southern point. His views were influenced by correspondence with Toscanelli and by reading Peter Martyr's *Imago Mundi*.

7. During his residence in Campo Santo he had noted the great profits easily made by seizing negroes for slaves and bartering trinkets for gold.

8. He may not have expected to make slaves in the Indies, but he did expect to find gold, precious stones, spices, etc., and he stipulated for a share in the profits of this trade, as part equivalent for his pointing out the new way.

9. He found on the islands he discovered a simple people, without wealth, with but a little gold, no silver, no precious stones, none of the usual spices of India.

10. He then conceived the idea of enslaving the whole race, and of enriching himself by transporting captives, and employing the rest in forced labor.

We will now consider what manner of men these people were. On the islands there were no ferocious animals, no lions, tigers, bears. Some lazy alligators were the only things to fear, and they frequent the swamps only; the folks therefore had not the chase to teach them warlike tastes and arts. They had no flesh to eat save that of fish, in taking which they displayed great skill, whether with nets or other tackle, large lizards, and perhaps now and then some birds: they lived mainly on the fruits of the earth, a gentle race. They had little to fear except from the maritime cannibal Caribs, to escape whose murdering fury they seem to have trusted to canoes and to concealment in the woods, while in the larger islands they chiefly lived inland or upon the mountain slopes, whence they could maintain a look-out at the season when winds were fair for their enemies' cruises. From the Indian ash-heaps of this vicinity our Dr. Brodie has drawn materials for a lifelike picture of a Chippewa Indian's household. In Jamaica mounds have been explored in situations like those just mentioned, where shells of the great red conch, of oysters and other mollusks abound. Implements are not numerous, and are not as with us chiefly lance-heads and arrow-points, chipped from flint, but gouges, small hatchets, chisels, with a few drills or needles; all but the last being of polished stone. In the fine collection of the Jamaica Institute I saw but one specimen that bore the marks of chipping. All these are the implements of the arts of peace.

On the mainland, the Indian tribes were much more warlike, and there were bold Mayas, cruel Aztecs with an advanced civilization, perhaps in consequence of their acquaintance with war, for it is not true to speak of peace as the only civilizer. But those Indians never visited the islands, whose occupants had more in common with the men of the Florida shell mounds. When inquiring about these, at Tampa, I was informed that a gorget of gold had been found in one of them. The Indians of Guanahani had a few such. Guanahani, like Florida, being low-lying, they were asked whence the gold came. They answered, from the south. Gold was the only metal they had. I saw no copper relics in the various collections at the Jamaica Exhibition.

How could such a race withstand the fifteenth-century Spaniard, himself the highly developed product of centuries of struggle with Carthaginian, Roman, Goth, and Moor, clad in armor, with iron pikes, steel swords, and fire-arms, mounted, too, upon those terrible horses?

Columbus was a tall man; we may suppose him somewhat lean, as enthusiasts mostly are. His complexion was clear, inclined to red, eyes blue, nose aquiline. Thick auburn hair and a heavy reddish beard surrounded

in the Juan de la Cosa map of A. D. 1500, the painting of St. Christopher, supposed to mean Columbus, and the least apocryphal of the several likenesses, a long anxious face, shaven as to the cheeks, lips, and pointed chin. Over his armor, as he took possession of Guanahani for the monarchs, he wore a crimson habit. All possible pomp was displayed, for they thought they might be in speedy relations with the great khan or the emperor of China. All this was so utterly strange to the poor Indians that it is small wonder they believed him to be divine!

Quickly following his own letter, Columbus returned to Spain, passing through or by way of Portugal. The liveliest interest was at once manifested in his discoveries, best paralleled by the advantage taken by the powers and the general interest of the whole world in Livingstone's and Stanley's African voyages of this generation. The title of Don was given to him, to his brothers, and his descendants; he was assigned a coat of arms, he rode by the king's side, and was served at table as a grandee. There seem to have been two supremely happy moments in the strange life of this strange man: the first, when he saw land after his adventurous voyage; the second, this recognition of his achievement. Between these two, however, all the happiness of his life was condensed, and we shall speedily see the turn in his fortunes come.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Arthur Harvey". Below the signature is a horizontal line with a small flourish at the right end.

TORONTO, CANADA.

(To be continued.)

THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

FOUNDED BY HISTORIC CHARACTERS OF NATIONAL REPUTATION

There are at the present day no Greek-letter fraternities at Princeton. Many entering students learn this with surprise and some with regret, but their absence is never sorely felt when it is realized that the university is a large fraternity in itself, strong and independent, of which each individual is a part and to which he owes his allegiance. The social circles at Princeton are the natural ones of friendly sympathy which are formed around the individual in every community, and are large or small according to his desires and his attainments. The literary element, now considered an essential feature of the college fraternity, Princeton supplies in two long since established "literary halls" known as the Cliosopfic and the American Whig societies, secret in character, and of such value to the college as an educational factor that it was principally to broaden their influence among the students that the Greek-letter fraternities were abolished in 1855. They are the prototypes and the most vigorous survivals of those twin literary societies or "halls," generally secret and always intense in mutual rivalry, which have been institutions of nearly every one of the older and leading colleges in the land. These are, too, the oldest of their kind, having been founded, the one in 1765, the other in 1769, and they are to-day the only secret societies at Princeton.

They sprang from two old clubs, called "well-meaning" and "plain-dealing," which occupied the half-rooms in the fourth story of Nassau Hall. At the time when British oppression stirred the colonists to opposition, and the students of Princeton, full of patriotism in the cause of freedom, were burning effigies and making eloquent attacks upon the British parliament, the "well-meaning" and "plain-dealing" clubs were abolished and the "halls" established for the cultivation of literature and oratory. The names most intimately associated with the foundation of the Cliosopfic society, which is the older, are Robert Ogden, William Paterson, Luther Martin, Oliver Ellsworth, and Tapping Reeve—strong names in our country's roll of honor. An incident in the college life of one of these patriot statesmen, Oliver Ellsworth, reflects the spirit of the early college youth and betokened in him the future jurist. It was during the administration of President Finley, 1761-1766, when certain laws existed, with

finer, public admonitions, and expulsions imposed upon offenders, which met, as we can well imagine, the ridicule of the students. One of these, for instance, was, "every scholar in college shall keep his hat off about ten rods to the president and five to the tutors." Ellsworth disregarded it. He was arraigned before the "superiority of the college" and defended himself with the ingenious plea, which satisfied the scruples of his judges, that a hat was composed of two parts, the crown and the brim, and as his hat had no brim (he had torn it off with an eye to his future defense) what he wore was not a hat and he could be guilty of no offense. This boy subsequently rose to be chief-justice of the supreme court of the United States; and it was said by Mr. Calhoun that to the coolness and



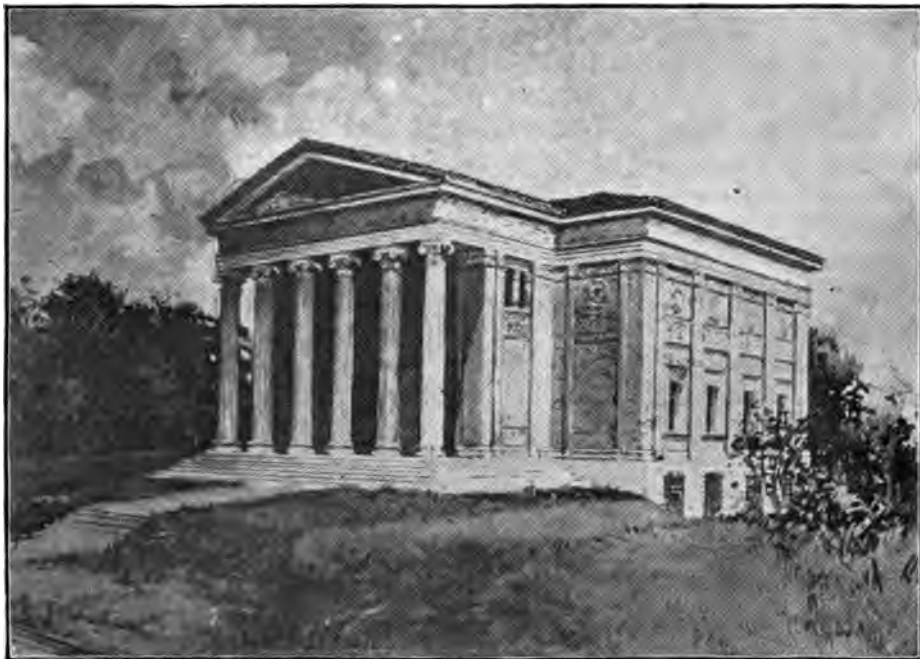
OLD WHIG HALL, PRINCETON.

sagacity of Oliver Ellsworth and Judge William Paterson of New Jersey, aided by a few others not so prominent, we owe our present Constitution.

The "whig society" was founded by James Madison, who became one of the authors of *The Federalist*, one of the framers of our Constitution, and President of the United States. Jefferson said of Madison that he was "the first of every assembly of which he became a member." It is interesting to all Princetonians to know that in the founding of "Whig Hall" Madison first showed his genius as a statesman and leader. Of him Chief Justice Marshall said: "Mr. Madison was the most eloquent man I ever heard." Mr. Gallatin pronounced him "the ablest man that ever sat in the American congress."

To these illustrious founders of Princeton's literary societies the world truly owes a debt of gratitude, for since those early days until the present a healthful and invigorating influence has emanated through generations of men from Whig and Clio halls.

They were organized with these great objects in view: "The improvement of the mind, the expansion of the intellect, the culture of the heart, and the promotion of close and lasting friendships." Their purpose (to quote from Clio's historian, Dr. Giger) is "to give a practical tone to



THE NEW WHIG HALL, PRINCETON.

abstract study, to furnish a field for the exercise of those powers which Greek, Latin, science, mathematics and metaphysics awaken in the mind; they introduce the scholastic student to the great world in miniature, launch him into the active sympathies of life, into the contested questions of literature, art, history, and morals, sympathies and questions of which he would otherwise in all probability be ignorant or regardless. They are the forum in which new-born intellectual vigor is exercised and trained. It is here that the faculties acquired are first applied, and here are had the prelude and preparation for the public labors and conflicts of real life."

These important objects are accomplished in a system of literary exercises with an unusually high standard of excellence and with exceptional advantages for work. Debating and speaking, in which members participate at regular intervals, occur twice every week; while a weekly business meeting on Friday afternoons is an event which members relish with enthusiasm. Strict parliamentary usage is always observed; for in spite of the occasional disorderly sounds that were wont to issue from the upper chambers of the old halls, indicating to the uninitiated the wildest orgies, rules of order are enforced when needed. The pledge of secrecy prevents us from disclosing the meaning of those strange sounds, the roars of laughter, the bursts of applause, and the peculiar barking sound, like some poor animal caged and in distress.

Besides the regular exercises in debate and speaking, there are yearly contests by members of each class in essays, oratory, and debate, yielding prizes in medals or books to the winners. The Lynde debate by seniors and the junior orations are the well-known public inter-hall contests of commencement week. For these contests each hall selects its representatives by early competitions—three seniors for the debate and four juniors for the speaking—by the decision of judges selected from the college faculty, each of whom is a member of one or the other of the halls, although never of both. After the appointments have been made, there is an eager consultation in the library of authorities upon the various subjects chosen for the orations and debate, then the studious preparation in writing, then the oral rehearsal of the finished speeches, with exercises in voice culture to give them character and grace.

There is always a strenuous struggle for supremacy between the halls. The spirit of emulation and generous rivalry, united with the personal desire to obtain the high honors of a literary distinction, are powerful incentives to exertion. When the day for the contest arrives, each hopeful aspirant, wearing his academic gown, appears before the assemblage of commencement visitors, who receive him with enthusiasm and listen to his speech with the rapt attention which his eloquence commands; while the appointed judges—old graduates who have attained distinction in the field of letters—take critical notes upon his oratory. At the close of his effort the speaker bows and retires, followed by a storm of applause that brings to his excited mind bright promises of success. On commencement day he hears the result announced by a crier with a loud voice, and he either rejoices in the attainment of the coveted distinction of receiving the first Lynde prize or “the first J. O.,” or, disappointed, he

returns homeward, like Napoleon after the battle of Waterloo—"the gloomy somnambulist of a vanished dream."

The two halls which for fifty-two years stood side by side upon the south campus were demolished in June, 1890, to give place to the new halls now in process of construction. They were considered beautiful examples of the pure Ionic, and richly deserving the praise lavished upon them. They were alike in external appearance, sixty-two feet long, forty-one feet wide, and two stories high, copied, with the exception of the columns of the hexastyle portico, from a Greek temple in Teos situated on a peninsula of Asia Minor. The new halls, also alike, will be built not of stucco-covered stone like the old buildings, but of white marble from Vermont. Retaining the same Ionic style, the total length of each hall will be eighty-five feet, and the width at the extensions sixty-six feet. Six monolithic columns nineteen feet long, the largest ever cut in America, will grace the portico of each building. We regret that a veil of secrecy must be thrown over the interior architectural designs. We are assured, however, that they will be in keeping with the substantial elegance of the exterior; and we know that each hall will have a large assembly chamber, reading-rooms and reception-rooms, a library of ten thousand volumes, and possibly billiard and bath rooms. They will cost \$50,000 each, and will stand upon the sites of the old halls, completing the quadrangle formed with East college, West college, and Nassau hall.

Making a choice between the halls is one of the perplexities that confront the entering student. He learns something of their purpose, their history, and what is expected of members; but he can discover no substantial difference in their merits, or the advantage of belonging to one rather than to the other. When the electioneering system was in vogue a prospective member was waited upon by committees from both halls, who would "buttonhole" him wherever they could find him and give him no peace of mind until he made the choice between them. The choice is now most often made upon family preference, upon mere fancy, or to satisfy a friend. Initiations—weird, fantastic, and terrible—are performed upon the neophytes. Rumors had in some way become extant of the traditional goat and glowing furnace kept alive in the subterranean passages of Whig and Clio halls—rumors of fiendish shapes and ghastly enactments that turn curiosity into terror, and make the stout young hearts of freshmen tremble with apprehension. Rumor, however, does not always stand for truth. If the novices had to believe all that rumor told, they would know that the hall goat is fed upon rusty nails and broken glass, and that hazing in its palmyest days was but a prelude and

preparation compared to the encounter with that animal. But the entering members somehow pass unscathed through the ordeal of initiation, and are finally presented to the older members of the society who are met together in solemn conclave. An early graduate of Princeton writes of his entrance into Clio: "It was the most impressive ceremony I have ever known in my experience. The unlooked-for dignity and seriousness of the scene quite overturned my levity, and I could scarcely believe the change one brief hour had produced. And never did they admit a more orderly and zealous member: in four years I never failed in a duty nor was absent from a meeting. I loved and venerated that body."

The halls have certainly done much for Princeton college in contributing to give it the distinctive character it bears, and well deserve the fostering care of its authorities. Dating back their origin very nearly to that of the college itself, they are not only in a great measure identified with it, but are integral parts of it. Their ends, indeed, are one; their aims the same. The studies of the college invigorate the exercises of the halls; the exercises of the halls give a stimulus to the studies of the college. And as every student in college, with rare exceptions, is a member of one of the societies, he has a double motive for exertion. He aspires to the honors of the college not merely for his own gratification, but because he feels that it will redound to the honor of his society. What would otherwise be a mere selfish ambition becomes in this way a noble and generous impulse. And his fellow members instead of envying his superiority take a pride in his distinction.

Another and an important feature of the societies is the element of secrecy. Their purposes and methods are known and avowed, but their transactions are shrouded in mystery just enough to impart an interest and a charm, better felt than described, which serves as a sacred bond of union and a tie of friendship. Professors as well as students become hall members, and like the students can be members of only one society, according to their option. Here all meet together on common ground as friends, companions, and brothers.

In short, these societies are little republics governed by laws of their own making, which are the more cheerfully obeyed because self-imposed. These laws are not hostile to those of the college, but supplement them. They not only regulate conduct at meetings, but they exercise a censorship over morals. And the intellectual encounters, the mimic contests that here take place are a training for the more serious and earnest struggles which await the youthful champions in the great battle with the world. The graduates who have attained distinction in church or state

or in the walks of private life—and there have been many—have gladly assigned to one or the other of these societies a portion of the honors they have won, while their *alma mater* and the halls point to them as their brightest jewels. The hall catalogues show the names of three signers of the Mecklenburg declaration, two signers of the Declaration of Independence, thirty-two members of the continental congress, one President of the United States, two Vice-Presidents of the United States, one high sheriff of London, fifty-five United States senators, one hundred and forty-one members of the house of representatives, nine members of the convention that framed the Constitution, six judges of the United States supreme court, nineteen members of the cabinet, nineteen foreign ministers, thirty-seven governors and lieutenant-governors of states, forty-six attorney-generals of states, nineteen United States district-attorneys, one hundred and eighty-eight judges of higher state courts, four bishops in the church, and the names of many other distinguished graduates.

The Cliosophic and American Whig societies thus hold a unique place among college secret organizations. While others exist principally for the social advantages which they afford, the literary halls of Princeton and those formed upon the same model (as the twin literary societies of Lafayette, for example) provide a literary and parliamentary training with the sole object of self-improvement. At Princeton the purely social element in the student life is found in the dormitories and eating clubs: it does not characterize the halls. Nevertheless, within the walls of Whig and Clio friendly ties are formed as close and lasting as any formed in the "Skull and Bones society" of Yale, the "Hasty Pudding club" of Harvard, or the inter-collegiate Delta Kappa Epsilon. A society in which excellence and usefulness are sought by its members, in which it is their endeavor to attain a liberal culture by the exercise and training of the higher faculties, affords the best opportunity for the expression of those qualities of character which appeal to the hearts and intelligence of companions.

The love which the alumni of Princeton bear for their *alma mater* has often been remarked—the delightful recollections which they cherish of the days they have passed here, the pleasure with which they revisit the scenes of their youth, and the interest which they continue to take in the university through life. Nothing has contributed more to create and keep alive such feelings and associations than the existence and influence of these societies.

Thomas W. Hotchkiss, Jr

A SHORT-LIVED AMERICAN STATE

A narrative of American affairs can lay little claim to completeness unless it devotes a goodly share of space to Louisiana. The term creates in the mind of the historian a variety of conceptions. A vast, undefined expanse of wilderness contended for by two mighty nations in an epoch-making struggle; a province passing from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, and in the passing occupying the attention of some of the most adroit of European diplomats; a territory whose purchase changed the character of our federal Union, and in whose soil were sown the seeds that germinated our great sectional conflict; a state whose people have preserved to the latest day their European traditions intact, and whose political record is tinged with pathos and tragedy—all these are embraced within the term.

Of the domain now known as the state of Louisiana, that portion bounded by the Pearl river on the east, the Mississippi on the west, the thirty-first parallel on the north, and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain on the south, has a history so distinctly its own, and one so obscurely treated in the annals of historic research, that an account of how it came to be a part of the present state of Louisiana will interest many readers.

When the "Old French War" drew to a close, and the contest for American supremacy was decided in favor of England, France was compelled to relinquish all her territorial possessions on the continent of America. By conquest from France and by cession of Florida from Spain, England came into possession of the territory east of the Mississippi, with the exception of a small triangular portion known as the Isle of Orleans upon which was founded the present city of New Orleans. This with the vast country lying west of the Mississippi embraced within the province of Louisiana, passed to the jurisdiction of Spain. The treaty terminating hostilities and confirming the several transfers of territory is known as the first treaty of Paris, 1763.

England lost little time in occupying her newly acquired possessions. The Florida of those days extended as far west as the Mississippi, and it was now divided, the line of division between the eastern and western portion being the Perdido river. British garrisons were placed at Natchez, Baton Rouge, and Mobile. Several new posts were established, notably Fort Bute on Bayou Manchac, the stream separating West Florida from the Isle of Orleans south of it.

English traders from the seaboard colonies had for some time prior to this been making their way as far west as the Mississippi, notwithstanding the distrust with which they were viewed by the French of Fort Rosalie (Natchez) and other river settlements. When West Florida came within English jurisdiction an Anglo-American immigration set in, which did not long continue, however, for England did not remain long in possession of the territory. A decade had scarce passed since its acquirement, when the contest for English liberty in America culminated in the American Revolution. In the war that followed, England soon found her old antagonist, France, espousing the cause of the Americans. Spain had offered to mediate between the contestants, but received a direct snub. Smarting under the real or fancied wrong, and seeing an opportunity of winning back the much-coveted fortress of Gibraltar, she allied herself with France and was soon actively engaged in hostilities (1779).

The Spanish province of Louisiana had for its governor at that time Don Bernard de Galvez, who though but a youth in years, has, nevertheless, left a deep impress upon his times and environment by his intrepidity and genius. When the news reached America that Spain had declared war, Galvez promptly took upon himself the conquest of the neighboring British province of West Florida. The Louisianians had never taken kindly to their English neighbors, so Galvez had little difficulty in raising an army. With 1400 men he marched northward from New Orleans, and arriving at Bayou Manchac, stormed and captured Fort Bute. Advancing upon Baton Rouge he invested the place, and after a hot engagement lasting two hours, compelled Colonel Dickinson with a force of five hundred men to surrender. His next undertaking was against Mobile, which surrendered March 14, 1780.

It is needless to say that the achievements of Galvez were viewed with great satisfaction in Spain. Every encouragement was given him to extend his operations. With an expedition fitted out at Havana he embarked for Pensacola. Here he was reinforced by Miro from New Orleans and Espelleta from Mobile. The personal bravery of the young commander was an important factor in his military successes, which was never better exemplified than in the attack upon Pensacola. The fort was taken, and with its fall the Floridas—East and West, by right of conquest, which right was afterwards confirmed by the treaty of 1783—became Spanish territory again. Galvez was made the recipient of many honors. He was commissioned a lieutenant-general, decorated with the cross of knight-pensioner, and made a count. He filled successively the positions of governor of Louisiana; captain-general of Louisiana and Florida; gover-

nor-general of Cuba, the Floridas, and Louisiana ; and viceroy of Mexico. With a record achieved by few he died at the early age of thirty-eight.

During the war of the American Revolution, the region west of the Alleghanies rapidly filled with settlers from the older communities. The years following this period were characterized by a general restlessness. A vague dissatisfaction with the federal government was making itself manifest in this western country. Of the attempts of Spain to encourage the discontent and foment discord in the vain hope that an annexation of it might be brought about, little need be said. Time passed and the thirty-first parallel of latitude was established by treaty (1795) as the line of demarcation between the United States and the Floridas. The territory of Mississippi was organized, and among the many who migrated to this region were those who, attracted by the rich and alluvial lands about Baton Rouge, were not unwilling to place themselves under a foreign jurisdiction by crossing the line of demarcation into West Florida. Among these were some from the eastern part of Tennessee, where the American political instinct of self-government had been unhealthily suppressed in the untimely dissolution of the state of Franklin, or Frankland. This instinct manifested itself amid new surroundings.

In the European complications that arose towards the close of the eighteenth century, France and Spain were arrayed upon the opposite sides of a struggle, one of the results of which was that Spain was compelled to make a retrocession of the territory acquired from France by the treaty of 1763 ; viz., Louisiana and the island of Orleans. This retrocession was consummated by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso (1801) and shortly after (1803) the wrested domain passed by purchase from France to the possession of the United States.

And here it is that authorities differ as to the exact limits of the territory thus acquired by purchase. The fact that West Florida came into the possession of the United States without further purchase or cession has led some to assert that it was included in the Louisiana purchase. President Madison held to this view, notwithstanding much adverse criticism, when, as we shall soon see, he issued his proclamation establishing jurisdiction over the region in question. The fact however remains that the Spaniards continued for seven years to hold undisputed sway, until 1810.

In September of that year West Florida passed from the possession of Spain through no effort of the United States. The Anglo-American spirit transplanted to that region manifested itself in a general desire for independence. A well-planned revolt was successfully instituted. Representatives of the people assembled near Baton Rouge, and the

convention was presided over by John Rhea, with Andrew Steele as secretary. A formal declaration of independence was issued, and a state government organized. Fulwar Skipwith was chosen governor.

Meanwhile the organized forces of the convention had been placed under the command of General Philemon Thomas, a wealthy planter living near Baton Rouge, and he was instructed to reduce the Spanish fort near by. This he succeeded in doing. Delassus, the governor of the province, was away at the time, and the Baton Rouge fort was in command of young Louis de Grandpre, grandson of Carlo de Grandpre, a former governor. In the defense of the fort Grandpre found himself deserted by his men. Nevertheless, he offered stubborn resistance, and in the noble discharge of his duty was slain. The causes which led to the revolt may be best suggested, perhaps, by the words of the "Declaration":

".... Without any hope of protection from the mother country, betrayed by a magistrate whose duty it was to have provided for the safety and tranquillity of the people and government committed to his charge; and exposed to all the evils of a state of anarchy which we have so long endeavored to avert, it becomes our duty to provide for our own security as a free independent state, absolved from all allegiance to a government which no longer protects us."

By quoting further from the instrument we may see in what terms independence was declared:

"We therefore, the representatives aforesaid, appealing to the Supreme Being of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do solemnly publish and declare the several districts composing the territory of West Florida to be a free, independent state; and that they have a right to institute for themselves such form of government as they may think conducive to their safety and happiness; to establish commerce; to provide for the common defence; and to do all acts which may of right be done by a sovereign and independent nation: at the same time declaring all acts within the said territory of West Florida after this date, by any tribunal, or authority not deriving their powers from the people agreeable to the provisions established by this convention, to be null and void; and calling upon all foreign nations to respect this our declaration, acknowledge our independence, and give us such aid as may be consistent with the laws and usages of nations."

Thus was the birth of a new American state proclaimed, and thus did a people wrest from a foreign potentate their liberty and independence. In order to better continue in the enjoyment of these acquired privileges, application was made for admission into the Union. A copy of the

"declaration" was forwarded to the President of the United States, through Governor Holmes of the Mississippi territory, and Rhea, writing under date of October 10, opened communication with the secretary of state at Washington, with a view to either admission or annexation. Inasmuch as the inhabitants had risked both blood and treasure in the acquirement of the territory, it was sought to reserve the public lands to their exclusive benefit. October 27 Madison issued his proclamation declaring West Florida under the jurisdiction of the United States. Governor Claiborne of Orleans territory was ordered to take possession, and repairing to Natchez he organized a small force of mounted militia, entered West Florida, and at St. Francisville, one of the principal towns of the territory, raised the flag of the United States. No opposition was encountered. The newly annexed region was divided into six parishes.

The annexation of West Florida called forth protests from Spain and Great Britain. President Madison maintained that the annexed territory was a part of the Louisiana purchase. This theory precluded the right of the West Florida inhabitants to the exclusive use of the public domain, for considered as a purchase it belonged to all the states in common. Nevertheless, it is yet maintained that the position of President James Madison was untenable, and within recent years a bill has been introduced in congress to indemnify the people of the Florida parishes for the lands to which their ancestors had a clear title. In support of their claim it may be adduced that the negotiations which led to the Louisiana purchase were primarily instituted for the purchase of a site for a depot near the mouth of the Mississippi, so that the commerce and exports of the west might be placed beyond the caprices of the authorities of Louisiana. Negotiations were conducted by the American commissioners just after the San Ildefonso treaty, with France, for the purchase of the Isle of Orleans. In the event of their non-success the commissioners had been authorized to open negotiations with Spain for the purchase of West Florida. They were about to do so when dissuaded by Talleyrand, who shortly after figured so conspicuously in the sale of Louisiana. Furthermore we have it upon the authority of Martin that Talleyrand, in a letter dated December 24, 1804, to the American commissioners, Monroe and Pinckney, who were on their way to Spain to adjust the boundaries between the newly acquired territory of Louisiana and Florida, declares in distinct terms that no part of the territory known and held as West Florida was included in the retrocession by Spain to France; and that in all the negotiations between the two powers, Spain had constantly refused to cede any part, even that portion between the Mississippi and Mobile.

The beginning of the "Free and Independent State of West Florida" dates with the assembling of the convention, September 23, 1810; and its career terminates with the raising of the flag of the United States at St. Francisville, December 6, of the same year. Yet brief as was this career, it was nevertheless active. When the Spanish authorities of Baton Rouge were deposed, it was anticipated that Governor Folch of the Mobile district would attempt to interfere with the organization of the little republic. So the convention posted a line of sentinels along the banks of the Pearl river, the western boundary of the part of West Florida in revolt. The maintenance of this line was found to be an uncertain and expensive means of safety against attack. It was determined to settle the matter at once by a resort to arms. War was declared against Mobile. An expedition under the command of Colonel Reuben Kemper made its way to the shores of Mobile bay, but being poorly equipped was compelled to defer its attack until a supply of arms and munitions could be procured. An agent of Kemper managed to purchase of Henri de la Franci, a citizen of Baton Rouge, a lot of arms; and the convention bought a flat-boat load of western produce, transferred it to a keel-boat and sent it to the relief of Kemper.

Governor Folch was completely demoralized at the display of force made by Kemper; he wrote December 3 to President Madison, imploring the government of the United States to send the garrison of Fort Stoddard to help him "drive Reuben Kemper back to Baton Rouge," and to send commissioners with power to treat for the transfer of Mobile and the rest of the province of West Florida to the United States. Three days later Claiborne reached St. Francisville. Kemper and his men, being without governmental authority to sustain them in their undertaking, made their way back.

The complications that arose between the United States and Spain over the annexation of West Florida and the boundary line between the Louisiana territory and the Spanish possessions in the southwest, were settled by the treaty of 1819. The claim of Spain to Florida was purchased. But authorities certainly err when they assume, either that the whole of the present domain of Louisiana was included in the Louisiana purchase, or that the Florida cession of 1819 included West Florida.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Henry O. Chambers". The signature is written in dark ink on a white background. The first name "Henry" is written in a large, flowing script, followed by "O." in a smaller, more compact script, and then "Chambers" in a large, flowing script. The signature ends with a long, horizontal flourish.

WAS AMERICA DISCOVERED BY THE CHINESE?

The literature on the subject of the discovery of the American continent by Chinese Buddhist priests in the middle of the fifth century exceeds in bulk that on the discovery by Columbus or the Norsemen. Ever since the year 1761, when the great French sinologue, De Guines, gave to the world for the first time the ancient account of the Chinese Hœi-Shin, describing a distant land to which the name of Fûsang was given, the world has been flooded with books, tractates, and pamphlets bearing on the same interesting topic, in which Fûsang is identified as America.

The weight of mere opinion has favored the theory of a Chinese discovery of the American continent, and even as early as 1752 the eyes of European scholars and geographers were greeted with the map of Buache, showing De Guines' hypothetical route of the Chinese across the Pacific in the year 458 to the coast of America. English, French, German, and American savants have contended among themselves; yet, although much real scholarship has been expended, the weight of evidence to those versed in Chinese history and the Chinese language has never appeared great enough to warrant the conclusions of a Chinese discovery and occupancy of the American continent.

Many of those who have been engaged in this controversy have been only slightly acquainted with Chinese subjects, and their statements are at variance with established facts. Some never studied the Chinese language, and were therefore wholly incompetent for the basing of arguments (as some really did) on linguistic grounds. Others became interested and took part in the controversy from its novelty, as was the case with those who have written in the interest of the old Norse navigators. Again, the basis of argument has frequently been exceedingly narrow, investigations having been carried on from a single point of view; as, for instance, the mythological, without reference to the more substantial points of departure which ought to enter into every archæological question. The mythology of ancient Mexico may indeed be shown to have been comparable with that of China, yet a Chinese discovery and occupancy of America cannot be proved in this way.

Archæology is still in its formative state—it has not yet been erected into a science; but the time must come when it will hold as dignified a station in the scientific world as geology. Archæology is now a mass of

theories. Anybody can become an archæologist and gain audiences, provided he has a theory to promulgate. Two chemists analyzing a similar substance could not think of attaining correct results by violating chemical laws, though the details of their methods might lawfully vary. Thus must it be in the future with archæology. The day is coming when archæologists will proceed with their investigations according to scientific methods, whether they concern the question of America's discovery or the beginnings of Egyptian civilization. Had archæology been a science for the past century the question of the Chinese discovery of America would have been settled long ago, instead of continuing to burden us with theories that render a very simple subject very abstruse and difficult of solution.

The basis of the theory that the Chinese discovered our country, or rather what is now Mexico, is found in the following:

First, The story of a Chinaman named Hœi-Shin, extant in the Chinese language, and translated by several scholars into English, French, and German. This account tells us of a voyage to a land named in Chinese Fûsang, in about the year 458; the said Chinaman, a Buddhist priest, having returned to China, according to the account, in 499. Fûsang is said to be America. This is what may be called a supposed literary or historical discovery.

Second, The supposed discovery that the geography of the Chinese Fûsang is identical with the geography of Western America.

Third, The supposed discovery that the early accounts of aboriginal Mexico and the Chinese description of Fûsang show the same myths and customs.

Fourth, The supposed discovery that Buddhistic traditions are still prevalent among the Mexican natives.

Fifth, The supposed discovery that the Otomi tribe of Mexico has a monosyllabic language, and that Sanscrit roots are found in the different Mexican languages—relics (it is believed) of the infusion of the Sanscrit language into the native tongue by the Buddhistic Chinese priests, who were acquainted with the Sanscrit language—the sacred language of all Buddhists.

Sixth, The supposed discovery of Chinese jade ornaments in Nicaragua.

Seventh, The supposed discovery by Dr. Harvey of the Chinese symbol *tac-kai* ("the essence of all things") on a monument in Copan.

Let us examine these supposed discoveries according to the above order. First: No sooner was the account of the Chinaman Hœi-Shin given to the world by the French savant De Guines in 1761, than he recognized the country of Fûsang as America. Why did he decide upon this so

suddenly? What reasons did he assign for this identification? None that are of any weight to the scientific mind of the nineteenth century. The account of the Buddhist priest seemed to speak of a distant land reached by sea, but in what direction it lay, and by what marks it could be identified, were enigmas that neither De Guines nor those who favored his theory (even to our own day) have been able to solve. On the arbitrary supposition that Fûsang was America, it was very easy and natural for the theorizers to trace out on a map the route of the Chinese across the Pacific by way of the Keurile and Aleutian islands. The route naturally followed the theoretical identification. Thus we see that the very beginnings of the theory of a Chinese discovery of America arose without the presence of a single fact, historical, geographical, or archæological, to lend it support. A theory is a necessary step toward the acquisition of a great truth, but science demands the concurrent support of facts, since a theory is otherwise merely a guess. Such was De Guines' so-called theory; it was mere supposition or guesswork, since not a single fact was advanced in support of Fûsang having been America. It is needless to waste more time in the consideration of De Guines' theory, since his own work on *Researches on the Navigation of the Chinese to the Coast of America* does not advance a single fact. The French scholars did what any other novelty-loving persons might have done—guessed at it. If De Guines had even offered one important proof in connection with his identification of Fûsang with America, that coming from so learned a man would commend our respectful attention.

Second, Is the geography of Fûsang and Mexico identical? I deny the possibility of elaborating from any Chinese work on travel, by sea or land, a system of "geography." In the Chinese writings many places have been identified, but their geography of the regions traversed is only a mere outline, and no opinions can be formed as to the nature of wide stretches of country. In every Chinese itinerary we may read of "rivers" and "mountains" and "valleys," of "islands," "seas," "bays," and "promontories," but the idea of "geography" is as remote from these writings as is that of geology. The account of Hoei-Shin is not an exception among these works on travel. Its "geography" may as easily be the local description of a small area as of a continent, and may as easily apply to a spot on the Pacific coast of China or Asia as to the whole coast of Mexico or North America. Nature, in her aspects of land and water, mountain and valley, island and peninsula, trees and flowers, does not vary as extensively in the general plan as we are apt to suppose, and the written description is apt to show even more uniformity. A

vivid description of the rugged shores of the Great Lakes might readily be taken by the average person for a presentation of the characteristics of the shores of Norway and Sweden, so much alike are they in a general sense; and when the portrayal is by the hand of a Buddhist priest, ignorant of the nature of geographical relations, ignorant of science, and compelled to use the cumbersome Chinese language as a medium, the probability is that his geographical story will be of so universal a nature that it may apply to a large number of widely separated localities.

Is the geography of Fûsang that of Mexico? He does not say it is not, but something even stronger may be affirmed. We do not find a single fact to warrant our spending one moment on American soil in attempting to identify the geography of Fûsang with that of America (or Mexico)!

Third, The identity of Mexican myths and customs with those of the Fûsang story rests upon as frail a foundation as the preceding. What do we know of them? We are possessed of no native written sources of information. Of the mythology and religion of Mexico, only those of Aztec times are known to us, and even these are vague. Prior to the Aztec came the Toltec, which arose about 700, and the supposed discovery of America (Mexico) by the Chinese took place nearly two hundred and fifty years before this, in 458. Only the exhumed idols and temples afford us any aid in gaining an idea of the religion and mythology of Toltec times, and this knowledge, after successive conquests of the land, without a knowledge of the hieroglyphics, is still very scant. If we know so little of the proud Toltec times, how much less do we know of pre-Toltec days. Of the Toltec celestial hierarchy we have some evidence that there was one supreme god, spiritual and invisible, with a council of thirteen chief gods, over two hundred inferior ones, and these may have been the gods of the land before the coming of the Toltecs. But we know so little of those early days in Mexico that no comparison can be made with the mythology and customs of any other nation or country. If even one fact could be advanced in support of the identity of the mythology of pre-Toltec Mexico and that of the Fûsang record, it ought to gain our sincere attention; but as we know nothing of this pre-Toltec mythology, how can we discuss it?

Fourth, No greater exertion of the imagination has been made in the subject of America's discovery by the Chinese than in the supposed discovery of Buddhistic traditions among the Mexican natives. We fail to recognize any facts in this argument. Men in every clime hand down from age to age identical traditions. Men have been the same the world

over in their gropings after the Infinite, in their search for truth. Iceland and Babylon, with civilizations separated by an interval of three thousand years, tell the same story of primeval chaos and of the first parents of the race—not in detail, to be sure, but in the main points.

Many traditions of ancient Mexico may be among those held by Chinese Buddhists, yet they are not thereby Buddhistic. They are universal. In all the theorizing on this subject not a single tradition distinctively Buddhistic has yet been recognized in Mexico.

Fifth, It is said that the Otomi tribes in Mexico have a monosyllabic language, and that therefore it is a descendant of an early monosyllabic tongue; or, at least, it is a native tongue made largely monosyllabic by long contact with the monosyllabic language of a superior race "supposed" to be the Chinese. This argument is based upon the old and even still surviving idea that the Chinese language is monosyllabic, which is not the truth. The Chinese is, of all languages, the most polysyllabic. I will admit that quite the opposite has been held by great men. In our cyclopædias and numerous works on language and history, the Chinese language is said to differ from all others in being monosyllabic. Yet it is quite the opposite. In Chinese hardly any object or idea is expressible by a single sign or syllable. The English, Scandinavian, and German languages are far more monosyllabic than Chinese. In English we have God, German Gott, Swedish and Danish Gud, and Icelandic Gudh, for the Supreme Being. Not so in Chinese, since there God is a polysyllabic word, Shang-Ti, the "Upper Ruler." Were the Chinese monosyllabic, the translation of our Bible into that language would certainly have rendered the name "Christ" by a monosyllabic term. On the contrary, it is given in Chinese as *Ke-fok*. It is true there are monosyllabic proper names in Chinese, but were it intrinsically a monosyllabic tongue, all words would of necessity be monosyllables, including proper names. It would be impossible to render "Christ" *Ke-fok* if the language were not polysyllabic. In fact, it is hard for a Chinaman to interpret a monosyllable; to him it generally has no meaning whatever. It is the connection of one syllable with another that he understands. Of course, there are upward of two hundred radical signs, forming the basis of the language, which are monosyllables as in all languages, such as "man," "woman," "horse," "ox," "moon," "sun," "dark," "white," or "clear," which express the earliest attempts of the Chinese to name the various objects and aspects of nature. These do not differ as regards the syllable from corresponding words in English. But beyond these primitive types no idea can be clearly expressed in Chinese with *less than two syllables*. Even such a familiar idea as *friend* must be

thus written or spoken. The great Chinese scholar Summers, in his handbook of the Chinese language, distinctly asserts the polysyllabic nature of the Chinese language. Is the Otomi language of Mexico monosyllabic? Perhaps it is; but it does not affect the case at hand, since the Chinese is itself eminently polysyllabic.

Sixth, Regarding the supposed Chinese jade ornaments found in Nicaragua and elsewhere, we will accept this as a fact when the ornaments are shown to be Chinese. It does not require much of an eye to detect any object of art coming from Chinese hands, no matter how aged it is. Of the thousands of "jade ornaments" found and called Chinese, not one has been recognized as such by Chinese scholars.

Seventh, Among the countless emblems of a mythological nature amid the ruins of Copan there are hundreds which might be referred as well to Babylon as to China. To form the basis of a theory, the symbol found by Dr. Harvey must be proved to be Chinese. It is merely supposed to be Chinese in origin, although the nature of it would place its origin at the spot where it was discovered, in Copan. All nations are given to symbols. Every nation has had its "*type of the endless and unknown*," every land has had its "symbol of the essence of all things." Why is the Copan symbol Chinese? Simply because it bears a faint resemblance to a Chinese character. Among thousands and thousands of symbols found in Mexico, one lone emblem is set down as Chinese! Here, as heretofore, a supposition is made part of the basis for a theory.

We have passed in review all the main arguments for a Chinese discovery of America. Are they at all stable? Are there any facts brought forward to support the theory? Not one. The natural conclusion is that there never was any ground for believing that the Chinese discovered America. The island of Formosa, lying within one hundred miles of the greatest maritime province of China, was not discovered by the Chinese until the year 1430, and moreover was not colonized by them until the year 1661, and this discovery was only by accident. Yet the Chinese theorists of America's discovery would have us believe that it was discovered at least as early as the fifth century. The other great islands of the archipelago have been known to China only a few centuries, and their extensive trade with India arose only after the Mahometan conquests gave the Arabs control of the sea trade with the extreme Orient. Even the Chinese themselves did not become venturesome sailors. They put all of their sea trade into Arabian hands, and only a few Chinese got as far as Ceylon. Yet the advocates of America's discovery by these people would have us believe that the Chinese junks braved the Pacific in 458 and colonized

our coast! It is claimed that the Chinese discoverers of America in 458 were Buddhist priests, bent on converting the world to Buddhism. The Japanese were not converted to Buddhism until the middle of the sixth century, and yet it is claimed that the Buddhists a hundred years before this had left Japan behind and planted their religion in America, five thousand miles across a trackless waste! The idea of America having heard the doctrine of Buddha a century before the Japanese empire is so preposterous as to be alone a final and sufficient proof that America was not discovered by Chinese Buddhist priests.

But is the Fûsang country a myth? Could all the writers for the past century have been dealing with a land that never existed? By no means. The Chinaman Hoei-Shin wrote of a definite region, and so have De Guines and others. But had they known more of Asiatic geography—had they lived in this age, when Fûsang is known as well as China itself, the theory of America's discovery by the Chinese would never have been promulgated. To-day we can take passage from 'Frisco in an elegant steamer, and after stopping in Japan go direct to Fûsang on the Pacific coast of Corea, in latitude $35^{\circ} 6'$ north and longitude $129^{\circ} 1'$ east. There is the long-sought Fûsang of the fifth century. It was there then, and has been there for untold centuries. Fûsang and Ai-Chin (on the west coast of Corea) have been through long centuries the "loop-holes," as one writer has it, of the "hermit nation." To the Chinese and Japanese Fûsang has been known for ages. It has been and is to-day a great cosmopolitan *entrepôt* of commerce. No wonder the Buddhists went there, for its soil was rich, its productions varied and numerous. In the war of 1592-97 Fûsang was taken by the Japanese and held until 1868, but was then closed to the latter until 1876, since which time it has steadily gained in commercial importance, and exports what it undoubtedly did when the Buddhist priests began to preach there—silver, hides, fish, rice, silk, cotton, paper, furs, shells, timber, hemp, jute.

Fûsang has been known for centuries. Why it was ever transported to America we cannot tell. In that great work, *Corea the Hermit Nation*, Fûsang is mentioned upward of twelve times on as many different pages. Fûsang has always been in Corea, is now, and ever will be, and therefore America was not discovered by Chinese Buddhist priests.

Alfred Kingsley Glover.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, INDIANA.

PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

THE SUBJECT OF OUR FRONTISPIECE

1394-1460

One of the most notable figures in that remarkable century of maritime discovery which attracts universal attention at the present moment was Prince Henry of Portugal, who was the first to conceive the bold project of opening a road through the unexplored ocean, and at a time when the formidable waves of the Atlantic were suggestive only of danger and death to mariners. The results of his courage, patience, and foresight contributed largely, if not chiefly, to the impulse which sent Columbus on his western voyages. The known world was curiously small in Prince Henry's boyhood, of which the map on second page of this number of the magazine is a forcible illustration; but before the close of his career the discovery of more than half the globe had been made possible.

He was the third son of King João of Portugal, "of good memory," and Philippa the daughter of John of Gaunt, and his aims even when quite young were directed to a point far beyond the range of a mere conquering soldier. He was twenty-one at the time of the memorable capture of Ceuta—the magnificent port of Morocco, opposite Gibraltar, the centre of commerce between Damascus, Alexandria, and other eastern places, and the nations of western Europe—and his gallantry was so conspicuous in this successful enterprise that he received the honor of immediate knighthood from his father. The prospect was opened to his mind through this event of possessing the Guinea coast and of ultimately finding the end of Africa. His biography, carefully traced by Richard Henry Major, F.S.A., F.R.S.L., the learned honorable secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, was published in London in 1868, and is a volume replete with information, which every student of American history will do well to consult. The ships of the prince were soon venturing along the western Barbary coast, while his captains came back one after another with no very wonderful tidings of discovery.

"Although the son of a king," writes Major, "Prince Henry relinquished the pleasures of the court and took up his abode on the inhospitable promontory of Sagres, at the extreme southwestern angle of Europe.

It was a small peninsula, the rocky surface of which showed no sign of vegetation except a few stunted juniper trees to relieve the sadness of a waste of shifting sand. Another spot so cold, so barren, or so dreary it were difficult to find on the warm and genial soil of sunny Portugal. Here it was in this secluded spot, with the vast ocean stretching measureless and mysterious before him, that Prince Henry devoted himself to the study of astronomy and mathematics, and to the dispatch of vessels on adventurous expeditions. He erected an observatory at Sagres, the first set up in Portugal, and there is reason to believe that he established a school for the study of navigation. To be duly appreciated the comprehensive thought of Prince Henry must be viewed in relation to the period in which it was conceived. No printing-press as yet gave forth to the world the accumulated wisdom and experience of the past. The compass though known and in use had not yet emboldened men to leave the shore and put out with confidence into the open sea; no sea-chart existed to guide the mariner along those perilous African coasts; no lighthouse reared its friendly head to warn or welcome him on his homeward track. The scientific and practical appliances which were to render possible the discovery of half a world had yet to be developed. But the prince collected the information supplied by ancient geographers, unweariedly devoted himself to the study of mathematics, navigation, and cartography, and freely invited, with princely liberality of reward, the co-operation of the boldest and most skillful navigators of every country.

We look back with astonishment and admiration at the stupendous achievement effected a whole lifetime later by the immortal Columbus, an achievement which formed the connecting link between the old world and the new; yet the explorations instituted by Prince Henry of Portugal were in truth the anvil upon which that link was forged: at the same time, how many are there in England, the land of sailors, who even know the name of the illustrious man who was the very initiator of continuous Atlantic exploration? If it be the glory of England that by means of her maritime explorations the sun never sets upon her dominions, she may recall with satisfaction that he who opened the way to that glory was the son of a royal English lady and of the greatest king that ever sat on the throne of Portugal.

When we see the small population of the narrow strip of the Spanish peninsula, limited both in means and men, become in an incredibly short space of time a mighty maritime nation, not only conquering the islands and western coasts of Africa and rounding the southern cape, but creating empires and founding capital cities at a distance of two thousand leagues

from their homesteads, we are tempted to suppose that such results must have been brought about by some happy stroke of luck. Not so: they were the effects of the patience, wisdom, intellectual labor, and example of one man, backed by the pluck of a race of sailors who, when we consider the means at their disposal, have been unsurpassed as adventurers in any country or in any age."

Arthur Helps remarks that the especial reason which impelled Prince Henry to take the burden of discovery upon himself was that neither mariner nor merchant would be likely to adopt an enterprise in which there was no clear hope of profit. In 1418 two young captains, Joham Goncalvez Zarco and Tristam Vaz, who it is said were as eager for adventure as the prince himself, were ordered on a voyage having for its object the general molestation of the Moors and discovery. They were driven out of their course by storms, and accidentally discovered a little island, where they took refuge, and called it Porto Santo. They found a simple people living there not altogether barbarous, and their reports on their return delighted the prince. He immediately sent them out again, together with a third ship commanded by Bartholomew Perestrelo (whose daughter subsequently became the wife of Columbus), and with these heroic navigators he sent various seeds and animals for the purpose of improving the island. Among the animals were some rabbits, and they conquered the new-found land not for the prince but for themselves, giving great trouble. To Perestrelo Prince Henry gave the island of Porto Santo, to colonize it. The other two captains, seeing something like a cloud in the far distance, which evidently was not a cloud, built two boats and went toward it, until they discovered another island, which they named Madeira, landing on different parts of it, and the prince rewarded them with the captaincies of those parts.

Meanwhile a dozen years rolled on, and Prince Henry had yet won very little sympathy in his exploits from his contemporaries, some of whom said "the land the prince sought was merely some sandy place like the deserts of Libya," and criticised the "taking people out of Portugal which had need of them, to bring them among savages to be eaten, and to place them upon lands of which the mother-country had no need; that the Author of the world had provided these islands solely for the habitation of wild beasts, of which an additional proof was that those rabbits the discoverers themselves had introduced were now dispossessing them of the island."

It was not until 1434 that Prince Henry's captains succeeded in passing the dreaded Cape Bajador—which was a great event in the history of Afri-

can discovery. From this time forward these captains continued, season by season, to make steady advance in their explorations. The enthusiasm of Prince Henry in his belief that there was a great southern point of Africa had been imparted to all his followers. In 1454 Ca da Mosta had an interview with Prince Henry, and was evidently much impressed by his noble bearing. "At this period," says Arthur Helps, "the annals of maritime discovery are fortunately enriched by the account of a voyager who could tell more of the details of what he saw than we have hitherto heard from other voyagers, and who was himself his own chronicler." Ca da Mosta was a Venetian, familiar with the trade of Venice and with some experience as a shipmaster, who sought and obtained employment from Prince Henry, being furnished with a caravel and goods to use in traffick- ing with the people he might find. His narrative of the expedition dis- closes the methods of trading off merchandise for slaves. He was the first European visiting Africa to write about the country, and being honest, intelligent and observing, the legacy of information handed down to us from his hand is exceedingly valuable.

Faria y Souza says of Prince Henry, "He had a grandeur of nature proportionate to the greatness of his doings; he was bulky and strong; his complexion red and white; his hair coarse and almost hirsute; his aspect produced fear in those who were not accustomed to him—not to those who were, for, even in the strongest current of his vexation at any thing, his courtesy always prevailed over his anger; he had a grave serenity in his movements, a notable constancy and circumspection in his words, modesty in all that related to his state and personal observance within the limits of his high fortune; he was patient in labor, bold and valorous in war, versed in arts and letters; a skillful fencer; in the mathematics superior to all men of his time; generous in the extreme; zealous in the extreme for the increase of the faith. No bad habit was known to him. He never married." Azurara, sometimes quoted as the "good chronicler," who was a contemporary of Prince Henry, and must have known him well, says he was a man "of great counsel and authority, wise and of good memory, but in some things slow, whether it was through the prevalence of the phlegmatic temperament in his constitution or from intentional deliberation, being moved to some end which men did not perceive." The chronicler further says, "There was no hatred known in him, nor ill-will against any person, however great the injury he had received from that person; and such was his benignity in this respect that judicious men remarked against him that he was deficient in distributive justice, for in all other respects he conducted himself justly."

We learn also from Azurara that the house of Prince Henry was the resort of all good men in the kingdom and of foreigners, and that he was a man of intense labor and study. "Often the sun found him in that same place where it had left him the day before, he having watched throughout the whole arc of the night without any rest."

Arthur Helps thinks the portrait of Prince Henry gives the idea of a man of great deliberation, but with no laxity of purpose. He does not say to which portrait he refers, but it could hardly be the youthful head shown in the miniature portrait which appears in Major's *Prince Henry*, and which at the time of the publication of that work, the author supposed to be the only portrait extant; but he probably had seen the portrait of Prince Henry in maturer life, from which the picture presented in this number of the magazine was copied. Arthur Helps further says: "Whether we consider this prince's motives, his objects, his deeds or his mode of life, we must acknowledge him to be one of the most notable men not merely of his own country and period, but of modern times and of all nations, and one upon whose shoulders might worthily rest the arduous beginnings of continuous maritime discovery. Would that such men remained to govern the lands they had the courageous foresight to discover!"

Dr. Justin Winsor in his new work *Christopher Columbus* says of Prince Henry: "He was a man who, as his motto tells us, wished and was able to do well. He was shadowed with few infirmities of spirit. He was the staple and lofty exemplar of this great age of discovery. He was more so than Columbus, and rendered the adventitious career of the Genoese possible. He knew how to manage men, and stuck devotedly to his work. He respected his helpers too much to drug them with deceit, and there is a straightforward honesty of purpose in his endeavors. He was a trainer of men, and they grew courageous under his instruction."

During forty years of limited success Prince Henry prosecuted this perilous work. Portuguese discovery did not cease after his death, but in the following years made its way to the Cape of Good Hope, in all a distance of some six thousand miles. Portuguese vessels were small but well built, and their seamen were experts in guiding them along tempestuous shores. Don Emanuel caught the spirit in his day, whose pet problem was a passage to India around Africa. This voyage was actually performed in 1498 by Vasco da Gama. He returned to Portugal with his four ships laden with spices, silks, and other attractive merchandise, and all Europe was in the wildest excitement.

THE SCOT IN AMERICA

The mind which merely scans the boundaries, to learn the area of a nation, and studies its physical geography, its climate and its soil, to learn its character, would never find itself competent to measure that nation's greatness.

“What constitutes a state ?
Not high-raised battlement, or labored mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate,
Not cities fair, with spires and turrets crowned,
No ; men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued,
In forest, brake or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude ;
Men who their duties know,
Know, too, their rights, and knowing dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain.”

Many a spot of earth, rich in soil and favored by climate, has remained fallow since creation's dawn, simply because God saw fit to people it with creatures unfitted mentally or physically for the struggles daily endured on the great battle-fields of the world's civilization. Other spots, rugged and barren, hard of access, and rewarding sparingly the hand of toil, have become gardens of intellect, and produced men born to rule, born to do and dare, born to build up a state at home, in spite of adversity, in spite of the terrors and devastations of centuries of war and struggle for statehood and liberty ; and the home of statesmen from which, as from a hive, were to go forth the founders of new states, the pioneers of civilization throughout the world.

Such a spot was Scotland. From her craigs and plains, her rock-ribbed hills and streamy vales, have swarmed men who fill the definition quoted, and to her and to them America owes much of its political greatness as a nation.

Near the head-waters of the stately Hudson, in beautiful verdurous valleys, among the forest covered hills and mountains which are spurs of the Laurentian range, where cool and limpid rivulets tumble from the mountain side to find outlet through beautiful lakes and winding streams to the great river, and where every surrounding must have served to

remind the settler of the wimpling burns, the lochs, the banks and braes of his own loved Scotland, his early home, there was early planted and yet exists a community almost unique, for if a list of its family names were called, you might almost imagine yourself listening to a roll-call of the clans of Scotland, and might well look to see if the fiery cross which assembles the clans to battle would not accompany the roll-call.

Among these scenes and these people was my birthplace, and the home where I grew to manhood; and I now recall none other than Scottish names as memories of my childhood. Listen to some of them, not selected, but taken as the crow might fly from roof-tree to roof-tree, in that wonderful bit of mosaic transplanted from the rocks and soil of Scotia to the rocks and soil of America.

There was McDougall, McKeachie, and Mills; Gillis, Gibson, and Gilchrist; Robertson, Ramsey, and Reid; Gow, Guthrie, and Graham; McNab, McKaller, and McEachron; McGeoch, McArthur, and McNeil; Stevenson, Stewart, and Scott; McWhorter and McKeen; Armstrong, Bain, and Campbell; Foster, Fraser, and Savage, and many another, representing nearly every family name and portion of Scotland, from the highlands even to the lowlands.

Cameronian, Burgher, and Antiburgher were all represented there. There were descendants of men and women in that community who had dared and suffered for the covenant, and whose Church had been the conventicle.

God fearing, justice loving, and true hearted men and women were they all. No crime was known among them, and even petty offenses were reduced to a minimum under the influence of their strong but narrow creed.

There was the same combination of freedom of thought and bigotry, reason and superstition, hospitality and "nearness," frankness and concealment, which characterizes the Scot in other lands. Sturdy in thought, resolute in action, firm in the faith, content with what God gave them, there has gone forth from the loins of that settlement an army of men who have become legislators, congressmen, judges, and governors of states, and one who has worthily filled the executive chair of the nation.

The youth of thirty years ago was taught continually that "the chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy him forever," but he could find in many a loft and attic the good broad-sword or clumsy musket which had been out in the "forty-five," and had again perhaps done yeoman service in the French and Indian wars, and in the war for American independence. He could find, too, quaint and curious volumes of Scottish romance and

poetry, history and fable, if he were only curious enough to pass by such entertaining books as *Baxter's Saints' Rest*, the *Westminster Catechism and Confession of Faith*, and *Rouse's Version of David's Psalms*, to reach the forbidden fruit from the higher shelves, or seek for it in the closets and chests of drawers to which they had been banished as too frivolous to be placed in the hands of the young, and too valuable, by reason of old associations, to be destroyed.

From these, and from the stories heard at the knee of some old mother in Israel, what wealth was opened to the eye and ear of the child as he listened with awe to tales of the Bruce and Wallace from one source, and startling tales of warlocks and witches from the other. Do you deem it strange that in all that community one rarely heard of a Burns, and had never listened to the sweet, rhythmic music of his songs?

If you do so think, reflect upon the character of that people, learn the history of their colony and its surroundings. Away back in the French and Indian wars, one Captain Laughlin Campbell had won such distinction as to gain for him the promise, so seldom fulfilled, of a reward from the Crown. It came to his descendants in the shape of a grant of wild lands in the wilderness through which their ancestor had marched and fought, and in 1765 another Campbell led a colony into those wilds, and named their settlement for their noble kinsman the Duke of Argyle. Others followed, but they were all of that stamp who knew not the gentle bard, the poet of the people, and had they known him, or of him, would have deemed him too frivolous to listen to, and his poems unfit to be placed for a moment beside the Psalms of David. Knowing this, it is easy to understand how it was that another generation had to grow up under the family roof, which looked with longing eyes through the mists of the Kirk toward old Scotland, and reached out its heart with loving tenderness as it listened with quickened ears to the notes of Scotia's sweetest bard.

It was from memories such as these that I was led to notice in some degree the influence of Scotsmen, with training in Scottish thought, Scottish faith, and years of Scottish inheritance, in molding the new nation into form and giving it character and tone for all time to come. It is doubtful whether any nationality has had so great an influence in forming, fostering, sustaining, and expanding the American Republic as has the "Canny Scot." Whether it be true or not, that when the north pole is reached a Scotchman will be found there "speerin what ye cam for," it is certain that you can hardly go so far back into the history of America that you will not find a Scotsman in the lead.

In 1609 when Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence and into the

great lake which bears his name, there was with him a man who won renown as a St. Lawrence pilot—"Abraham Martin, alias the Scot." He located at Quebec, reared a family there, and immortalized his Christian name by giving it to that famous battle-field made illustrious by Scotsmen—the Plains of Abraham. When, twenty years later, Champlain evacuated Fort St. Louis, surrendering to the squadron of Charles I., it was a Scot who succeeded to the government of Quebec Admiral Louis Kirke.

Five years before the second conquest of Canada, three Scotsmen were taken prisoners in the border wars and led captive to Quebec. They were Major Robert Stobo of the Virginia troops, Lieutenant Stevenson of Roger's Rangers, and a Leith carpenter named Clarke. Stobo became a general favorite and won the hearts of his foes and of the *belles dames* and *demoiselles*, so that he was *fêted* and feasted, and permitted to go in all directions in and about the settlement. These privileges he turned to good account, not only to successfully plan and carry out an escape for the trio, but for the final success of the British cause, for when the immortal Wolfe, himself of Scottish blood, led his army to victory upon the Plains of Abraham, it was Stobo who was at his side, the unerring guide who pointed out the place for landing, and led the way up the steep ascent to the rear of the castle walls. The commander-in-chief General Amherst was another Scot and instead of an army of Englishmen it was an army of Scotchmen who conquered New France and brought it under the dominion of the British Crown.

After each of the Scotch rebellions of 1685 and 1745, there was a hegira from the highlands to the new world of men seeking a place of refuge from the cruel punishments which the Crown began visiting upon its rebellious subjects. The headsman's block, the pauperizing of families by confiscation of property and burning of homes drove out thousands to find new homes where they might be free. The provinces of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia received most of the benefit of this invasion of a splendid stock of brave, hardy Protestants and rebels from the highlands of Scotland.

Great numbers of them were enrolled in the regiments known as the "Royal Americans" and the "Rangers," selected troops formed for service against the red savage then devastating the frontier and threatening the settlements. A more humane policy was adopted by the home government, and the highland rebels were enrolled in the service of the king and sent to America. They were led by such officers as Fraser of Lovat, the McPhersons, the Douglasses, and many others renowned in the annals of Scotland, and constituted the advance guard of civilization, the line of

defense against all outward foes, the living wall interposed between frontier cabins and the red-skinned hordes whose warfare was cruelty unrefined, and who were more merciless than the wild beasts of their own boundless forests. So when Wolfe had fallen on the Plains of Abraham, and his heroic spirit was winging its flight through the smoke of battle, amidst the shouts of victory, it was Fraser with his kilted Highlanders who received the second surrender of Quebec, the keys being delivered by a French-born Scotsman, Major de Ramezy, Lieutenant du Roy. This French-born Scot delivered the fortress to General James Murray, a Scotsman who became the first British governor of Canada.

The chain of forts established to protect the frontier from the head of Lake Champlain on the east, to the Mississippi on the west, Ticonderoga, William Henry, Du Quesne, Venango, Detroit, Mackinac, Chicago, and Fort Wayne, was manned by detachments of the Royal Americans, nearly every man of whom was a Scot. It was Colonel Hector Munro, with his Highlanders, who was defeated and his command so ruthlessly slaughtered at the head of the beautiful lake of the Sacrament, Lake George. It was Scotchmen under Scotch officers who banished themselves into the wilderness to give their bodies to the tomahawk, scalping knife and the tortures of the stake, protecting the home of the settler, while at the same time, by years of glorious devotion to the cause of country, leading a life of danger often ending in death by terrible sufferings in the slow tortures of the burning fagot, they blazed the pathway through these western wilds for the onward march of the grandest civilization the world has yet known, or human intelligence has dreamed of.

Let no American, much less Americans of Scottish blood, forget what we owe to that great regiment which stretched out its thin lines by the left flank for a thousand miles into the primeval wilds of a new continent, and dared the dangers, privations and sufferings of the most inhuman warfare the world's history has recorded, to create and defend the highway for the onward, westward march of American civilization; and General Forbes, a Scot, had the fortune to wrest from the French the key to the western gateway, Fort Du Quesne.

When the time came to question the right of opposition to the encroachments of the king upon the rights of the colonist, who can estimate the influence of the survivors of the Scottish rebellion and their sons, in forming the sentiment of patriotism which was to cause the shadow of the Crown to disappear from our shores?

The rebel and the Protestant, not far from synonymous terms, were able to pour their rebellious thoughts and protesting ideas into willing ears,

and they contributed much to the molding of the sentiment which began by defying kings, and ended by making a free Republic where every man should be a sovereign.

Patrick Henry of Virginia, son of a Scotsman, struck the keynote of revolution and independence when he loudly and boldly proclaimed that "Resistance to Tyrants is Obedience to God," and he more than any other led the way to national independence. The fires of patriotism burned brightest and with the most enduring flame where the fugitive rebels of 1745 had found new homes, and the history of the revolutionary period, and its muster rolls, teem with names of Scots who became the patriots, statesmen, and heroes of the new-born nation. In the battles which made this the home of liberty, none were fought in which Scotsmen did not bear a part, and a noble, conspicuous part; and were their names erased, meagre indeed would be the list of heroes.

While the war cloud overhung the land, and the savage allies of the British king were holding carnival in deeds of bloody cruelty, one of the most pathetic tragedies occurred in the Scottish community first mentioned. To the east of Argyle was the colony of New Perth. Le Loup, a savage chief in the employ of Burgoyne, commenced here a murderous foray, marking out a bloody trail of some twenty miles through Argyle to Fort Edward, leaving in his path dead bodies of the unsuspecting settlers, sparing from the scalping knife neither age nor sex, and burning the lately peaceful homes as he passed. Many a Scotch family on that dreadful route was obliterated, and many a wail for dear ones ruthlessly murdered long went up to heaven from those beautiful vales. To this same band reeking with the blood and decked with the scalps of her kin, was strangely committed the custody of that unfortunate maiden, whose sad death has been the theme of history, romance and song for more than a century, the sweet-faced, black-haired Scotch lassie, who fell under the tomahawk of her guides while on her way to her lover's arms—poor, hapless, helpless Jane McCrea.

And, while the battles of the Revolution were being fought in the east, a band of heroes, or rather several of them, guarded the rear doors of the nation against the treachery of savage foes, who were inspired to war against us by the British in the north and the Spaniard in the south.

It was a Scot, General Lachlin McIntosh, who was in command of the western department in 1778, and made the unsuccessful attempt to seize Detroit. In 1780 another Scot, General William Irvine, took command, and nobly filled the station. His second in command was Colonel John

Gibson, and with him we find such familiar names as Hays, Carmichael, Marshal, and Campbell. It was another Scot, Colonel William Crawford, whom Irvine sent to lead the unfortunate expedition against Sandusky in 1782. His field officers had three Scots in their number, Majors David Williamson, Thomas Gaddis, and John McClelland. It was Crawford's fate, great-souled man and brave soldier as he was, to meet a terrible defeat, to see his gallant command almost annihilated, and himself made a captive, reserved for a more horrible fate than had befallen those who had the good fortune to fall in the midst of the fray. His savage captors doomed him to the stake, and for twelve long hours, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, he walked upon live coals in the midst of burning fagots the little circle his thongs permitted, enduring tortures unspeakable, until kind death came to end his sufferings.

It was another Scot, the brave but unfortunate St. Clair, who led a brave army into the western wilderness and to its doom, in a further attempt to redeem the northwest from savage dominion; and another, George Rogers Clark, who taught the savage to fear and respect our arms, and led the way for his final subjection. It was still another, the trusted friend and confidant of Washington, General James Robertson, who led a colony a thousand miles into the wilderness to found Nashville, and laid the foundation as well for a southwestern empire—a man whose cool courage and unexampled wisdom led the colony safely through twenty years of savage warfare inspired by Spanish intrigue, until at last, the nation at peace, but while he was still engaged in its service, though enfeebled by age and wounds received in Indian warfare, his heroic soul departed, leaving a name honored and revered by posterity and a grateful country.

Very many of the names appended to the immortal declaration of independence are names of Scotia's sons. The last royal governor of the province of New York was General James Robertson, born in Fifeshire, and his departure was the dawn of peace and freedom to the land. The first secretary of war of the new republic was General Henry Knox; the first secretary of the treasury was that unrivalled financier of his day, Alexander Hamilton; the second secretary of state was Edmund Randolph; the first secretary of the navy Benjamin Stoddert, and the first secretary of the interior Thomas Ewing—Scotsmen all or the descendants of Scots.

If you scan the lists of cabinet officers from that day down, you will find half at least were possessors of Scottish names. The great chief-justice, not the first, but he who by his judicial decisions did more than any other to crystallize and make permanent what our Revolutionary

heroes fought for, national unity in the bonds of constitutional government, was John Marshall, the descendant of a Scotch emigrant.

Who fails to recognize as of true Scot's blood among our Presidents, those who bear the names of Adams, Monroe, Tyler, Jackson, Taylor, Buchanan, Grant, Johnson, Hayes, and Arthur?

Among the statesmen of the day, who so dull as not to recognize in those names, and the names of Calhoun, Randolph, Webster and a host of others, the names familiar to every part of Scotland, and on every page of its history? It was General Winfield Scott, a worthy descendant of border heroes, who won laurels in three American wars, and died covered with honors, and loved by his countrymen. Can we mistake the origin of such names as our late civil war has made household words, and inscribed in letters of gold in the pages of history, both north and south—names of Grant, McClellan, McDowell, McPherson, Burnside, Logan, Johnston, Jackson, Gordon, Breckenridge and many others?

Instances might be multiplied, but to what end? It is in no spirit of boasting or self-laudation that every Scot must feel proud of what his race has done for America. But to every true Scotchman who now finds his home in this magnificent country his forerunners and kinsmen helped to carve out of a wilderness almost impenetrable, it should be an incentive to loyalty, to patriotism, to all that is good and great in what goes to make up national life and honor, to remember that those compatriots, whether in civil or military life, whether called to a public career or quietly pursuing humbler avocations, have added lustre to the pages of history, laurels to the republic as well to the chaplet which graces dear old Scotland, mother of heroes, statesmen, philosophers, and ambassadors of Heaven, who have faithfully served God and man in every clime and every nation which meets and greets the circling sun.

P. S. Robertson,

ARNOLD'S RESIDENCE IN PHILADELPHIA

[In 1778 Benedict Arnold commanded in Philadelphia, residing a portion of the time in a beautiful mansion situated on the banks of the Schuylkill, built in 1761, and owned by Mr. John MacPherson. He married the beautiful daughter of Judge Shippen, of Philadelphia. In 1779 the mansion became the property of Arnold through conveyance from MacPherson. Subsequently, after Arnold's treason, the property was confiscated by the government.]

More than a hundred years ago,
Here, in this mansion stately, still,
Dwelt one of proud, yet jealous will,
In whom a trust was placed, but, lo!
Who yet that mighty trust betrayed!
A lonely spot—this mansion old,
These grounds, where once with step so bold
He paced in odd, lone hours, and laid
His plans for future glory, and
So little dreaming what the years
Would bring to him in woe and tears,
His name a scorn in every land.
Hard by, the Schuylkill's waters lave
The beauteous shore where, oft, he stood
With beating heart and mused. Ah! would
This man had but been strong to save
Himself when tempted; strong, indeed;
Ay, strong as excellence is strong.
But no; like one of old whose wrong
Will ever live, he would not heed
The voice of conscience, and he fell!
The whole world knows the story well;
While round this place, part of his fame,
The soft air whispers Arnold's name.

Geo. Newell Longfellow

JOHN BADOLLET, 1758-1837

ALBERT GALLATIN'S EARLY INTIMATE FRIEND

It is not simply his unique position that gives importance to this pioneer in the state of Indiana. It is rather because the fact makes him of necessity the founder of government and the social order of things, and develops in him that which might, with another environment, have lain dormant or whose existence he himself might not even have suspected. Yet the very fact of ceasing to lead a vegetative existence in a long-established community, and of striking boldly into a new and untried country, is evidence of strong character. John Badollet was, in no respect, a brilliant man. Yet he displayed a firm, quiet individuality, and in an unostentatious manner became one of the important factors in the founding of the commonwealth. Indiana history with his name left out would be incomplete. He was one of the charter members of the board of trustees for the Vincennes university. For years he was one of its most earnest supporters, serving on important committees—that on rules, on locating of the lands, and many others; almost every page of the records shows his intelligent progressive interest in the establishing of the institution. It is said that his personal influence with the secretary of the treasury of the United States was employed in securing the grant of the township of land. His family is an ancient one. I have seen the genealogy reaching back to 1555, when the Savoyard Jacques Badollet became a citizen of Geneva. Thence tracing forward, through Guillaume, four Pierres, to François who married N. Vivier in 1755; they were the parents of Jean Louis Badollet, the subject for our sketch, born in 1758. These generations furnished three or four members of the great council and other state officers, and among them were several scholars of considerable reputation. It would appear that they were Protestants, and that John Badollet was sent to college and educated for a Lutheran clergyman.

John seems not to have taken kindly to the theological idea, for we find him leaving for America at the early age of twenty, and long after, in his old age, he had the reputation of being extremely liberal in his religious beliefs. We might well expect advanced political, educational, and religious beliefs from one who lived under the influences of the age which produced a Rousseau. The story has been handed down in the family

that he and Albert Gallatin were fast friends while yet in Geneva, and that not having money enough for both to come to America they combined purses, Gallatin coming in 1776 and sending back money for Badollet who came the next year. About the year 1787 Mr. Badollet married Margaret Hanna, a woman of particularly sweet disposition, and settled in northwestern Pennsylvania, at a little place called Geneva, where he continued to live for several years, possibly till his removal to Vincennes in 1804. In Pennsylvania all his children were born, and here continued except for a short time that strong friendship for Gallatin, who, meanwhile, had risen to great political prominence. Badollet's sympathies and support were with the whiskey insurrectionists. To one filled with the popular idea of personal liberty of the day, this would be the natural course under the circumstances. It is more than probable that Mr. Jefferson's appointment of Badollet as register of the land office at Vincennes was due to the personal favor of his old friend Gallatin. It is to the credit of Badollet, as well as of the Presidents who succeeded, that he held the office uninterruptedly for thirty-two years, until 1836, his eldest son, Albert, succeeding him. It was in the year of his appointment, 1804, that he took up his residence in Vincennes, where he continued to reside until his death in 1837. In all public enterprises he was active. He was one of the founders of the Vincennes library association in 1806 as well as of the university in 1806. By will he left his French books to the Vincennes library, now the property of the university. He was a warm personal friend of Harrison until the slavery question caused a difference, which cooled their friendship. A lasting friendship existed between himself and Francis Vigo also. Two things give him especial prominence in the early history of the state, the one his work in the constitutional convention of 1816, the other his part in the preparation of the law for the school system. His family have the legend of his having penned important parts of the constitution of 1816. It is certain that he was a member of three important committees in the constitutional convention, viz.: the committee on bill of rights and preamble, the one on education, and that on general revision. It is to his part on this latter committee that some of his most important work is assigned. The Knox delegation was the strongest, and John Badollet was one of its strong members. As to the other matter which reflects high honor upon his name I quote from Dillon: "By a joint resolution of the general assembly of January 9th, 1821, John Badollet and David Hart of Knox county, Wm. Martin of Washington county, James Welsh of Switzerland, Daniel Caswell of Franklin, Thos. Searle of Jefferson, and John Todd of Clark county were appointed a committee to draft

and report to the next legislature of Indiana a bill providing a general system of education. . . . The labors of the committee, thus appointed . . . were incorporated in the first general school law of Indiana." Any one who is familiar with Badollet's character and ideas would know that he was one of the most important elements of the committee. The library, the university, the state constitution, and the state school system—was it not a matter of high honor to have been instrumental in the founding of each? His name will always be an important one in Indiana and Vincennes history. He died at the ripe age of seventy-nine. He had five children, all of whom survived him: Albert, Frances Gilham, James, Sarah Caldwell, and Algernon Sidney. Among his children and grandchildren have been several graduates of West Point.

In personal appearance Mr. Badollet was rather short and somewhat stout. When sitting one would think him a tall man, but when standing he was below the average in stature. His complexion was light rather than dark. He was very careful of his personal appearance, and is said by those who knew him to have been a polished gentleman. He was quite eccentric, especially in later life. It was his especial direction in his will that no funeral notices should be printed at his death, that his coffin should be of stained poplar, and he specified also that nothing should be placed on his tombstone except the simple words, "John Badollet."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "E. A. Bryan". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the main text block.

VINCENNES UNIVERSITY, VINCENNES, INDIANA.

PATRICK HENRY AND JOHN ADAMS ON
GOVERNMENT MAKING

CORRESPONDENCE IN MAY AND JUNE, 1776

Patrick Henry to John Adams

“ WILLIAMSBURG, 20th May, 1776

My dear sir:

Your favor with the pamphlet came safe to hand. I am exceedingly obliged to you for it; and I am not without hopes it may produce good here, where there is among most of our opulent families a strong bias to aristocracy. I tell my friends you are the author. Upon that supposition, I have two reasons for liking the book. The sentiments are precisely the same I have long since taken up, and come recommended by you. Go on, my dear friend, to assail the strongholds of tyranny; and in whatever form oppression may be found, may those talents and that firmness which have achieved so much for America be pointed against it.

Before this reaches you, the resolution for finally separating from Britain will be handed to Congress by Colonel Nelson. I put up with it in the present form for the sake of unanimity. 'Tis not quite so pointed as I could wish. Excuse me for telling you of what I think of immense importance; 'tis to anticipate the enemy at the French Court. The half of our continent offered to France may induce her to aid our destruction, which she certainly has the power to accomplish. I know the free trade with all the states would be more beneficial to her than any territorial possessions she might acquire. But pressed, allured, as she will be—but, above all, ignorant of the great things we mean to offer, may we not lose her? The consequence is dreadful. Excuse me again. The confederacy; that must precede an open declaration of independency and foreign alliances. Would it not be sufficient to confine it, for the present, to the objects of offensive and defensive natures, and a guaranty of the respective colonial rights? If a minute arrangement of things is attempted, such as equal representation, etc., etc., you may split and divide; certainly will delay the French alliance, which with me is everything. The great force in San Domingo, Martinique, etc., is under the guidance of some person in high office. Will not the Mississippi lead your ambassadors thither most safely?

Our convention is now employed in the great work of forming a constitution. My most esteemed republican poem has many and powerful enemies. A silly thing, published in Philadelphia, by a native of Virginia, has just made its appearance here, strongly represented, 'tis said, by one of our delegates now with you—Braxton. His reasonings upon and distinction between private and public virtue, are weak, shallow and evasive, and the whole performance an affront and disgrace to this country; and, by one expression, I suspect his whiggism. Our session will be very long, during which I cannot count upon one coadjutor of talents equal to the task. Would to God you and your Sam Adams were here! It shall be my incessant study, so to form our portrait of government, that a kindred with New England may be discerned in it, and if all your excellencies cannot be preserved, yet I hope to retain so much of the likeness, that posterity shall pronounce us descended from the same stock. I shall think perfection is obtained if we have your approbation. I am forced to conclude; but first let me beg to be presented to my ever-esteemed S. Adams. Adieu, my dear sir; may God preserve you, and give you every good thing.

P. HENRY, Jr.

To John Adams, Esq.

P. S.—Will you and S. A. now and then write?"

John Adams to Patrick Henry

"PHILADELPHIA, June 3, 1776

My dear sir:

I had this morning the pleasure of yours of 20, May. The little pamphlet you mention is *nullius filius*; and if I should be obliged to maintain it, the world will not expect that I should own it. My motive for inclosing it to you, was not the value for the present, but as a token of friendship, and more for the sake of inviting your attention to the subject than because there was anything in it worthy your perusal. The subject is of infinite moment, and perhaps more than adequate to the abilities of any man in America. I know of none so competent to the task as the author of the first Virginia resolutions against the Stamp Act, who will have the glory with posterity of beginning and concluding this great revolution. Happy Virginia, whose constitution is to be framed by so masterly a builder! Whether the plan of the pamphlet is not too popular, whether the elections are not too frequent for your colony, I know not. The usages, the genius and manners of the people must be consulted. And if annual elections of the representatives of the people

are sacredly preserved, those elections by ballot, and none permitted to be chosen but inhabitants, residents as well as qualified freeholders of the city, county, parish, town or borough for which they are to serve—three essential prerequisites of a free government—the council, or middle branch of legislation may be triennial, or even septennial, without much inconvenience. I esteem it an honor and a happiness, that my opinion so often coincides with yours. It has ever appeared to me that the natural course and order of things was this: for every colony to institute a government; for all the colonies to confederate, and define the limits of the continental constitution; then to declare the colonies a sovereign state, or a number of confederated sovereign states; and last of all, to form treaties with foreign powers. But I fear we cannot proceed systematically, and that we shall be obliged to declare ourselves independent states, before we confederate, and indeed before all the colonies have established their governments.

It is now pretty clear that all these measures will follow one another in a rapid succession, and it may not perhaps be of much importance which is done first. The importance of an immediate application to the French Court was clear; and I am very much obliged to you for your hint of the route by the Mississippi. Your intimation that the session of your representative body would be long, gave me great pleasure, because we all look to Virginia for examples; and in present perplexities, dangers and distresses of our country, it is necessary that the supreme councils of the colonies should be almost constantly sitting. Some colonies are not sensible of this; and they will certainly suffer for their indiscretion. Events of such magnitude as those which present themselves now in such quick succession require constant attention and mature deliberation. The little pamphlet you mention, which was published here as an antidote to the *Thoughts on Government*, and which is whispered to have been the joint production of one native of Virginia and two natives of New York, I know not how truly, will make no fortune in the world. It is too absurd to be considered twice; it is contrived to involve a colony in eternal war.

The dons, the bashaws, the grandees, the patricians, the sachems, the nabobs, call them by what name you please, sigh, and groan, and fret, and sometimes stamp, and foam, and curse, but all in vain. The decree is gone forth, and it cannot be recalled, that a more equal liberty than has prevailed in other parts of the earth must be established in America. That exuberance of pride which has produced an insolent domination in a few, a very few opulent, monopolizing families will be brought down nearer to the confines of reason and moderation, than they have been used to. This

is all the evil which they themselves will endure. It will do them good in this world and in any other. For pride was not made for man, only as a tormentor.

I shall ever be happy in receiving your advice by letter, until I can be more completely so in seeing you here in person, which I hope will be soon.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS

To Patrick Henry, Esq."

Patrick Henry to Richard Henry Lee

" WILLIAMSBURG, May 20, 1776

Dear sir:

Your two last favors are with me ; and for them both, I give you many thanks. Ere this reaches you, our resolution for separating from Britain will be handed you by Colonel Nelson. Your sentiments as to the necessary progress of this great affair correspond with mine. For may not France, ignorant of the great advantages to her commerce we intend to offer, and of the permanency of that separation which is to take place, be allured by the partition you mention ? To anticipate therefore the efforts of the enemy by sending instantly American ambassadors to France seems to me absolutely necessary. Delay may bring on us total ruin. But is not a confederacy of our states previously necessary ? If that could be formed, and its object for the present be only offensive and defensive, and guaranty respecting colonial rights, perhaps dispatch might be had, and the adjustment of representation and other lesser matters, be postponed without injury. May not the fishery be a tempting object ? I think from the great French force now in the West Indies some person of eminent rank must be there to guide it. The Mississippi should be tho't of. I thank you for the hint of the back lands. I gave an opinion, as a lawyer, to Brent, on the subject of his and Croghan's purchase, and notwithstanding solicitations from every great land company to the West, I've refused to join them. I think a general confiscation of royal and British property should be made ; the fruits would be great, and the measure in its utmost latitude warranted by the late act of parliament.

The grand work of now forming a constitution for Virginia is now before the convention, where your love of equal liberty and your skill in public counsels might so eminently serve the cause of your country. Perhaps I am mistaken, but I fear too great a bias to aristocracy prevails among the opulent. I own myself a democrat on the plan of our admired friend John Adams, whose pamphlet I read with great pleasure.

A performance from Philadelphia is just come here, ushered in, I'm told, by a colleague of yours, B——, and greatly recommended by him. I don't like it. Is the author a whig? One or two expressions in the book make me ask. I wish to divide you, and have you here, to animate by your manly eloquence the sometimes drooping spirits of our country, and in congress, to be the ornament of your native country and the vigilant, determined foe of tyranny.

To give you colleagues of kindred sentiments is my wish. I doubt you have them not at present. A confidential account of the matter to Colonel Tom, desiring him to use it according to his discretion, might greatly serve the public, and vindicate Virginia from suspicions. Vigor, animation, and all the powers of mind and body must now be summoned and collected together into one grand effort. Moderation, falsely so called, hath nearly brought on us final ruin. And to see those who have so fatally advised us, still guiding or at least sharing our public counsels, alarms me.

Adieu, my dear sir; present me to my much esteemed F. L. L. and believe me

Your very affec. and obliged,

P. HENRY, Jr.

Pray drop me a line now and then.

To Col. R. H. Lee.

P. S.—Our mutual friend the general will be hampered if—not taken. Some gentry throw out alarms that a cong—power has swallowed up everything. My all to—I know how to feel for him."

Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry,
by Hon. William Wirt Henry.

MINOR TOPICS

COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON

"Huntington is an old name which is said to have reached England with the Normans in the eleventh century," writes Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft in his new volume of *Chronicles of the Builders* (Vol. V.), "and among the noted men of this stock in America was Samuel Huntington, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, president of the continental congress, and chief-justice of Connecticut. Ebenezer Huntington was a lieutenant-colonel in the revolutionary war, and in 1799, when the French war threatened, was, on the recommendation of Washington, appointed brigadier-general. To the same stock belongs the Right Reverend Frederick D. Huntington, bishop of New York, also Daniel Huntington, the distinguished painter, president of the national Academy of Design. The Huntington family first emigrated to America early in the seventeenth century. William Huntington, the father of Collis P. Huntington, was of large frame, standing six feet two inches in his stockings. A man of severe character, his puritanism expressed itself in an austere virtue based upon radical convictions of right and wrong. He was a marked personage of singular and powerful individuality. Among the sage maxims through which he expressed his knowledge of men and business was this: 'Do not be afraid to do business with a rascal—only watch him; but avoid a fool, for you can never make anything out of him.'

Collis P. Huntington, born October 22, 1821, was the fifth of nine children, and industry was the motto of the household. That of his native town was a hard-working community. Labor was the criterion of respectability. Children who were too young to bring in wood brought in chips. This story is told of Collis: When he had attained his ninth year, being employed by a neighbor to pile up in a woodshed a quantity of wood, he did it neatly, and then with that liking for good work which has since distinguished his railroad constructions, he picked up all the chips in the woodyard and put them into barrels. His employer was so well pleased that when he gave him his dollar—the first the boy had ever earned—he patted him on the head and said, 'You have done this so well I shall be glad to have you pile up my wood again next fall.' He who told the story as being within his own remembrance added, 'and Collis was much delighted with the praise and with the dollar, but he said to me with a bright laugh, "You don't suppose I am going to pile wood for a living the rest of my life, do you?"'

When he was fourteen years of age his school life ended, and his father consented that he should be his own master on condition that he should thenceforth support himself. That year Collis worked for a neighbor for seven dollars a month

and board. He saved all he earned—eighty-four dollars. When a friend remarked to him, 'Why, that is all the money you received for the whole year's work!' 'Exactly,' he replied, 'that's the reason I did not save any more.'" Mr. Bancroft traces Mr. Huntington's history from the time of his departure from Connecticut until he reached California: a history which furnishes many practical and valuable lessons for young men. In whatever undertaking, he vigorously worked with a will. In his wanderings from place to place he studied the country, becoming familiar with its outlines, capes, headlands, rivers, and other physical features; and with a retentive memory mastered the geographical relations of trade between the different parts of the nation. This knowledge became of immense use to him when he had reached the Pacific coast and turned his attention to the importance of transportation facilities as a factor in business undertakings. When the question of building a railroad across the continent was first agitated, there were many men, even in the congress of 1842-43, who opposed the project and ridiculed the idea that steam could ever be employed to facilitate communication across the continent, and it was ten years later before congress made the necessary appropriation for surveys, and twenty years before the Central Pacific Railroad Company entered into a contract with the government to construct a railroad and telegraph line from the Pacific coast, at or near San Francisco or the navigable waters of the Sacramento river, to the eastern boundary of California, having the right to build eastward until it met the Union Pacific—the Union Pacific having the right to build westward until it met the Central Pacific.

It was difficult to convince the public of that period that the government had an empire of vast magnitude lying west, between the waters of the Missouri and the Pacific ocean, and that there was an immense field of waste land which would never be worth a cent without a railroad. A senator from Missouri in 1878 said, "I look upon the building of the railroad from the waters of the Missouri to the Pacific ocean, at the time particularly in which it was built, during the war, as perhaps the greatest achievement of the human race."

Mr. Bancroft chronicles the series of efforts and obstructions which characterized the scheme in its progress, and places them upon permanent record. He says: "The names of Huntington, Hopkins, Crocker, Miller, and Stanford form an integral part of the history of the great advance in civilization and enlightenment which has produced the California of to-day. As the financial agent, by whose finesse, address, and skill the funds necessary for the prosecution of the work must be obtained, and as purchasing agent, who must procure and ship everything used in the construction and equipment of the road, Mr. Huntington confronted difficulties compared with which the mere mechanical feat of removing earth, constructing bridges, and drilling tunnels sinks into insignificance. The masterly manner in which the problems committed to him were solved entitles him to the foremost rank among those by whom has been accomplished the greatest financial and engineering feat in an age which surpasses all others in such achievements."

THE HISTORICAL PETITION AND ITS FATE.

A passage in Mrs. Davis' recently published book recalls to me a little war incident, which came under my knowledge and which has never been in print.

The tidings of the capture of Jefferson Davis struck the south with consternation. Every one felt that, though there might be still some show of resistance, the defeat at Appomattox practically closed the war. But that the president of the confederacy should be a prisoner in the hands of the victors was a doubly bitter pill. Then came stories of the inhumanity with which he was treated at Fortress Monroe, stories which were utterly unfounded, but nevertheless were implicitly believed through the south. So the Maryland women, as closest to the scene of action, drafted a petition to the President at Washington, for the release of Mr. Davis, which was signed by fifteen thousand of them. A deputation from Baltimore with Mrs. Chapman Coleman, a well-known society leader, at their head, was appointed to present the petition. Mrs. Coleman was not a native Marylander, but a Kentuckian, and it was objected to by some that she should represent the women of Maryland; but she was the daughter of the distinguished senator, John J. Crittenden, and it was thought the effect of his influence might be of service in favoring the cause.

When the delegation reached Washington, they accidentally met General T. L. Crittenden, one of the corps commanders in the federal army. His quarters were at the National Hotel, and as accommodations were very difficult to obtain in those crowded days, he offered them the freedom of his rooms. But on hearing their errand, he told them that it was quite useless to hope for an audience, for he had been waiting there two weeks, and had never been able to see the President.

However, after rest and refreshment, they did go on their mission to the White House, and sending in their cards were admitted in a very short time, although the ante-chamber was full of applicants, some of whom had been waiting there since daybreak. Courteously, Mr. Johnson received them, listened to the address Mrs. Coleman had prepared, and read the petition; then he replied: "I have not the least ill will towards Mr. Davis, ladies, I assure you, and personally I should not mind his being released, but believe me it would be no act of kindness to him. There are those who would pursue him to the bitter end, and his life would be in danger on every side. The government has no animosity to your president, but, take my word for it, he is safer where he is, for the present at least."

Convinced, in spite of themselves, that what he said was true, and satisfied at least with the courtesy they had received, they took their leave. Returning to the hotel, they found General Crittenden waiting for them and curious to know if they had succeeded in obtaining an audience. When he heard the result of their mission, his amazement was beyond bounds. "Well," he said, "this is too much; here I have been for two weeks trying to see the President. I want an order of admission to see Mr. Davis myself, we were old comrades in Mexico, and I have never even

been able to get a chance to ask for it, and here you go and get admitted at once. I verily believe the government will be turned over to the women yet."

LEIGH YOUNG

DANVILLE, KY.

CANADA, FROM A EUROPEAN POINT OF VIEW IN 1761

EXTRACT FROM THE "UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE," OF FEBRUARY, 1761

Canada, a colony in North America, belonged to the French before the present war. It is reported, in order to account for the etymology of the word 'Canada,' that the Spaniards had, long before the French, visited this coast ; but, finding no signs of any minerals, they were in a hurry to go off again, crying out in their language, 'Aca Nada !' that is, 'There is nothing here ;' meaning the country was good for nothing ; which words the Indians retained, and, when the French came ashore, cried out, 'Aca Nada ! Aca Nada !' which they took for the name of the country ; so that it has been called Canada ever since.

Geographers are not agreed in fixing the limits of this large country. It will be sufficient to say, that, as its extent is very considerable, both in length and breadth, its temperature, climate, soil, &c., cannot but vary accordingly : All that part which was inhabited by the French, and which is mostly along the banks of the great river St. Laurence, is, generally speaking, excessive cold in winter, though hot in summer, as most of those American tracts commonly are, which do not lie too far to the northward. The rest of the country, as far as it is known, is intersected with large woods, lakes, and rivers, which render it still colder. It has, however, no inconsiderable quantity of good fertile lands, which by experience are found capable of producing wheat, barley, rye, and other grain, grapes, and fruit, and, indeed, almost every thing that grows in France ; but its chief product is tobacco, which it yields in large quantities.

There is likewise plenty of stags, elks, bears, foxes, martins, wild cats, and other wild creatures in the woods, besides wild fowl and other game. The southern parts, in particular, breed great numbers of wild bulls, deer of a small size, divers sorts of roe-bucks, goats, wolves, &c.

The meadow-grounds, which are all well watered, yield excellent grass, and breed great quantities of large and small cattle ; and, where the arable land is well manured, it produces large and rich crops. The mountains abound with coal mines, and some, we are told, of silver and other metals, though we have not learned that any great advantage has been made of them. The marshy grounds, which are likewise very extensive, swarm with otters, beavers, &c.

The lakes are both large and numerous ; the principal of which are those of Erie, Michigan, Huron, Superior, Frontenac or Ontario, Temiscaming, besides others of a smaller size ; but the largest of them is that which they name Superior,

or Upper Lake ; which is situated the farthest north, and is reckoned above one hundred leagues in length, and about seventy where broadest, and hath several considerable islands on it ; the chief whereof are the Royal Isle, Pont Chartrain, Maurepas, St. Ann, St. Ignatius, Hocquart, Minong, and a number of smaller ones.

The whole country abounds with very large rivers, which it is endless to enter **into a detail of ; the two principal are those of St. Laurence and the Mississippi ;** the former of which abounds with no less variety than plenty of fine fish, and receives several considerable rivers in its course. The entrance into the bay of St. Laurence lies between the cape de Retz, on the isle of Newfoundland, and the north cape in that called the Royal Island, or more commonly Cape Breton. That of the Mississippi, which runs through the greatest part of the province of Louisiana, from north to south, is called by the French the river of St. Louis, and by the natives Mischisipi, Mississipi, and Meschagamisii, on account of the vast tract of ground which it overflows at certain seasons ; and by the Spaniards also called la Palissada, from the prodigious quantities of timber which they send down upon it in floats to the sea. It is navigable above four hundred and fifty leagues up from its mouth. The spring head of this river is not yet satisfactorily known ; but it is certain that it discharges itself into the gulph of Mexico by two branches, which form an island of considerable length.

Canada, in its largest sense, is divided into eastern and western, the former of which is commonly known by the name of Canada, or New France, and the latter, which is of much later discovery, Louisiana, in honour of the late Louis XIV. The eastern Canada contains the following provinces, viz. Canada, properly so called ; 2. Sanguenay ; 3. Acadia ; 4. Atrurumbeg ; 5. New England ; 6. New Holland ; 7. New Sweden ; the five last of which have been dismembered from it some time since ; so that there are but two provinces in this eastern Canada that belonged to the French before the present war, viz. Canada proper and Sanguenay.

The former of these, including all to the north and west of the great river and lakes, contained formerly twenty-eight tribes, but at present is divided into the thirteen following provinces, most of them named from their capital towns or forts, viz. 1. Gaspe ; 2. St. Jean isle ; 3. Miscon isle ; 4. Richelieu ; 5. Les Trois Rivières, or the Three Rivers ; 6. Montreal isle ; 7. Fort Frontenac ; 8. De Conti ; 9. St. François ; 10. Notre Dame Des Anges ; 11. St. Alexis ; 12. St. Michael ; 13. St. Joseph.

Canada proper is by far the most considerable province of all New France, the farther subdued, the best peopled, and the best cultivated. It has on the north the Terra de Labrador, Hudson's bay, and New Wales ; on the east the great river Sanguenay divides it from the province of that name ; on the south the great province of Louisiana, and the Iroquois and Etechemins ; as to the northern boundaries, they are not known, and must be left to time to discover. This province is allowed to have greater plenty of beavers, and larger and finer than any other that are bred throughout Canada. These, as well as the castors, are very much valued,

not only for their furs, but the latter for its testicles, which have been from long experience found to be an efficacious remedy against several diseases, especially those of the hysteric kind ; and accordingly the natives carry on a large commerce of both. The rivers of Canada abound with variety of fish, especially carp of a prodigious size, and white porpoises as large as oxen, besides great numbers of crocodiles, and other amphibious creatures.

This colony, before the present war, was said by some to be inhabited by eighty thousand French, who lived in plenty and tranquillity : They were free from all taxes, and had full liberty to hunt, fish, fell timber for fuel or building, and to sow and plant as much land as they could cultivate. Their greatest hardship was the winter cold, which is there so excessive, from December till April, that the greatest rivers freeze over, and the snow lies commonly two or three feet deep on the ground, though this part lies no farther north than forty to forty-eight degrees of latitude.

Trois Rivières, or the Three Rivers, so called from the three rivers which join their currents about a quarter of a mile below it, and fall into the great one of St. Laurence, was the capital of the French government in New France, and much resorted to by several nations, which come down these rivers to it, and trade with it in various kinds of furs. The town here is surrounded with pallsades, and advantageously situated in the center of the country, and consequently free from the incursions of the savage Iroquois. It was the residence of the Governor, who kept a Major under him, and it has a monastery of Recollects, who act as Curates. It was formerly the common empory, where the wild natives brought their furs, and other commodities, for sale, before the English seized it, and their settlement at Montreal. The colony was again restored in 1635, and the Monks who had settled a mission there returned to it in 1673. The country about it is pleasant, and fertile in corn, fruits, &c., and has a good number of lordships and handsome seats. On each side of the river stands a vast number of genteel houses, scarce above a gun-shot from each other, and the river is full of pleasure and fishing boats, which serve for catching vast quantities of fish.

Montreal is situated on an island of the same name, in the river of St. Laurence, about fourteen leagues long, and four wide where broadest, and is very fertile in corn, fruits, &c. This town carried on a prodigious trade with the natives, whose Chiefs went first to pay their duty to the Governor, and make him some presents, in order to prevent the prices of goods, which they came for, being raised to an exorbitant height. This concourse began about June, and some of them came hither from places distant above five hundred leagues ; the fair was kept along the banks of the river, where these natives exchanged their commodities with the French ; and centinels were placed at proper distances, to prevent the disorders, which might otherwise happen from such vast crouds of different nations. This concourse lasted for near three months. The natives brought thither all sorts of furs, which they bartered for guns, powder, ball, great-coats, and other garments

of the French manufacture ; iron and brass work, and trinkets of all sorts.— See a more ample description of Montreal, and the trade carried on there, as referred to in the title.

Sanguenay, a province in the eastern Canada, is divided on the west, from that properly so called, by the river of its name. It has on the north-east the nation called Kilestinaos, or Crestinaux ; on the north-west that of the Esquimaux ; on the south-east it is bounded by the river St. Laurence, and on the south-west by that of Sanguenay, at the mouth of which is the town of Three Rivers, before mentioned. Its extent is computed from this town, which is the frontier of Canada proper, quite to the farther end of the bay called the Seven Isles. The territory and lands on each side of the river were found so indifferent, that the colony which settled at Tadoussac suffered so much there, that it quite discouraged the French, for a long time, from settling ; but at length, upon their sailing up as high as Quebec, they found such encouragement as was sufficiently productive of their prosperity there. The river of Sanguenay springs from the lake of St. John, and falls into that of St. Laurence, at the town of Tadoussac. The haven is capable of containing 25 men of war, and has a good anchorage and shelter from storms, it being of a round figure and deep, and surrounded at a distance with very high rocks. This province is much the same, as to its soil, climate, and inhabitants, with that of Canada proper. It is remarkable, indeed, for an extraordinary plenty of marble of several kinds, insomuch that not only the principal towns, forts, churches, and palaces, but even the houses of private men, are built of it.

Quebec is the capital of this province ; and the other principal places are, Sillery, Tadoussac, Port neuf, Beau-port, St. Ann, Chicheque de Port, St. Nicholas, Port Castier, and Necouba. Quebec, the metropolis of all Canada, and an episcopal see, is in the latitude of 46. 53, and west longitude 70. 40 : It is situated on the confluence of the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles, or the little river, and on the north side of the former, and about one hundred and forty leagues from the sea. The haven is large, and capable of containing at least 100 ships of the line ; and the great river whereon it stands, though about four leagues wide, here contracts itself at once to the breadth of about a mile ; and it is on that account that the name of Quebec was given, which, in the Algonkine Indian language, it seems, signifies a shrinking, or growing narrower, which is a natural etymology enough of the name.

The Esquimaux, or Eskimaux, are one of the fiercest and hitherto unpolished people in all North America. They are seated on the most eastern verge of it, beyond the river of St. Laurence, and spread themselves up north and east, into the large tract of land called Terra de Labrador, opposite Newfoundland, from 51 to 53 degrees of north latitude, and from 52 to 63, or more, of west longitude. Their chief trade is in furs of divers sorts, for other European goods. The Beisia-mites are seated on the west of the Esquimaux, and are divided from them by the river of St. Margaret, and run along the north coast of the river St. Laurence,

over against Canada : They are a people much resembling the Esquimaux, and carried on a traffic with the French of the same kind.

The Iroquois are the most considerable, and best known of all the Indian nations in these parts ; they are seated along the north side of the lake Ontario, Frontenac, and along the river of their name, which is that which carries the waters of the lake into the river of St. Laurence. They are bounded on the north by the nations called Algonkins and Outavais, and the settlements at and about Montreal ; on the east and south-east by New England, New York, Jersey, &c., on the south by part of Canada proper and the lake Erie ; and on the west by that of the Hurons and the canal between these two lakes. They are so advantageously situated between the English and French, that they could join forces with the highest bidder, or with those who kept them in the greatest subjection. Their soil is high and rich ; their water-melons, pompions, &c., very large, sweet, and of a fine colour and flavour ; but they are too proud and lazy to give themselves much trouble about cultivating their lands, which is, perhaps, the cause of their producing so little. Their manner of traffic is no way unlike that before described.

Louisiana contains a vast tract of land, and, according to the most modest of the French geographers, is bounded on the south by the gulph of Mexico ; on the north by the Illinois, last described, and by the territories of the Parniassus, Paoducas, Osages, Tiontetecagas, Chavanons, and other Indian nations ; on the east by part of Florida, Georgia, and Carolina ; and on the west by New Mexico and New Spain.

It extends itself from north to south about 15 degrees, that is, from the 25th to the 40th of north latitude ; and from east to west about 10 or 11, that is, from 86 to 96 or 97, according to Charlevoix. Monsieur de Lisle gives these boundaries a much larger extent, especially on the north side, where it is made contiguous to Canada, last described ; so that part of it is bounded, according to him, by New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, &c., and on the west by the rivers called Rio Bravo and Salado. According to Le Sieur, another French writer, the northern boundaries of Louisiana may reach as far as the northern pole. Neither are those on the north-west less uncertain, the Missouri, a great river, which gives name to a vast tract of land unknown, flowing from that point into the Mississippi, about four leagues above its mouth ; so that, if we except the south, where the sea bounds it, all the rest must be left an uncertainty ; and so indeed it is likely to remain, till proper persons are appointed to settle those boundaries, on the east with the English, and on the west with the Spaniards. Till then they will ever be liable to disputes, and perhaps to a continual fluctuation, according as either of the three nations shall have opportunity to enlarge their own conquests, or incroach upon their neighbours.

The most considerable nations in Louisiana are the Chicaches, Chikai, or Chicas, Maubilians, Clamcoats, Cenos, Cadedaguios, Ibitoupas, Tabactas, Vaccay, and many others.

Their various rivers, frequently overflowing, render the country in general extremely fertile and pleasant. Nothing is more delightful than their meadows, which are fit for seed of all kinds. In some parts, the soil yields three or four crops in a year, for the winter consists only in heavy rains, without any nipping frosts. Almost all sorts of trees that Europe affords are to be found here, besides variety of others unknown to us ; and some of them very estimable, such as their tall and admirable cedars, a tree that distils gum, which is said to excel all our European noblest perfumes ; and cotton-trees, which are of a prodigious height. The whole country abounds with an infinite variety of game, fowl, cattle, and, indeed, every thing that life can desire.

But the chief glory of Louisiana is the famous Mississippi, already mentioned, in many respects the finest river in the world ; it is free from shoals and cataracts, and navigable within sixty leagues of its source : The channel is every-where deep, and the current gentle, except at a certain season, when, like the Nile, it floods. Its banks are adorned with a delightful variety of meadows and groves, and inhabited by almost 200 different nations, whom the French found tractable to their measures. Our American seamen assert, that their rivers are fit to receive ships of the largest burthens, and they have safe and commodious harbours.

What renders the Mississippi more considerable, is a great number of other large and navigable rivers, that run from eastward and westward, and mix at last with its stream. Of the first, Mons. Desale, in the relation he presented to Count Frontenac of his voyage on this river, affirms there are six or seven, three hundred leagues each in length, that fall below the Illinois.

The French, before the present war broke out, imported from Canada, in beaver, 75,000 l., in deer-skins, 20,000 l., in furs, 40,000 l., total 135,000 l. The English import from North America, in the same articles, to the amount of 90,000 l. The great advantages, gained by the French from such a surprising increase in trade, are conspicuous from the immense sums they drew annually from other countries, in return for their American products, as well as for their cambrics, tea, brandy, wine, and other home manufactures. It is from hence that they chiefly maintained such powerful armies, and afforded such plentiful subsidies and pensions to several Powers in Europe, when subservient to their views and interests ; and it is from hence that they built their ships of war, and nourished and maintained seamen to supply them. It is computed, that they drew from two to three millions of pounds sterling per annum from foreign countries, in return for sugars, indigo, coffee, ginger, beaver manufactured into hats, salt fish and other American products ; and near one million more from Great Britain and Ireland only, in wool and cash, in return for cambrics, tea, brandy, and wine ; and thereby fought us in trade, as well as in war, with our own weapons. Whether this great increase of the French commerce was owing to the extent and fertility of their territories, or to their prudent regulations and encouragements thereof, both at home and abroad, or to the experience and vigilance of the Council of Commerce, we will not determine.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH,
WRITTEN IN 1793

FROM THE COLLECTION OF COLONEL CHARLES C. JONES, JR., LL.D.

[*Editor Magazine of American History*: So far as I know the following letter has never found its way into type. It is of interest, as showing the conduct of the negroes in Philadelphia during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.

CHARLES C. JONES, Jr.]

"Dear Sir,

Accept of my thanks for your friendly note and the interesting paper inclosed in it.

The facts which I have preserved during our late calamity relate only to the origin, history, and cure of the disease.

The only information which I am capable of giving you relates to the conduct of the Africans of our City. In procuring nurses for the sick, W^m Grey and Absalom Jones were indefatigable, often sacrificing for that purpose whole nights of sleep without the least compensation. Richard Allen was extremely useful in performing the mournful duties which were connected with burying the dead. Many of the black nurses, it is true, were ignorant, and some of them were negligent, but many of them did their duty to the sick with a degree of patience and tenderness that did them great credit.

During the indisposition and confinement of the greatest part of the Physicians of the City, Richard Allen and Abraham Jones procured copies of the printed directions for curing the fever—went among the poor who were sick—gave them the mercurial purges—bled them freely, and by these means, they this day informed me, they had recovered between two and three hundred people.

I was the more pleased with the above communication as it shewed the safety and simplicity of the mode of treating the disease which you have politely said was generally successful.

From, Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

BENJⁿ RUSH

October 29th, 1793.

P. S. The merit of the Blacks in their attendance upon the sick is enhanced by their not being exempted from the disorder. Many of them had it; but, in general, it was much milder and yielded more easily to art than in the white people."

NOTES

CHARACTERISTIC REPLIES OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—"This finishes the *job*," he said, when Illinois had voted, making the number of states requisite to ratify the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. Cuthbert Bullitt and other citizens of Louisiana had written to him, protesting against the severity with which the war was waged. "Would you prosecute the war with elder-stalk squirts charged with rose-water, if you were in my position?" he demanded, and there was no reply. In his message to the extra session of Congress of July 4, 1861, he wrote of southern political leaders that, "with rebellion thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years." Mr. Defrees, the public printer, advised the omission of the compound word on the ground that it was not dignified. "Let it stand," said the President; "I was not attempting to be dignified, but plain. There is not a voter in the Union who will not know what sugar-coated means."—Chittenden's *Recollections of President Lincoln*.

THE ENGLISHMAN AND THE INDIAN—Taking a general view of the growth of the American nation, it is now easy to see that it was fortunate that Englishmen met in the Indian so formidable an antagonist; such fierce and untamed savages could never be held long as slaves; and thus were the American colonists of the North, the bone and sinew of the nation, saved from the temptations and the moral danger which come from contact with a numerous ser-

vile race. Again, every step of progress in the wilderness being stubbornly contested, the spirit of hardihood and bravery, so essential an element in nation building, was fostered among the borderers; and as settlement moved westward slowly, only so fast as the pressure of population on the seaboard impelled it, the Americans were prevented from planting scattered colonies in the interior, and thus were able to present a solid front to the mother country when, in due course of time, fostering care changed to a spirit of commercial control, and commercial control to jealous interference and menace. In intellectual activity the red man did not occupy so low a scale as has often been assigned to him. He was barbarous in his habits, but was so from choice; it suited his wild, untrammelled nature. He understood the arts of politeness when he chose to exercise them. He could plan; he was an incomparable tactician and a fair strategist; he was a natural logician; his tools and implements were admirably adapted to the purpose designed; he fashioned boats that have not been surpassed in their kind; he was remarkably quick in learning the use of firearms, and soon equalled the best white hunters as a marksman. A rude sense of honor was highly developed in the Indian; he had a nice perception of public propriety; he bowed his will to the force of custom; these characteristics doing much to counteract the anarchical tendency of his extreme democracy."—*Epochs of American History*, by Reuben Gold Thwaites.

TRAVELING ON THE OHIO RIVER IN 1816—Timothy Flint's experiences in moving into the wild West with his wife and five children are graphically described by Dr. Venable in his sketches of the Ohio valley. He embarked early in November at Pittsburgh, on a small flatboat owned by a Yankee trader, which was laden with "factory cottons and cutlery." Instead of floating gently along, as its owner and its passengers had expected, the frail boat was whirled and tossed about in a manner altogether alarming to all on board. Now the helpless craft was carried swiftly through a chute; now it stuck on a bar; and now

it was dashed upon the rocks of "Dead Man's Rifle" and almost capsized, while the children shrieked, and the merchandise of cotton stuffs and hardware fell upon and buried poor Mrs. Flint. The scared Yankee trader and his reverend first mate forgot, in their confusion, to resort to their oars, but tried to save themselves by consulting the *Navigator*, a guidebook descriptive of the Ohio and the Mississippi. The reader will not wonder that, when they reached the village of Beaver, the family forsook the risky flatboat and bought a pirogue, or large skiff, in which they continued their voyage.

QUERIES

CHURCHILL'S POEMS—An edition of *Poems by Charles Churchill*, printed in 1768, was recently sold in Boston; the volumes have no place of publication on the titlepage, but from the long list of American subscribers attached to the second volume it is supposed that they were printed in some of the colonies.

Can any of your readers give the place of imprint and the name of the printer? I do not find the work in *Sabin's Dictionary* or in lists of Churchill's works printed in England.

BOSTON COLLECTOR

NEWS—Will some one kindly give the

origin of the word *News* in the name *Newport News*?

E. W. WRIGHT

VICKSBURG, MISS.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND CEREMONIES—When did the Puritans, a part of whom became pilgrims in the *Mayflower*, cease to use the forms of worship and ceremonies of the Church of England?

CHAUTAUQUAN CIRCLE

GOTHAM—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Can you tell me when and how the name of "Gotham" became connected with New York, and what its meaning and origin?

WHIG

REPLIES

THE HARLEIAN COLLECTION [xxvi, 476] now in the British Museum takes its name from Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, so well known to fame

from being the friend and associate of Swift, Pope, and Prior. He had a passion for collecting books, manuscripts, pictures, coins, etc., which were sold by

his widow after his death. In order that the manuscripts should not be dispersed, Lady Oxford sold them to the nation in 1753 (the second George was then on the throne), for the insignificant sum of £10,000. They now form the Harleian Collection, and consist of 7,639 volumes, besides 14,236 original rolls, charters, deeds, and other legal documents. A new index to the collection is at present in course of preparation.

DAVID FITZGERALD

WASHINGTON, D. C.

HARLEIAN COLLECTION [xxvi, 476]—"Investigator" will find some account of this wonderful mass of historical material in Edward Edwards's *"Lives of the Founders of the British Museum,"* London and New York, 1870. Robert Harley, son of Sir Edward Harley, was born in London, in 1661. He sat in the first parliament of William and Mary, for Tregony, and continued in parliament for many years, being chosen speaker in 1701. In 1704 he was sworn of the privy council, and a few weeks later became one of the principal secretaries of state, but was crowded out four years afterward. In 1710 he was recalled and was made chancellor of the exchequer, and on May 24, 1711, he was by the queen raised to the peerage as Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. In 1714 he was again forced out of the ministry, and soon afterward was impeached by his political rivals, who caused him to be imprisoned for two years. He was unanimously acquitted by the lords in 1717, and resumed his seat as a peer. He died May 21, 1724. Daniel Defoe and Dean Swift were

among his warmest friends. He began the collection of his library in his early youth, and in his public and private sorrows found much consolation in his literary treasures. He secured the manuscripts of Sir Thomas Smith, John Fox the martyrologist, John Stowe the historian, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury; Archbishop Sancroft and many distinguished foreigners, particularly the great mass of manuscripts gathered by Sir Symonds D'Ewes, which included a rich series of materials bearing on the history of Elizabeth and Cromwell; also the manuscripts of John Warburton (Somerset Herald); Archdeacon Battely; Pierre Séguier (Chancellor of France); Thomas Gray, second Earl of Stanford; Robert Paynell of Relagh in Norfolk; John Robartes, first Earl of Radnor, and many others. When Lord Oxford died, his library contained more than 6,000 volumes of manuscripts and 14,500 charters and rolls. The second earl added to it largely, so that at his death, in 1741, there were 8,000 volumes of manuscripts, 50,000 printed volumes, and 400,000 pamphlets. The second earl's daughter (the Duchess of Portland) sold the printed library, but accepted an offer in 1753 from parliament of £10,000 for the manuscripts, stipulating that they should be kept together and called by the name of "The Harleian Collection of Manuscripts." A catalogue of the collection was printed in 1759-63, in two volumes, folio, with an introduction by Dr. Johnson; another catalogue was printed in 1808-12, in four volumes, folio, with indexes of persons, places, and matters. "The Harleian Miscellanys: a collection of

scarce, curious and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print, selected from the library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford," was printed in London in 1808-13, in ten royal quarto volumes; in 1744, in six quarto volumes; in 1753, in eight quarto volumes; in 1808-11, in twelve octavo volumes. Lowndes says: "This valuable political, historical, and antiquarian record, an indispensable auxiliary in the illustration of British history, contains between 600 and 700 rare and curious tracts." The edition in twelve volumes has the tracts arranged in chronological order, an obvious advantage. The tracts are not all adapted for family reading.

WM. NELSON

PATERSON, N. J.

DELAWARE, OR DELAWARR, THOMAS WEST [xxvi, 74, 317], lord, governor of Virginia, died in 1618. He succeeded his father as third Baron Delawarr in 1602, was appointed governor and captain-general of Virginia in 1609, and arrived at Jamestown, June 9, 1610, with three ships, after a voyage of three months and a half. He was the first executive officer of Virginia who bore the title of governor.—*American Cyclo-pedia*.

Thomas West was gathered to his fathers a hundred years and more before John West, Lord De-La-Warr, was appointed governor of New York. And no writer of Virginia history, so far as I know, has ever said that John West was

at any time governor of the Old Dominion.

It seems to me that, if persons outside the state would only keep in mind the difference in the names of Thomas and John, and the difference in time between the years 1609-10 and 1737, they need not find the Virginia data so inexplicable.

W. A. W.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

THE ST. CROIX OF THE NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY [xxvi, 261]—After the article under the above title in the October number of this magazine had been for some time in type, I had an opportunity to study again, among the Passamaquoddies, their name for Grand Lake. Then I found that they always put an extra syllable in the word which my ear had not caught before, and that they more frequently pronounce the first syllable like *Ke-ok* rather than *Ka-ouk*. Thus, they say not *Ka-ouk-sak*, as it is in the article above-mentioned, but rather *Ke-ok-qu'-sak*, and the syllable *qu'* is always present, though not strongly sounded. This brings the word even closer to the *Ka-ouak-ou-sak-i* of the French maps and the *Kou-sak-i* of Mitchell. Further than this, to my great surprise, one squaw pronounced again and again, independently of the other Indians, the name of a lake at the head of the east branch of the St. Croix, which she thought was Grand Lake, as *Kwee-ok-qu'-sak-ik* (with the last syllable perfectly distinct), a form even nearer that of the old maps.

W. F. GANONG

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY— The first meeting of the fall season was held on the evening of October 6, the president, Hon. John A. King, in the chair; the paper of the evening, entitled "The Colonial Clergy of New York city," was read by the Rev. Ashbel Green Vermilye, D.D., of Englewood, New Jersey.

The stated meeting for November was held on the 3d instant, when a resolution was adopted creating a "committee of fifteen" to raise funds for the erection of a building on the site recently purchased by the society on Eighth avenue (Central park west) between Seventy-sixth and Seventy-seventh streets. Mr. Greenville Temple Snelling read a paper, illustrated by stereopticon views, on "The Colonial Architecture of New York city."

On Tuesday evening, November 17, the society celebrated in its hall the eighty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the society. The exercises were opened with prayer by the Rt. Rev. Henry B. Potter, D.D., LL.D., bishop of New York. The anniversary address was delivered by the Hon. Seth Low, LL.D., president of Columbia college; his subject was "New York in 1850 and 1890. A Political Study." On its conclusion the Rev. Dr. Eugene A. Hoffman, dean of the General Theological seminary, moved a vote of thanks to the orator. The meeting concluded with a benediction pronounced by the Rev. David H. Greer, D.D., rector of St. Bartholomew's church.

The meeting for December was held on the 1st instant. The librarian announced

the gift from Edmund B. Southwick, Ph.D., of the portraits of Captain John Waddell and Anne Kirton, his wife, painted in New York prior to 1762. Mr. Eugene Lawrence read a paper on "Colonel Richard Nicolls, the first English governor of New York."

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on Tuesday evening, November 17, 1891, at its hall in Dearborn avenue, Chicago, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The secretary and librarian, Mr. John Moses, reported many valuable additions to the library by gift and purchase, including a package of manuscript letters containing the correspondence of General H. A. Dearborn. He also acknowledged the portrait in oil of Mrs. John Edgar, one of the early settlers of Kaskaskia, a companion piece to the portrait of her husband, General Edgar. A photographic group of the Union Defense committee of Chicago during the late civil war was presented by Mr. George Schneider. The library now contains 19,008 volumes, a catalogue of which has been completed. The executive committee also made an interesting report. The officers elected for the coming year were Edward G. Mason, president; Alexander C. McClurg and George W. Smith, vice-presidents; Gilbert B. Shaw, treasurer; and John Moses, secretary and librarian.

The paper of the evening, "Some Recollections of Chicago in the Forties," by Samuel C. Clarke of Marietta, Georgia, was read by the secretary. Henry B.

Mason, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Clarke for his excellent paper, remarked that the members had been entertained by the presentation of an enjoyable and vivid picture of Chicago in her early days, when a man without much exertion could get his breakfast fresh from the stream near by, and for his dinner could shoot a mess of ducks from his back yard ; in the afternoon he could casually buy a lot on Madison street, and go broke the next day on wild-cat or red-dog money. Those were the days of dust clouds in summer and of mud bogs in winter—the days of crude beginnings and good fellowship, out of which has grown the mighty Chicago of to-day.

THE WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was organized at Tacoma, Washington, October 8, 1891, with twenty-four charter members, and the following officers: president, Elwood Evans of Tacoma; vice-president, Edward Eldridge of Whatcom; secretary, C. W. Hobart of Tacoma; treasurer, T. J. McKinney of Olympia; cl.rators, C. M. Barton, Olympia; James Wickersham, Tacoma; C. B. Bagley, Seattle; W. P. Gray, Pasco; Henry Roeder, Whatcom; Edward Higgins, Tacoma.

The object of the society is to gather, formulate, and preserve in substantial form the traditional and record history of the state, including accounts of early explorers and explorations; of Indian tribes, their reservations, and progress toward civilization; of early pioneers, their hardships, privations, dangers, and the work they did in opening the way for the development and civilization that

followed; together with material objects, relics, pictures, views, and paintings illustrative of early traditions, history, places, and persons; the flora and fauna of the state; also the history, records, and objects illustrative of the perils and heroism of those who served as soldiers in the Indian conflicts or other wars of the country; all to the end that these things may be accomplished as far as possible during the lives of those then and now living, and preserved as the historical archives of the state.

The membership is increasing rapidly and the society has a bright future.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY (New York) resumed its meetings on Friday, November 13, at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. Hon. E. M. Moore, M.D., read a most interesting paper, "The Parks of Rochester," giving a history of what will yet give Rochester the finest park in the country.

THE WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its thirty-ninth annual meeting on the 10th of December, in the senate chamber in the capitol. There was a full attendance of members, both resident and out-of-town. President John Johnston of Milwaukee occupied the chair, and by his side were vice-presidents General Simeon Mills and Dr. James D. Butler.

The president in his opening address made a touching allusion to the late Dr. Draper, saying, "He lived for this society and did not forget it in the hour of death, but set an example to wealthier men by his benefactions."

In his annual report, secretary Reu-

ben G. Thwaites said that the work of the society had been crowned by success during the fiscal year. Feeling references were made to the death of Dr. Draper, Benson J. Lossing and Luther S. Dixon.

After naming the various gifts and library accessions the proposed exhibit of the society at the World's Fair was outlined. It was shown that much can be done in this direction, but that a location in some central building, alongside of similar historical and archæological exhibits from other states, would be more advantageous both to the public and to the society than being housed in the state building, which would probably be visited by few persons not directly interested in Wisconsin affairs.

Secretary Thwaites then delivered a memorial address on the late Lyman Copeland Draper, LL.D., his distinguished predecessor in office. "Weighing his own words carefully," said the speaker, concerning the doctor, "and as becoming an historical student, abhorring exaggeration, it is not fitting that what we say to-night of his life and work would be mere eulogy. Were he here in spirit and could speak, his words would be, 'Tell the truth if you tell anything.' Firm in the belief that such would be his will, I shall with loving freedom talk to you of Dr. Draper as those found him who knew him best." The secretary then told of Dr. Draper's birth as a humble farmer's lad in Evans, New York, September 4, 1815. His long Puritan lineage was alluded to, and the careers of his ancestors as soldiers in the wars of the revolution and of 1812-15. He was for a time at Gran-

ville (Ohio) college, now Denison university. Then he went to Alabama, living with his cousin's husband, Peter A. Remsen, a cotton factor, who was interested in the lad and became his patron. In Alabama, when but eighteen years of age (1833), he interviewed the Creek chieftains, and had a notion of writing a book, but the work never progressed any farther than the notes. In 1838 he conceived the idea of writing a long series of biographies of trans-Alleghany pioneers, to be wholly based upon original investigation. This at once became his controlling thought, and he entered upon its execution with an enthusiasm which never lagged through a half century; but unfortunately he only collected and investigated, and the biographies were never written.

By the year 1852 Dr. Draper had acquired what was for those days a really remarkable private library of rare Americana; his collections of original manuscripts also numbered about 15,000 pages, while he had hundreds of bulky note books filled with his interviews and odds and ends of detailed information. His great mass of unique material "covered the entire history of the Northwest from 1742, the date of the first skirmish with the Indians in the Virginia valley, to 1813-14, when Tecumseh was killed and the Creeks were defeated." Many of his manuscripts, such as Clark's journal of his famous expedition to Kaskaskia and Vincennes in 1778, are of priceless value.

In 1854 Lossing went so far as to enter into a literary copartnership with Draper for the joint production of a series of border biographies—Boone,

Clark, Sevier, Robertson, Brady, Kenton, Martin, Crawford, Whitley, the Wetzels, Harman, St. Clair, Wayne, and others being selected. The titles of the several biographies were agreed upon at a meeting in Madison between Lossing and Draper, but while, as a collector, Draper was ever in the field, eager, enterprising, and shrewd, as a writer he was a procrastinator, and nothing was done at the time. In October, 1852, Draper came to Madison on the invitation of the State Historical society, which had been organized in 1849, but had not grown. In January, 1854, he became the corresponding secretary. The institution at once leaped forward. His administration opened with a library of fifty volumes in a little bookcase then kept in the secretary of state's office.

Dr. Draper's great services as state superintendent of public instruction (1855-59) were alluded to, and his services as the pioneer in the township library system pointed out. His few miscellaneous literary ventures actually published were described—his *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, a bulky storehouse of information obtained at first hand regarding the revolutionary war in the South, and a permanently valuable contribution to American historical literature; his pamphlet on Madison, issued during 1857; his essay on *Autograph Collections of the Signers*, in 1887; and his *Forman's Narrative*, a pamphlet edited in 1888. By 1854 he had written probably one-half of his projected *Life of Boone*. Of the other proposed border biographies he left only a few scattered skeleton chapters; a monograph on the Mechlenburg declaration of in-

dependence he had made considerable progress upon, and he had about half finished editing a proposed republication by a Cincinnati firm of a little book originally issued in 1831, styled *Withers' Border Forays*. The above constitutes his life work, except that which he devoted to the *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*. These latter, in ten volumes, he made famous as a storehouse of materials for Wisconsin history doing very efficient editorial work in their production.

Dr. Draper was the most successful of all collectors of material for American border history, and it will ever be a source of great regret to historical students that he was prevented from giving to the world that important series of biographies for which he so eagerly planned over half a century ago. He has generously left to us his materials—so much bricks and stone, ready for some aspiring architect of the future; these will be of incalculable value to original workers in many branches of western history. But even had Dr. Draper never been a collector of border lore, never entertained ambitions in a broader field, his work for this society has of itself been sufficient to earn for him the lasting gratitude of the people of Wisconsin and of all American historical students. The Wisconsin Historical library, which he practically founded and so successfully managed and purveyed for through a third of a century, will remain an enduring monument to his tireless energy as a collector of Americana. We can say with one accord that the name of Lyman C. Draper shall ever be foremost in the annals of this society.

BOOK NOTICES

PATRICK HENRY, LIFE, CORRESPONDENCE AND SPEECHES. By WILLIAM WIRT HENRY. With portrait. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. 622. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

Nothing could be more welcome to historical scholars than this handsome work, of which the first volume, prepared with consummate care by the scholarly grandson of its distinguished subject, is now before us. The author has had free access to a vast amount of material not hitherto published, besides collecting the correspondence of Patrick Henry from different quarters, many well-known persons having furnished copies of original letters in their possession. The author has also had use of the executive journal kept during nearly all of Mr. Henry's service of five years as governor of Virginia, and has found either in print or in manuscript the journals of nearly every session of the deliberative bodies in which Patrick Henry served prior to the Revolution. From the state department at Washington he has been able to copy many unprinted Henry letters from the papers of Washington and of the continental congress. With all this new matter a flood of light has been turned upon the career of the great patriot.

The beautiful volume, which is printed in excellent taste, opens with a biographical sketch. John Henry, the son of Alexander Henry and Jean Robertson, of Aberdeen, Scotland, a young man of classical education, emigrated to Virginia in 1730. He was a friend of Robert Dinwiddie, who was governor of Virginia twenty years later. He married in Virginia, and his son, Patrick Henry, was born in 1736. An account is given of the boyhood and early life and training of young Henry, and of his beginnings in professional life. He first practised law in the autumn of 1760. His wonderful successes at the bar are very modestly chronicled. While he was winning a high position, the political troubles between England and her American colonies were assuming a serious aspect. It was at the critical period when the great mass of the people of the colonies were rising against the Stamp Act, in 1766, that Patrick Henry entered upon public life. He took his seat in the House of Burgesses on the 20th of May, and was at once placed on the committee of courts of justice. He entered a body of intellectual and patriotic men whose proceedings were conducted with the utmost decorum, and whose leaders were possessed of ability, of culture, and of deserved influence. John Rolinson, the speaker of the house, had filled the chair for twenty-five years with great dignity. Peyton Randolph, who as attorney-

general, held the rank next the speaker, was an eminent lawyer, an accomplished parliamentarian, and a practical statesman of a high order. Edmund Pendleton was one of whom Jefferson said, "Take him all in all, he was the ablest man in debate I ever met: he was cool, smooth and persuasive; his language flowing, chaste and embellished; his conceptions quick, acute and full of resource." George Wythe was there, the best Latin and Greek scholar in the colony; and George Washington. This portion of the volume is most interesting and informing. The following chapters lead to the great events with which Patrick Henry was intimately concerned. The twenty-first chapter treats of the measures of the British ministry during Mr. Henry's second term as governor of Virginia; and the twenty-second chapter describes the brilliant success of the expedition of George Rogers Clark, sent out by Governor Henry. The volume is interesting from cover to cover, and a most valuable contribution to the literature of American history.

GLIMPSES OF PILGRIM PLYMOUTH.

With forty-eight illustrations, showing the Plymouth of 1620 and to-day. Plymouth, Mass.: A. S. Burbank. 1891.

This unique work has been issued in good style, and its pictures are excellent. The first is of the *Mayflower* in Plymouth harbor, and the second the canopy over Plymouth Rock. Then comes the quaint house of Governor Bradford in 1621, followed by the pictures of streets, Burial Hill, the Town Brook, the national monument to the forefathers, and many views on both land and sea. These illustrations are accompanied by descriptive text. The volume is one that will be greatly prized as a souvenir among the descendants of the pilgrims.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE.

By ERNEST LAVISSE. Translated with the author's sanction by Charles Gross, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 188. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

The author of this work while giving the essential facts of universal history, describes the formation and political development of the states of Europe, and indicates the historical causes of their present condition and mutual relations. It is a stretch of three thousand years brought into focus through the remarkable ability of Professor Lavissee. It is a small volume which presents the sequence of the great phenomena of history. "Nature has written,

on the map of Europe, the destiny of certain regions," writes the author. "She determines the aptitudes and, hence, the destiny of a people. The very movement of events in history creates, moreover, inevitable exigencies, one thing happening because other things have happened. On the other hand, nature has left on the map of Europe free scope to the uncertainties of various possibilities. History is full of accidents, the necessity of which cannot be demonstrated, and people do not possess history by the mere fact of its existence; its life must be active and fruitful."

JAPONICA. By SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., with illustrations by Robert Blum. 8vo, pp. 128. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

This charming volume from the pen of an enthusiastic traveler is rendered doubly welcome through the artistic sketches of Japanese scenes with which it is profusely illustrated. Sir Edwin Arnold thinks a great future awaits Japan and the Japanese man; but he says, "perhaps the new civil code and the opening parliament will introduce nobler laws and new recognition of the debt which Japan owes to her gentle, patient, bright and soft-souled womankind. Perhaps on the other hand, in meddling with her old world Asiatic grace and status, modern ideas will spoil this sweetest daughter of the sun!" He says there are two Japans, one commenced its life, according to mythical history, six hundred and sixty years before our era; and the other came into existence about twenty-three years ago. These two Japans are continually blended. The younger nation is all for railways, telegraphs and all manner of European developments. Yet the older nation lives on, within and around the Japan of new parliaments and Parisian costumes. And its administration generally, and the censorship of the press in particular, will have no trifling with the established traditions of *Dia Nippon*. Japan took from China, along with her earliest imported religion (shintoism), a vast respect for ancestors, however fabulous; and strangely enough, while her educated people disbelieve the legends of the gods, they demurely repeat the historic stories such as show how an empress stilled the waves of the sea by sitting down upon them, and how emperors had fishes for their ministers and were transformed into white and yellow birds. Not long since "the editor of a Japanese journal was sentenced to four years imprisonment for speaking disrespectfully in a leading article about that very ancient dignitary, the Emperor Jimmu." Sir Edwin Arnold thinks, however, that "considering the potentate in question—albeit first of all Mikados—was so vastly remote as to be declared grandson or grandnephew of the

Sun Goddess herself, and is said to have conquered Japan with a sword as long as a fir-trunk, and the aid of a miraculous white crow's beak, one would suppose criticism was free as to His Majesty Kamu-Yamato-Iware-Biko."

Regarded as a gift-book for the holiday season, nothing could be more appropriate than this beautiful volume. It is filled with delightful reading, and its clever pictures supplement the text in the most picturesque and attractive manner.

THE PERFUME-HOLDER. A Persian Love Poem. By CRAVEN LANGSTROTH BETTS. 12mo, pp. 48. New York: Saalfield & Fitch. 1891.

This is a dainty and attractive little volume containing a Persian love poem, presented in an easy, flowing style that is quite captivating. Mr. Betts seems to have caught the spirit of Persian love-making, and with true poetic instinct has harnessed it into sweetest song. He is to be congratulated on a most exquisite production.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN NOVA SCOTIA, AND THE TORY CLERGY OF THE REVOLUTION. By ARTHUR WENTWORTH EATON, B.A. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1891.

There are facts other than ecclesiastical about the sea-girt province of Nova Scotia which lend interest to its church history. It is the ancient Acadia, the camping ground of the two great nations that for more than a century fiercely contended for supremacy in these western wilds. The present diocese of Nova Scotia comprises the province of Nova Scotia (including Cape Breton) and Prince Edward Island, with ninety-four parishes sending delegates to the Diocesan Synod, and over a hundred names on the clergy list. There have been three noteworthy epochs in the history of Nova Scotia; the period of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the founding of Halifax under Lord Cornwallis in 1749, and the Tory emigration from the revolting colonies—chiefly New York and Massachusetts—between 1775 and 1784. When De Monts in 1604 sailed into the tranquil bay, he had with him both a Huguenot minister and a Roman Catholic priest. But the church proper was not really established until 1758. The author traces its rise with close attention to detail, and describes its condition at the time of the arrival of the loyalists. There were almost without exception church of England people, among whom were many clergymen. Of the latter were Drs. Seabury, Inglis, and

Moore, who became successively bishops of the newly organizing church.

The biographical sketches of the exiled clergy of the revolution forms a striking feature of the volume. In the eleventh chapter we come to the new era of education which dawned upon the province, and which resulted in the founding of Kings College; the buildings of this institution were begun in 1791, on a picturesque slope a little out of the town of Windsor, not far from the Avon river. Sketches are given of the pre-charter students of this college, of the later bishops of the church, and of many of the distinguished laymen. Mr. Eaton says: "On no part of the American continent, it is safe to say, has the church, within corresponding limits, had so many remarkable people among her lay members as in the diocese of Nova Scotia. For many years after the loyalist emigration, the judges of the courts, the members of the council, and of the assembly, and those who filled the chief provincial offices, were men whose ability would have given them a prominent place in any country where they might have lived." The volume is admirably written and it is a mine of wealth in the way of valuable information. It is the first history of Nova Scotia which has touched upon so many of the various features of the country and its people, including the church, and we cordially commend it to our intelligent readers.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE DELEGATES FROM GEORGIA TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. By CHARLES C. JONES, JR., I.L.D. 8vo, pp. 211. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1891.

The eminent historian of Georgia, who in the past has done such excellent service in the presentation of American history to the reading public, adds again to the obligations of all students in the biographical work before us. We should never lose sight of the noble and heroic delegates to the continental congress, and since the makers of our cyclopædias do not seem to know much about them, we rejoice whenever we meet with a volume like this devoted to sketches of any portion of their number. They were selected for their mission from the best class of men of their time, and the delegates from Georgia were no exception to the rule. These patriots were all good and true and capable, and many of them were gentlemen of high culture, superior education, and attractive social qualities. Fourteen of them in one capacity or another bore arms in the struggle for independence. Abraham Baldwin, William Few, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall and some others, have been brought before the readers of this magazine from time to time in various articles. But there

are twenty-five of the biographies which appear in this well-prepared volume, and they are all of men worth knowing. Of eleven of them engraved portraits exist.

William Gibbons is mentioned as the greatest lawyer in Georgia, a gentleman of large wealth. It was at one of his rice plantations on the Savannah river, and while a guest of Mr. Gibbons, that General Nathanael Greene in 1786 contracted the illness which so speedily terminated his valuable life. Upon another of Mr. Gibbons's plantations General Wayne, in 1782, met and overcame the famous Indian chief Guristorsigo. John Houstoun was one of those who called a meeting in July, 1774, to consider the rights and liberties of the colonists. He was governor of Georgia during the war, and afterwards chief-justice of the state. Georgia perpetuates his name and his memory by one of her largest and most fertile counties. This volume is one that should have a place in every library in the land.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC. 1889-1891. 8vo, pp. 178. Pamphlet. Quebec. 1891.

Several excellent papers are published in this issue of the *Transactions*, among which "The Royal William," the pioneer of ocean steam navigation, by vice-president Archibald Campbell, is one of the foremost in interest. The author claims that Canada established a new epoch, "and in so doing encircled her own brow with a halo of renown." "The English Cathedral of Quebec" is the title of an elaborate and valuable paper read before the society, March 10, 1891, by Fred C. Wurtele. The journal of the voyage of the Brunswick Auxiliaries from Wolfenbüttel to Quebec, by F. V. Melsheimer, is printed here. There is also a valuable index of the subjects of all the lectures, papers and historical documents read before this society since 1829, with the names of their authors. George Stewart, D.C.L., F.R.G.S., has been the president of the society for the last seven years.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, AND HOW HE RECEIVED AND IMPARTED THE SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY. By JUSTIN WINSOR. 8vo, pp. 674. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1891.

Dr. Winsor has written this work in a style similar to that of his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, giving with the utmost particularity the original sources of information upon which his statements and opinions are based. He makes a strong point in the opening chapter of the documentary legacies of

Columbus himself, noting ninety-seven distinct pieces of writing from the hand of Columbus, either now existing or known to have existed. Of such, whether memoirs, relations, or letters, sixty-four are preserved in their entirety, and are of great importance in estimating his character. The ground covered by this excellent volume is broad, and each chapter is admirably well described by its title. To the scholar who is already familiar with the various publications in other languages than our own to which reference is constantly being made, this volume is a treasure indeed, even though his opinions and conclusions drawn from the same references may be diametrically opposed to those of Dr. Winsor. But the general reader will need to prepare himself through study and research to understand much that is here recorded. The narrative is interrupted at every step with learned discussions of the numerous and oftentimes obscure authorities upon which it is founded. Dr. Winsor does not think Columbus was materially aided by the Norse discoveries, and doubts their having made any impression upon his mind, even if he knew of them. He says: "It was not till a long time after the period of Columbus that, so far as we know, any cartographical records of the discoveries associated with the Vinland voyages were made in the north; and not till the discoveries of Columbus and his successors were a common inheritance in Europe did some of the northern geographers, in 1570, undertake to reconcile the tales of the sagas with the new beliefs. The testimony of these later maps is presumably the transmitted view then held in the north from the interpretation of the Norse sagas in the light of later knowledge. This testimony is that the 'America' of the Spaniards, including Terra Florida, and the 'Albania' of the English, was a territory south of the Norse region and beyond a separating water, very likely that of Davis' straits. The

rendering of the old sagas into script came at a time when, in addition to the inevitable transformations of long oral tradition, there was superadded the romancing spirit then rife in the north, and which had come to them from the south of Europe. The result of this blending of confused tradition with the romancing of the period of the written preservation has thrown, even among the Scandinavians themselves, a shade of doubt, more or less intense at times, which envelops the saga record with much that is indistinguishable from myth, leaving little but the general drift of the story to be held of the nature of a historic record. The Icelandic editor of Egel's saga, published at Reikjavik in 1856, acknowledges this unavoidable reflex of the times when the sagas were reduced to writing, and the most experienced of the recent writers on Greenland, Henrik Rink, has allowed the untrustworthiness of the sagas except for the general scope."

Dr. Winsor says a voyage to Iceland was no new thing, for the English traded there, and a large commerce was maintained with Iceland by Bristol, and had been for many years. And that there was no lack of stories about venturesome voyages west along the latitude of England, of which Columbus might have heard. But if Columbus knew of the Norse expeditions, it is remarkable that he never mentioned the fact when he was summoning every scrap of available evidence to induce the sovereigns of Europe to listen to his scheme of finding India in the west; and it is, moreover, in Dr. Winsor's opinion, inconceivable that Columbus should have taken a course southwest from the Canaries if he had ever received any tidings of land in the northwest. The maps, portraits, and other illustrations which are scattered freely through the volume, add greatly to the interest and value of the scholarly work, which must be seen and examined to be thoroughly appreciated.



C. Adèle Fassett, Print

THE UNITED STATES ELECTORAL COMMISSION, 1877.

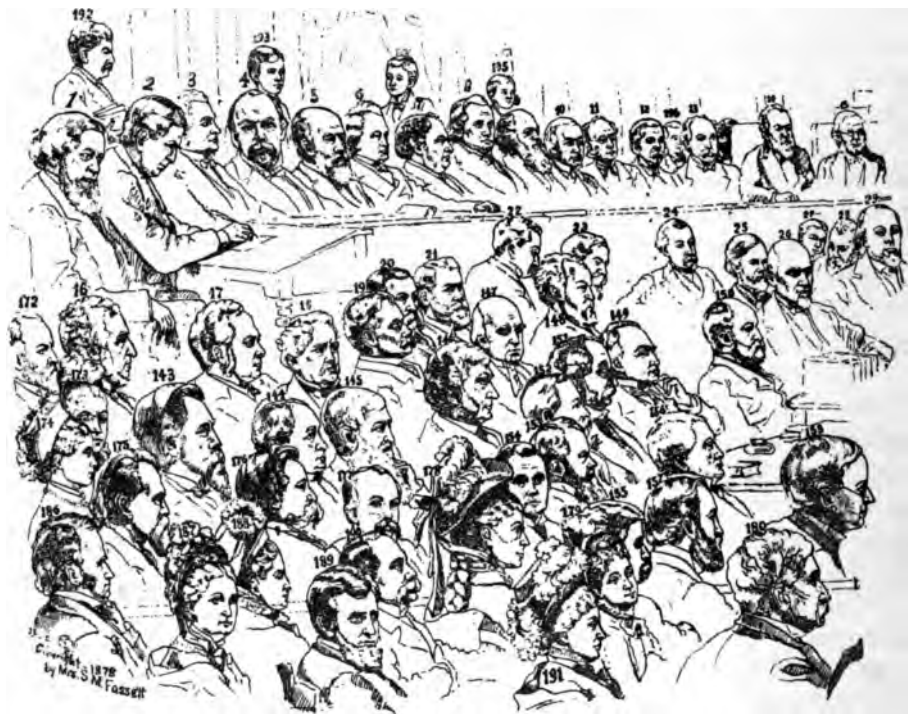
S. M. Fassett, Photo.

Florida, and that in making it the two had exceeded their jurisdiction. It was offered to be proved that the supreme court of Florida had, in effect, decided that the two canvassers had made a false certificate and exceeded their jurisdiction, and that the circuit court had so decided. It was offered to be proved that both the legislature and the executive of the state had so determined, and had attempted by all means in their power to prevent the state being defrauded of its true and real vote.

The majority of the commission decided that the determination and certificate of two of a board of three canvassers, with ministerial powers only, and which by law was *prima facie*, not conclusive, evidence, must stand and decide the great question of the Presidency, although it could clearly be proved to be false in fact, and that in making it the two canvassers had exceeded their jurisdiction and authority as held by the supreme court of the state, and although the legislature and governor had both declared it false, and that by giving effect to it the state would be defrauded of its true and real vote, and although the electors, in whose favor it was made, had been declared by the courts not to have been elected. The injustice of this decision was the more marked and flagrant by contrast. All the state officers, from the governor down, who were voted for on the same ticket with the Tilden electors, and had been counted in by the same two canvassers at the same time and by the same canvass by which the latter were counted out, had been declared elected by the action of the highest court of the state, and are now and have been holding their several offices to the general contentment of the citizens of Florida. But the Hayes electors alone are permitted by this decision to consummate the wrong, and act in offices to which they were never elected.

Against this decision of the commission the undersigned protested and now protest as wrong in law, bad in morals, and worse in the consequences which it entails on a great country.

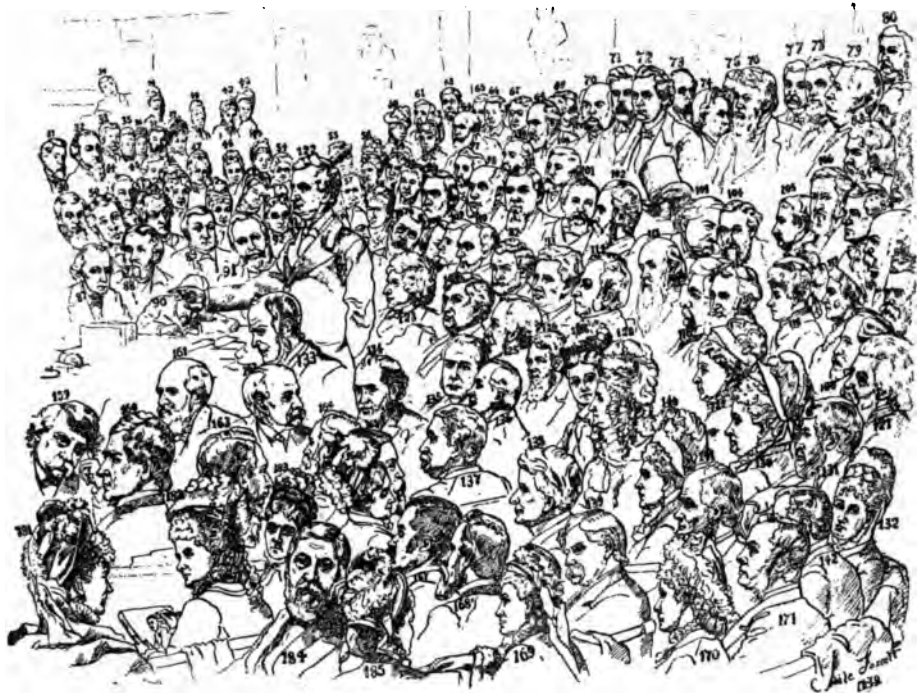
It gives absolute power to two inferior ministerial officers to withhold their determination till the day when the electoral vote is cast, as was done in this case, and then give the vote of a state to a candidate who has never received it, as was done in this case, and tells the people there is no redress for such an outrage. It is a decision admirably calculated to encourage fraud, and insure its being perpetrated with success and impunity. It is a decision by which the people of a state may be defrauded and robbed of their dearest rights by a few unprincipled wretches, and be then compelled to acquiesce in the great wrong. It is a decision claimed to be based on the doctrine of state rights, but, in fact, is in direct conflict with that grand



KEY TO PICTURE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION (FRONTISPIECE).

THE COMMISSIONERS.

1	<i>A. G. Thurman</i>	Ohio.	11	<i>W. B. Payne</i>	Ohio.
	<i>J. F. Bayard</i>	Del.		<i>Eppa Huntington</i>	Va.
	<i>Frederic J. Fulingrum</i>	N. J.		<i>W. H. Hoar</i>	Mass.
	<i>O. P. Morton</i>	Ind.		<i>J. A. Garfield</i>	Ohio.
	<i>Geo. F. Edmunds</i>	Vt.		<i>Geo. F. Howe</i>	Mass.
2	<i>Wm. F. Miller</i>	Iowa.	12	<i>Francis Pickens</i>	N. Y.
	<i>Nathan Clifford</i>	Maine.		<small>Substitute for Allen G. Thurman during his illness.</small>	
	<i>Stephen P. Kellogg</i>	Cal.		17. William Windom	Senator, Minnesota.
	<i>Joseph P. Bradley</i>	N. J.		18. W. W. Corcoran	
				19. John J. Ingalls	Senator, Kansas.
3			13	20. J. C. S. Blackburn	M. C., Kentucky.
				21. John H. Reagan	M. C., Texas.
				22. B. E. Cattin	Assistant Secretary E. C.
				23. George A. Howard	Assistant Secretary E. C.
				24. James H. McKenny	Secretary E. C.
4			14	25. John Sherman	Senator, Ohio.
5			15		
6			16		



KEY TO PICTURE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION (FRONTISPIECE).

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|---|--|
| 26. Samuel Shellabarger.....Counsel for Hayes. | 51. Mrs. Julia K. Fish. |
| 27. William F. Cooper.....Page to E. C. | 52. Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines. |
| 28. D. F. Murphy.....Stenographer E. C. | 53. Mrs. Julia G. Tyler. |
| 29. George W. McCrary.....Counsel for Hayes. | 54. Mrs. I. V. Swearingen. |
| 30. Morrison R. Waite.....Chief Justice U. S. S. C. | 55. Mrs. Virginia M. Wilson. |
| 31. John G. Thompson.....Sergeant-at-Arms, H. R. | 56. Mrs. Rachael H. Strong. |
| 32. John J. Nicolay.....Marshal, U. S. S. C. | 57. Charles Gordon. |
| 33. W. H. Reardon.....Marshal, E. C. | 58. Mrs. Imogen R. Morrell. |
| 34. E. P. Corvaizier.....Messenger, U. S. Senate. | 59. Mrs. Jean M. Lander. |
| 35. Mrs. Z. Chandler. | 60. Miss Katherine Lee Bayard. |
| 36. Miss G. A. Boutwell. | 61. John J. Patterson.....Senator, South Carolina. |
| 37. John R. French.....Sergeant-at-Arms. | 62. Mrs. Catherine Hardenbergh. |
| 38. Miss G. F. Tucker. | 63. John H. Flagg.....Legislative Clerk. |
| 39. Mrs. Charles E. Hooker. | 64. John Hitz.....Consul Gen. Switzerland. |
| 40. Miss Caroline Bradley. | 65. Charles Page Bryan. |
| 41. | 66. George M. Adams.....Clerk of House. |
| 42. Miss Lida Miller. | 67. Horatio King. |
| 43. Miss Julia D. Strong. | 68. S. W. Dorsey.....Senator, Arkansas. |
| 44. Prof. Joseph Henry.....Smithsonian Institution. | 69. M. B. Brady. |
| 45. Charles G. Williams....M. C., Wisconsin. | 70. Ambrose E. Burnside....Senator, Rhode Island. |
| 46. Mrs. S. Virginia Field. | 71. George C. Gorham.....Secretary, U. S. Senate. |
| 47. Mrs. Mary A. Matthews. | 72. Samuel J. Randall....Speaker of House. |
| 48. Mrs. Ruth A. Hoar. | 73. F. M. Cockrell.....Senator, Missouri. |
| 49. Mrs. Chapman Coleman. | 74. J. Proctor Knott.....M. C., Kentucky. |
| 50. Hamilton Fish.....Secretary of State. | 75. John B. Clark, Jr.....M. C., Missouri. |

76. H. B. Anthony.....Senator, Rhode Island.
77. Bainbridge Wadleigh.....Senator, N. H.
78. Benjamin H. Hill.....Senator, Georgia.
79. Fernando Wood.....M. C., New York.
80. A. C. Harmer.....M. C., Pennsylvania.
81. Annanias Herbert.....Messenger, U. S. S. C.
82. G. A. Clark.....Doorkeeper, U. S. S. C.
83. Augustus W. Cutler.....M. C., New Jersey.
84. A. R. Shepherd.
85. S. L. Phelps.....Commissioner, D. C.
86. J. W. Powell.....United States Survey.
87. S. A. Hurlburt.....Counsel for Hayes.
88. John A. Kasson.....Counsel for Hayes.
89. George W. Childs.
90. James L. Andem.....Reporter for N. Y. A. P.
91. Stanley Matthews.....Counsel for Hayes.
92. Mrs. J. A. Garfield.
93. George M. Robeson.....Secretary of Navy.
94. Alphonso M. Taft.....Secretary of War.
95. Belva M. Lockwood.
96. George S. Boutwell.....Senator, Massachusetts.
97. Aaron A. Sargent.....Senator, California.
98. Dr. Peter Parker.
99. James O. Woodruff.....Scientific Expedition.
100. Eugene Hale.....M. C., Maine.
101. Charles Foster.....M. C., Ohio.
102. John H. Mitchell.....Senator, Oregon.
103. W. P. Lynde.....M. C., Wisconsin.
104. John D. C. Atkins.....M. C., Tennessee.
105. A. A. Hardenbergh.....M. C., New Jersey.
106. Thomas Ewing.....M. C., Ohio.
107. William E. Chandler.....Counsel for Hayes.
108. James P. Root.....Counsel for Hayes.
109. James N. Tyner.....Postmaster-General.
110. William Lawrence.....M. C., Ohio.
111. D. T. Corbin.
112. C. D. Drake.....Chief Justice, U. S. C. C.
113. Charles W. Jones.....Senator, Florida.
114. P. Phillips.
115. Saunders W. Johnston.
116. N. P. Banks.....M. C., Massachusetts.
117. J. G. Cannon.....M. C., Illinois.
118. Flora Fassett.
119. Elizabeth B. Johnston.
120. W. A. J. Sparks.....M. C., Illinois.
121. Frederick Douglass.
122. William M. Evarts.....Counsel for Hayes.
123. Edwin W. Stoughton.....Counsel for Hayes.
124. Zachariah Chandler.....Secretary of Interior.
125. Abram S. Hewitt.....M. C., New York.
126. Americus V. Rice.....M. C., Ohio.
127. Mrs. Celia S. Sherman.
128. Mrs. Jennie B. Bryan.
129. Mrs. Susan M. Edmunds.
130. Mrs. E. V. Miller.
131. William D. Kelley.....M. C., Pa.
132. Mrs. Mary Clemmer.
133. Charles O'Connor.....Counsel for Tilden.
134. Richard T. Merrick.....Counsel for Tilden.
135. George A. Jenks.....Counsel for Tilden.
136. W. H. Forney.....M. C., Alabama.
137. J. Randolph Tucker.....Counsel for Tilden.
138. Timothy O. Howe.....Counsel for Hayes.
139. Henry Watterson.....M. C., Kentucky.
140. Mrs. Ellen F. Windom.
141. Thomas B. Bryan.
142. Hiram P. Bell.....M. C., Georgia.
143. L. Q. C. Lamar.....M. C., Mississippi.
144. Hannibal Hamlin.....Senator, Maine.
145. George Bancroft.....Historian.
146. Justin S. Morrill.....Senator, Vermont.
147. John A. Campbell.....Counsel for Tilden.
148. Roscoe Conkling.....Senator, New York.
149. Montgomery Blair.....Counsel for Tilden.
150. Matt N. Ransom.....Senator, North Carolina.
151. David Dudley Field.....Counsel for Tilden.
152. William C. Whitney.....Counsel for Tilden.
153. Thomas W. Ferry.....Vice-President U. S.
154. James H. Blount.....M. C., Georgia.
155. J. D. Cameron.....Senator, Pennsylvania.
156. Martin I. Townshend.....M. C., New York.
157. William M. Springer.....M. C., Illinois.
158. Lyman Trumbull.....Counsel for Tilden.
159. Matt H. Carpenter.....Counsel for Tilden.
160. Jeremiah S. Black.....Counsel for Tilden.
161. George Hoadly.....Counsel for Tilden.
162. Ashbel Green.....Counsel for Tilden.
163. Matthew G. Emery.
164. Alex. Porter Morse.....Counsel for Tilden.
165. H. B. Banning.....M. C., Ohio.
166. Mrs. Nannie Merrick.
167. Blanche K. Bruce.....Senator, Mississippi.
168. Henry W. Blair.....M. C., N. H.
169. Miss M. Y. Frelinghuysen.
170. Mrs. Christine Tyner.
171. Sir Edward Thornton.....British Minister.
172. Hiester Clymer.....M. C., Pa.
173. Mrs. Laura H. Tucker.
174. Mrs. Fannie H. Gordon.
175. John B. Gordon.....Senator, Georgia.
176. John A. Logan.....Senator, Illinois.
177. S. S. Cox.....M. C., New York.
178. Mary F. Waite.
179. Mrs. Helen M. Dorsey.
180. Thomas Swan.....M. C., Maryland.
181. Mrs. Mary Cameron.
182. Mrs. C. Adele Fassett.
183. Mrs. Mary A. Rice.
184. James G. Blaine.....Senator, Maine.
185. Mrs. Sallie R. Knott.
186. Carlile P. Patterson.....Sup't U. S. C. S.
187. Mrs. C. P. Patterson.
188. Mrs. Mary M. Gibson.
189. W. B. Allison.....Senator, Iowa.
190. Randall Lee Gibson.....M. C., Louisiana.
191. Mrs. Lillie E. Willis.
192. Charles W. Hoffman.....Librarian L. L., U. S. S. C.
193. C. H. McCall.....Page, S. C. U. S.
194. Robert Brown.....Page, S. C. U. S.
195. Fred. M. Matterson.....Page, S. C. U. S.
196. H. J. Lauck.....Messenger, E. C.

doctrine, for by it states and the peoples of states can be stripped of their rights and liberties with no power to resist. We protest against the decision, finally, because by it the people of the whole United States are defrauded and cheated, because by it a person is put into the great office of President who has never been chosen according to the Constitution and law, and whose only title depends on the false and fraudulent certificate of two men in the state of Florida, instead of a majority of the legal voices of the whole people declared through and by their electoral colleges.

In the case of Louisiana the decision of a majority of the commission is a stupendous wrong to the people of that state and all the other states, and in defiance of all right, justice, law, and fair dealing among men. The law of that state establishes a returning board to consist of five persons of different parties, with power to fill vacancies, and to canvass and compile the returns of votes from the different parishes and precincts, and declare the result. The board is given power and jurisdiction, provided affidavits are annexed to and received with the return from any precinct or parish, to inquire whether intimidation has existed, and if it is established to throw out the return for such parish; but this jurisdiction is carefully confined to cases where affidavits are attached to and returned with the returns of the votes; in no other case whatsoever is the power to reject votes given.

It was offered to be proved, and was not denied, that the board giving the certificate to the Hayes electors consisted of four persons all of the Republican party, instead of five persons of different parties, as required by law; that these four members had been requested and required by Democrats to fill the vacancy with a Democrat, but had uniformly refused to do so.

It was offered to be proved, also, that this board of four persons, all of the Republican party, in order to perpetrate the frauds with ease and impunity, employed five disreputable persons as clerks and assistants, all of whom had been convicted or were under indictment for various offenses, ranging from subornation of perjury up to murder. Indictment, at least, if not conviction, seemed the only admitted qualification of employment by that extraordinary board.

It was offered to be proved, and was not denied, that this board, in order to give the certificate of election to the Hayes electors, had rejected ten thousand votes, and this was done, although not a return thrown out had been accompanied by the requisite affidavit to give jurisdiction to act at all.

It was offered to be proved that the members of this returning board, in order to give the certificate of election to the Hayes electors, had

resorted to and used affidavits known to them to be false and forged, had themselves been guilty of forgery, and had been paid for making their determination, thus adding bribery to the catalogue of their crimes.

Numerous other corrupt and fraudulent practices were offered to be proved against the members of this returning board, among the least of which was a wicked conspiracy to rob the people of Louisiana of their rights and liberties.

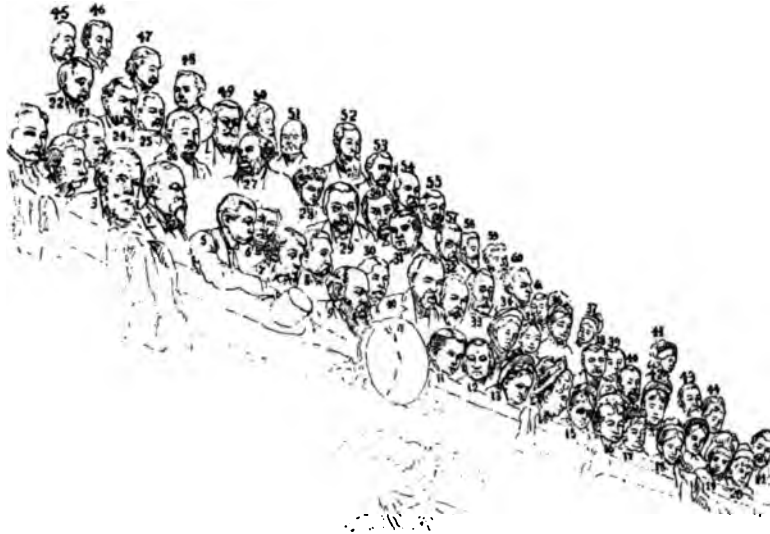
The decision of a majority of the commission rejected all this evidence, and held that the certificate of election given to the Hayes electors must stand, and could not be inquired into, if all such offers of proof could be substantiated.

By that decision the people of the United States are told that the certificate of a board constituted in direct defiance of the law establishing it, and made by grasping a jurisdiction never granted to it, arrived at by forgery, perjury, wicked conspiracy, and the grossest frauds, and finally bought and paid for, must stand, and cannot be set aside; that, although thus steeped in sin and iniquity, it must make the chief magistrate of a great, free, and intelligent people.

The undersigned protest against this decision, also, as bad in law, worse in morals, and absolutely ruinous in its consequences. They denounce it in the presence of the people of the United States, and in the face of the world, because, if intended and designed for such a purpose, it could not have been more cunningly contrived than it is to encourage the grossest frauds, conspiracies, and corruptions in the election of a President. They denounce it, because it will debase the national character, deaden the public conscience, and encourage fraud and corruption in all the public and private transactions and business of the people. They denounce it, because for the first time it declares to the people that by their organic law, the Constitution, it is ordained that a man may seek for, obtain, and hold this great office of chief magistrate of two and forty millions of freemen by fraud and cheating.

Nay, more, that he may openly buy the votes to elect himself, and pay down the price when the purchase is consummated by the count by the two houses of congress, and call them to witness the payment; and that there is no help for it but revolution. They denounce it, because, in effect, it puts up the great office of President at auction, and says to the whole world that it may be bought in safety, and that there is no way known to man by which the title by purchase can be disputed or gainsaid.

In the Oregon case, a certificate signed by the governor and secretary of state, and under the great seal of the state, certified to the election of



KEY TO PICTURE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.
IN THE GALLERY (THE PRESS).

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|--|---|
| 1. W. H. Roberts.....New Orleans Times. | 32. E. V. Smalley.....New York Tribune. |
| 2. John M. Carson.....New York Times. | 33. L. Q. Washington.....Courier-Journal. |
| 3. Ben: Perley Poore.....Boston Journal. | 34. Mrs. E. S. Cromwell.....Chicago Herald. |
| 4. George W. Adams.....New York World. | 35. Mrs. Nellie S. Stowell.....Kansas City Journal. |
| 5. T. C. Crawford.....Chicago Times. | 36. Mrs. Fayette C. Snead ("Fay") Courier-Journal. |
| 6. A. M. Gibson.....New York Sun. | 37. Mrs. A. J. Rowland.....Oxford (Pa.) Press. |
| 7. W. Scott Smith.....New York Evening Post. | 38. Frank Hatton.....Burlington Hawkeye. |
| 8. C. W. Fitch.....Pittsburgh Chronicle. | 39. E. Stoddardt Johnson.....Ed. Frankfort Yeoman. |
| 9. H. V. Boynton.....Cincinnati Gazette. | 40. A. C. Buell.....The Capital. |
| 10. Wilson J. Vance.....Cincinnati Commercial. | 41. Mrs. A. D. Johnston.....Rochester Democrat. |
| 11. Mrs. Jane G. Swishhelm. | 42. Miss Mary E. Mann.....Troy Daily Times. |
| 12. L. A. Gobright.....N. Y. Associated Press. | 43. Charles L. Flanagan.....Phil. North American. |
| 13. Mrs. S. J. Lippincott.....("Grace Greenwood"). | 44. Mrs. Elvira Bliss Sheldon.....Grand Rapids Eagle. |
| 14. Miss Austine Snead.....("Miss Grundy"). | 45. W. Harry Clarke.....Nat'l Associated Press. |
| 15. Miss Emma Janes.....Toledo Blade, etc. | 46. I. N. Burritt.....Ed. Washington Herald. |
| 16. Mrs. Mary E. Nealy.....Home Journal. | 47. C. Cathcart Taylor.....Philadelphia Times. |
| 17. Mrs. M. D. Lincoln.....Cleveland Plaindealer. | 48. Wm. P. Copeland.....New York Bulletin. |
| 18. Miss Sallie Woodbury.....National Union. | 49. E. F. Waters.....Prop. Boston Advertiser. |
| 19. Mrs. Fannie B. Ward.....New Orleans Picayune. | 50. J. Edwards Clarke.....New York Mall. |
| 20. Mrs. Adèle M. Garrigues.....Courier, East Saginaw. | 51. Jno. C. Burch.....Ed. Nashville American. |
| 21. W. M. Olin.....Boston Advertiser. | 52. Mr. Goddard.....Ed. Boston Advertiser. |
| 22. W. O. Fishback.....St. Louis Republican. | 53. Howard Carroll.....New York Times. |
| 23. DeB. R. Keim.....Philadelphia Press. | 54. S. H. Kauffmann.....Evening Star. |
| 24. Crosby S. Noyes.....Ed. Evening Star. | 55. Wm. C. Macbride.....Cincinnati Enquirer. |
| 25. James R. Young.....Phil. Evening Star. | 56. Z. L. White.....New York Tribune. |
| 26. W. E. Curtis.....Chicago Inter-Ocean. | 57. Edwin Fleming.....Journal of Commerce. |
| 27. E. B. Wight.....Chicago Tribune. | 58. L. W. Kennedy.....Daily Chronicle. |
| 28. E. H. Luther.....Boston Post. | 59. M. J. Dee.....Detroit Evening News. |
| 29. Charles Nordhoff.....New York Herald. | 60. George Douglas.....Washington Capital. |
| 30. Clifford Warden.....Pittsburgh Telegraph. | 61. Mr. Parr.....Pittsburgh Post. |
| 31. F. A. Richardson.....Baltimore Sun. | 62. Mrs. G. W. Thomson.....Journal. |

two Hayes and one Tilden elector. The three Hayes electors produced no certification of election signed by any person—only a certificate of certain results—from which it was claimed that it could be inferred who were elected. The law of Oregon required a list of the persons elected to be signed by the governor and secretary of state, under the great seal, and this requirement, as well as that of the acts of congress, was fully met and satisfied by the first certificate. There was no certificate in the second case in any manner complying with the laws of Oregon or the acts of congress. Yet by the decision of the commission the first certificate was rejected and the second taken, although clearly neither in conformity with state or federal law.

The undersigned voted against counting the vote of the Tilden elector, because, notwithstanding the certificate of the governor and secretary of state, they were satisfied he had not been elected by the people of Oregon, and that his vote would not have been the true vote of that State. The majority of the commission decided to set aside and reject the certificate and return, precisely the same in character that they had holden to be conclusive against all evidence in the Florida and Louisiana cases. They adopted and acted on a certificate insufficient, if they regarded their former rulings, under any law, state or national.

The undersigned denounce the Oregon decision as utterly at war with and reversing the rule established in the two former cases, and because it changes the law to meet the wants of the case, establishing different rules applicable to the same facts to bring about a desired result.

In the Florida case, where the evidence failed to establish the fact, the majority of the commission voted to receive evidence to prove one elector held an office of profit and trust under the United States when appointed.

In the Louisiana case, where there was no doubt that two electors held such offices when appointed, it was voted not to receive evidence of the fact, because it was not offered to be proved that they continued to hold such offices where they voted. Apparently the rules change as the requirements of the case change.

In South Carolina the undersigned voted against the Tilden electors being declared elected, because they had not received a majority of the votes of the people. In that case it was offered to be proved, in substance, that United States troops in large numbers were sent to the state before the election, for the purpose of influencing and controlling the votes to be given thereat, by interfering with and overawing the people, and that the militia of the state was used for the same purpose; that the polls were surrounded by armed bands, who by violence and force pre-

vented any exercise of the right of suffrage except on one side ; in fact, that the election was controlled by the armed forces of the state and nation, and a resort to all manner of brutality, violence, and cruelty, and was not free.

The majority of the commission refused to admit the evidence, on grounds that would fairly warrant a President of the United States in using the whole army to take possession of all the ballot-boxes in any state, and allow no voting except for himself if he was a candidate for re-election, or for his party, and which would require both houses of congress to re-count the vote so obtained, and to give him the fruits of such a willful and wicked violation of all constitutional law and right.

If any decision better calculated to destroy the liberty of a free people, to destroy all faith in a republican form of government, a government of the people by the people, could be devised and contrived, the undersigned have not been able to discover it. They denounce the decision as an outrage upon the rights of all the people, and, if sustained and acted on, as the utter ruin of our institutions and government.

The foregoing is a brief statement of the action of the commission. To defeat that action the undersigned have done all in their power. They protested against it before it was accomplished, and they protest against it now. They know the commission was established to receive evidence, not to shut it out. They know the conscience of this great people was troubled by fear that any one should obtain the high office of President by fraud, cheating, and conspiracy, and that it demanded that the charges and counter-charges of corrupt practices in reference to the election in three states should be honestly investigated and inquired into, not established and sanctified by refusing all inquiry and examination.

They know the conscience of the whole people approved the law establishing the commission, nay, hailed it with joy, because it established, as all believed, a fair tribunal, to examine, to inquire into, and determine the charges of fraud and corruption in the election of three states ; and they believe that this conscience has been terribly disappointed and shocked by the action of the commission, which establishes fraud and legalizes its perpetration, instead of inquiring into and condemning it. The undersigned believe the action of the majority of the commission to be wrong, dangerous, nay, ruinous in its consequences and effects.

It tends to destroy the rights and liberties of the states and of the United States and the people thereof, because by it states may be robbed of their votes for President with impunity, and the people of the

United States have foisted upon them a chief magistrate, not by their own free choice honestly expressed, but by practices too foul to be tolerated in a gambling-hell. By the action of the commission the American people are commanded to submit to one as their chief magistrate who was never elected by their votes, whose only title depends on fraud, corruption, and conspiracy.

A person so holding that great office is an usurper, and should be and will be so held by the people—as much an usurper as if he had seized and held it by military force ; in either case, he equally holds against the consent of the people.

Let the people rebuke and overrule the action of the commission. The only hope of the country rests on this being done, and done speedily and effectually, so that it may never become a precedent to sustain wrong and fraud in the future. It is the first and highest duty of all good citizens who love their country to right this foul wrong as soon as it may be done under the Constitution and laws. Let it be done so thoroughly, so signally, so effectually, that no encouragement shall be given to put a second time so foul a blot on our national escutcheon."

The letter of Senator Hoar, who sat with Judge Abbott on that commission, and the letter of General Butler, sufficiently indicate the importance of the part borne by Judge Abbott on that commission. He sat next to Garfield, who had known his brother Fletcher Abbott in Toledo. It was the conscientious conviction of Judge Abbott that the decision of the majority was wrong. Nevertheless he turned a deaf ear to all solicitations of some of his fellow-democrats to aid in preventing the counting of the electoral votes according to that decision. He insisted on maintaining the forms of the Constitution. Senator Hoar writes :

" Worcester, Massachusetts, September 17, 1891.

My dear Sir :

All my recollections of Judge Abbott are of an exceedingly pleasant character. I do not think I should speak of him as my contemporary at the bar, unless that word were used with a pretty comprehensive meaning. When I was a law student from 1846 to 1849 I used to attend court in Concord a good deal, and was present at the trial of a good many causes where Judge Abbott was counsel. He was then one of the leaders of the very able bar of Middlesex county, having been out of college sixteen or seventeen years, and having come forward into leadership very rapidly. After I myself was well established in Worcester, I

was opposed to Judge Abbott in several important cases. He impressed me with his great fairness and justice as well as with his great ability. I remember that he interposed his authority to compel a just settlement in several cases. In one of them, his client, a strong corporation, seemed disposed to do great injustice to a poor man, which I think would have been accomplished but for Judge Abbott's insisting on a reasonable settlement.

He was in the house of representatives for a single session only, if I remember right. The high reputation which he brought with him to the house was shown by the fact that he was made one of the democratic members of the electoral commission. In that commission he stated the view of his party with great vigor and ability and with entire courtesy. It is unnecessary to say that that was a transaction which excited very deeply the feeling of the whole people of the country and especially of those who were called upon to take a conspicuous and responsible part in it. I do not think the kindly feeling toward Judge Abbott of his republican associates in Washington was interrupted by anything which occurred at that time. I am, faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR

HON. CHARLES COWLEY."

General Butler writes:

"At Home, November 22, 1891.

My dear Mr. Cowley:

I had the pleasure to receive your kind invitation to be present at the 'Old Residents' meeting of our city, which would have permitted me to pay my tribute of respect to the memory of the late Judge Josiah G. Abbott; but the condition of my health was such that its literal acceptance was impossible, but I take advantage of the occasion to say, very imperfectly, a few words on that subject.

Judge Abbott and myself were, from 1839 to the end of his life, warm personal friends. He was my senior, but soon we came in contact with each other in the trial of causes as well before juries as in arguments before the supreme court, and I witnessed with care many of his efforts in other litigations. From actual personal knowledge I can bear testimony to his high talents as a lawyer, to his fidelity to his clients, his untiring and ardent advocacy of their cause, his uniform courtesy as a gentleman to his opponents in the court, to his honorable faithfulness to all engagements and understandings between counsel and to his great success in his profession. In 1855 he was appointed justice of the superior court of the county of Suffolk, Boston, and acquitted himself in that

position so as to bring to himself merit and distinction. He resigned that position because its salary was utterly inadequate to the labor and bore no comparison to the emolument of his profession which he resumed in that city. He was an ardent democrat and received the honor of a seat in the house of representatives from that party so early that it was almost doubtful whether he was not too young to serve. Soon after he was elected to the senate and served there with enviable distinction. He was appointed senior aid-de-camp to Governor Morton. He was a candidate for congress, but being in a district with a large majority against his party his election was impossible.

When our unhappy war broke out in 1861 he remained truly and staunchly loyal to the country. I remember an incident on the 17th of April as I was going from Lowell to Boston to take command of the Massachusetts troops which were being sent to Washington. Judge Abbott met me in the same train of cars in the morning and said: 'Well, general, I hear that you are going to take command of our soldiers who go to Washington.' I said: 'Yes, judge; for want of a better.' 'Well,' said he, 'you will have with you poor soldiers in distress and suffering at some turn of affairs; let me contribute my mite to relieve that suffering.' Putting his hand in his pocket he took out some bills and handed me one hundred dollars. I said: 'Judge, you are very generous, but let me give you a memorandum of this.' 'No, no, Butler,' he said, 'we have lived too long together to need a memorandum in a matter of this sort between each other.' I said: 'Thanks, judge; I will see to it that your money shall reach its full destination.' Soon after, he gave two of his sons to the war. I use this phrase, for they were literally given to the country, as he lost them both on the battle-field serving with high honor. Thus he did his duty to his country, at the same time retaining his political beliefs.

In 1874 he was elected to congress from one of the Boston districts. A new member of congress usually has to serve a term or two as an apprentice before he can attain any considerable prominence in the house, but Judge Abbott's high standing and abilities gave him instantly high position with his party, and when in 1876 the best talent and the highest legal ability of the house on the democratic side was to be selected to serve on that most important body, the electoral commission, having to deal with new and unprecedented questions, Abbott was selected with singular unanimity. He took the leading part in that commission. He was strongly impressed, to say the least, with the irregularities under which the local elections were held, and especially in the states of Louisiana and Florida, which resulted in the claimed election of Hayes. The

minority decided that a formal protest should be made to the country against the decision of the majority, and Abbott was selected to prepare that protest, the work and performance of which required much legal learning and the greatest talent in presentation of the arguments which must accompany it. He prepared the paper with his accustomed skill and ability. It was read before his associates and approved, but upon discussion the decision to make any protest was reconsidered, all agreeing, however, that if such protest was to be made the one just read was the very best presentation of the case. Political reasons bearing on the future of the party were the grounds of non-presentation upon which the decision was based. I have had the pleasure of examining Judge Abbott's paper with great interest. To analyze it so as to do it justice would be far beyond the limits of such a letter as I am now writing. It must suffice to say that it was worthy of Judge Abbott, and equal to any efforts of his life; that is to say, it was done as well as it could be done, and with singular and quite judicial impartiality.

I take leave to close by saying that a more honorable gentleman, a better or more loyal citizen, or a more impartial judge has never lived than Judge Abbott, and a truer friend to myself I have not the misfortune to mourn.

I am, very truly yours,

BENJ. F. BUTLER.

HON. CHARLES COWLEY."

Josiah Gardner Abbott was born in Chelmsford, Massachusetts, November 1, 1814, and was a descendant in the seventh generation of George Abbott, a Yorkshire Puritan who migrated from England in 1640 and settled in Andover, Massachusetts. His father, Caleb Abbott, removed from Andover to Chelmsford, and married Mercy Fletcher, whose ancestors had lived in that part of Chelmsford now Lowell upon its first settlement in 1653. Both of Judge Abbott's grandfathers fought at Bunker Hill, and held commissions in the continental army. He was reared under the best domestic influences and taught by the best teachers. One of these was Ralph Waldo Emerson, another was the Rev. Abiel Abbot, D.D. He entered Harvard in 1828, and graduated with distinction in 1832. In 1836 he commenced the practice of law in Lowell, and served as one of the representatives of that city in the legislature of 1837. In 1840 he edited the *Lowell Advertiser*, which he conducted alike with ability and good taste. In 1842 and 1843 he served with marked distinction in the state senate, being a member of the committee on the judiciary and chairman of the committee on railroads.

In 1853 he served as a delegate from Lowell to the constitutional con-

vention, in which he advocated an elective judiciary and making juries judges of law as well as of fact in criminal cases. In 1855 he was appointed a judge of the superior court, and became exceptionally popular with the bar and the public. In January, 1858, he left the bench on account of the larger emoluments eminent counsel can secure in practice. His salary as judge was only three thousand dollars a year, but in the first year after quitting the bench his professional earnings were more than twenty-nine thousand dollars, and in a later year they rose to thirty-six thousand dollars. In 1861 he removed his residence from Lowell to Boston, and afterward added a summer home at Wellesley Hills.

With Judge Abbott, as with Andrew Jackson, it was an inflexible rule of faith and practice that "the Union must and shall be preserved"; and from the first gun at Fort Sumter to the last at Appomattox, he gave the powerful support of his voice, his purse, and his pen to the cause of the Union. Three of his sons with his encouragement accepted commissions in the Union army, and two of them were killed in battle.

Judge Abbott participated in many enterprises outside of his own vocation, and was president or director of various manufacturing, railroad, and water-power companies at Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts, and at Lewiston, Maine. In 1874 he was elected to congress, and served on the special committee which was sent to South Carolina to investigate the facts connected with the presidential election of 1876 in that state, and prepared the report of that committee. He was absent from Washington when the bill creating the electoral commission was introduced, and was personally opposed to that measure; but after the bill had been proposed by the democrats, accepted by the republicans, and enacted as a law, he felt it to be his duty to see that its provisions were carried out. The intention originally was to give a place on the electoral commission to one of the representatives from New York—Fernando Wood or Samuel S. Cox. But neither of them seemed quite the man for such a place. Friends of Judge Abbott, in his absence and without his knowledge, resolved to present his name for that place to the democratic congressional caucus. They did so, and it was unanimously adopted. Speaker Randall warmly approved the choice. It was not known outside of a few that Judge Abbott wrote the address to the country on behalf of the democratic minority of that commission, which is here given to the world as a matter of historic interest.

Charles Bowley.

LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE PICTURE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Our frontispiece this month is of manifold interest. Aside from its faithful representation of a remarkable event in our national history, it contains the portraits of a great number of the most eminent men and women of America, many of whom have since passed away. Mrs. Fassett, the author of the great historic painting, was present at all the open sessions of the electoral commission, and by permission of its president, Justice Clifford, made artistic studies from day to day. The commissioners were Allen G. Thurman, Thomas F. Bayard, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Oliver P. Morton, George F. Edmunds, Justice Miller, Justice Clifford, Justice Stephen J. Field, Justice Joseph P. Bradley, Justice Strong, H. B. Payne, Judge Abbott, James A. Garfield, George F. Hoar, and Francis Kernan who acted as substitute for Allen G. Thurman during his illness. All of these portraits are quickly recognized in the picture. The artist's first sketches of William M. Evarts and Charles O'Connor were made on the opening day, while presenting their arguments in the Florida case. During the memorable month of February, 1877, sketches were made of the members of the commission, of the lawyers, statesmen, politicians; jurists, members of the press, and leaders of society, who were present, and the composition of the picture completed; the work in oils was begun March 5, 1877. Mrs. Hamilton Fish was the first to give the artist a sitting; her husband, the distinguished ex-secretary of state, following the next day.

All the portraits were painted from life-sittings, with the exception of one or two foreign ministers, or like Senator Morton, deceased, in which cases photographs were used. For three summers and two February vacations of the supreme court, the supreme court room and Marshal Nicolay and all the attendants were placed at Mrs. Fassett's service, and every possible facility afforded by Chief Justice Waite and the associate justices for her work. The sittings were chiefly in the supreme court room or in the studio, although occasionally, as in the case of Charles O'Connor, the artist went to other cities to complete her studies.

This picture was recommended for purchase by the joint library committee of the forty-fifth congress; then again by the joint library committee of the forty-seventh congress. It was purchased by the government in March, 1886, and now hangs in the corridor leading to the reserved gallery of the senate in the capitol at Washington, D. C.

THE ENTERPRISE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

A CRITICAL AND COMMON SENSE VIEW

PART II

Ferdinand and Isabella now applied to the pope to have the lands discovered and to be discovered confirmed to them, and quickly received the sovereign empire and principality of the Indies, with royal jurisdiction over all that hemisphere—the Spanish and Portuguese Indian sovereignties being divided by a line drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues west of the Azores. With equal haste another expedition was fitted out, consisting of seventeen vessels and fifteen hundred men, and it sailed on the 23d of September, 1493.

This armada was charged to deal lovingly with the 'Indians and to honor them much. Sir Arthur Helps, whose book on the Spanish conquests in America is classic, is misled by this into representing Isabella as a sort of saint, full of gentle consideration for her new subjects. He also extols the mildness of Columbus. I do not suppose the queen and her ministers were worse than other people of their times, but I cannot think they were so much ahead of them as to possess the fine feelings of ourselves, the saints of a later day, who readily fire up with indignation at any harsh treatment of negro or Indian. The instructions, moreover, had to meet the eye of all Europe, and might possibly be debated in the courts of great Asiatic potentates. In short, they were nice enough in theory but were drawn up under erroneous impressions and amounted in practice to waste paper.

When Columbus returned with his armada to Hispaniola, he found La Navidad destroyed; the Spaniards who had been left there had taken to evil courses, straggled about the country, and had been utterly cut off by a neighboring chief called Caonabo. So he built a new fort in a different part, and having received presents of gold from Cibao, he resolved to found a colony there, and wrote thus to Los Reyes. In this memorial (1494) he drops the mask and boldly, I may say shamelessly, proposes to capture and make slaves of the cannibals. Considering the quantities of cattle, etc., wanted, he proposes that cargoes of necessaries be sent out every year, to be paid for in slaves, captured among these people.

He urges, of course, that it will be good for the cannibals to be con-



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE ROYAL GALLERY AT NAPLES, BY PARMIGIANO.

[Fac-simile of a large mezzotint engraving by W. O. Burgess, in the collection of Mr. W. C. Crane.]

verted to the Christian faith, also that their majesties can collect customs duties on them—as we do upon Chinamen, \$50 a head. He is careful, too, to hint that every such vessel should have a trustworthy royal officer on

board, who should make sure that the merchandise went nowhere else—in *ninguna otra parte ni isla salvo aqui, donde ha de estar la carga y descarga de toda la mercaderia*. Now if Helps' view were correct, the answer would have been a decided negative, indignantly flaming out in passionate words; but the royalties actually wrote, "Let this matter lie over for the present, *until there come some other way of doing it there*, and let the admiral write what he thinks of this." Helps claims that "this proposition for the establishment of slavery was wisely and magnanimously laid aside."

The answer only means, on fair examination, that the court wished the slaves to be sold and the regular market established in the Indies, not in Spain. Thus, as each slave would bring a less price, the mother country would receive a greater value for the commodities furnished, which was clearly the best policy for Spain, but was not so advantageous for the admiral's private interests, under his agreements. Nor did Columbus omit in his memorial an account of his hunt for gold. It has been found, he says, in two rivers, but it is evidently produced on the land, not in the rivers, which, coming in contact with the mineral, wash it away with the sand. Some of the rivers are large, but some are only six inches deep, and quite short; men are therefore wanted, some to wash the gold from the sand, others to dig it out of the earth, and a few should come who have experience in the mines at Almaden. The memorial goes on to say he would not be able to make discoveries that year until his gold washing arrangements were perfected. Quoth their majesties, "*Trabaje como lo mas preciso que ser pueda se sepa lo adito de ese oro*."

It is of the utmost immediate importance that he should find the way to this gold. However, he did go a sailing, discovered fresh islands, among them Jamaica, and then went to San Juan to capture cannibals. On returning he found the colonies in uproar—his people had been marking their footsteps with rapine, injury and insult, many had been killed, the rest were in great danger. He collected his forces, took the initiative, engaged the Indians, utterly routed them, taking so many prisoners that he sent back four ships laden with Indian slaves. Proceeding to attack some other tribe under Caonabo, he is said to have found one hundred thousand arrayed against his two hundred. A "horrible carnage" ensued, the Indians being attacked by the admiral and by his brother Bartholomew from different sides, and many, taken alive, were condemned to slavery. Other skirmishes followed; Caonabo was taken alive and sent to Spain. Numbers were slaughtered, multitudes fled to the forests and mountains. Bad as the cannibal Caribs had been, these Christian Spaniards were infinitely worse. Finally there came abject sub-

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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND HIS SONS DIEGO AND FERDINAND.

FROM AN ANCIENT SPANISH PICTURE IN POSSESSION OF EDWARD HORNE, ESQ., OF BEVISMOUNT NEAR SOUTHAMPTON.

[From the collection of Mr. W. C. Crane.]

mission, and many offered themselves to the service of their conquerors if only they might be allowed to live in their own ways.

Columbus then put them all to tribute—every Indian above fourteen years of age in the mining provinces was to give every three months a little bell full of gold; in the other provinces an arroba of cotton; a tag

hung round their necks being the mark of payment. The Indians knew little about washing gold, the tribute was harsh, and as it could not be lived up to, service was in certain cases substituted for tribute; the villagers were ordered to make and cultivate farms in the Spanish settlements. So desperately were they driven that they actually tried to starve the Spaniards out by a general abstention from sowing or planting anything. They thought they might themselves subsist in the mountains on a scanty nourishment of roots and berries, while the Europeans would have to leave. The Spaniards suffered, but stayed and revenged themselves by further atrocities, the Indians dying in droves, of famine, sickness, misery.

A commissioner of inquiry was next sent out from Spain; one might hope he was to inquire into the grievances of the poor natives. Not at all. There were complaints against Columbus by the whites, his selfish and domineering character having made him many enemies, and he had to go home in 1496 to defend himself, which he did successfully; but he left Don Bartholomew Columbus behind, who wrote that the caciques were killing the Castilians, and being told to send the guilty ones to Spain, instantly shipped three hundred slaves. Another rising, more fighting or man catching, and in 1498 when Columbus went out again he forthwith sent back five vessels with six hundred slaves, and wrote as follows: "In the name of the Holy Trinity there can be sent as many slaves as sale can be found for in Spain; and they tell me that four thousand can be sold, also some log-wood, realizing together about \$60,000."

He was getting into years, we may observe, and wanted to make his money quickly. Next he proposed to exchange slaves for goods—his old idea—and asked that the colonists should be allowed to make use of the Indians for a year or two until things were a little further settled. He was imprudent in not awaiting the answer before allotting to various parties, probably partisans of his, both lands to till and Indians to till them. This having been laid before the queen, doubtless by those whom he had neglected, she affected to be incensed that he should without authority give her vassals to any one, and as some people had brought their Indians to Spain, they were ordered to send them back. Other causes of complaint appearing, Columbus was superseded, and the new governor, Francis de Bobadilla, promptly put the admiral and his brothers in chains and sent them home to Spain. This was the last of Columbus as an administrator, in which, it is evident, he was a signal failure—as might have been foreseen. No Genoese sailor-man, born among sheep-skins—whose only sister, by the way, married a sausage dealer—



CHRISTOPHER COLOMB.

SEUL PORTRAIT VERITABLE, ATTRIBUÉ A ANTONIA DEL RICON.

[From the collection of Mr. W. C. Crane.]

brought up to piracy and slave-trading, could be expected to succeed in such a task, notwithstanding his having the rudiments of a polite education. The Spaniards, moreover, were always jealous of this foreigner, whose exclusive mercantile rights were making him rich, while they were not acquiring dignity or wealth.

In all matters not affecting the common feelings of humanity I wish to judge leniently, and perhaps I may here quote Columbus himself on this very point. "They judge of me," he cries, "as if I were a governor sent into Sicily or some province or city under regular government. . . . I ought to be judged as a captain sent from Spain to conquer the Indies from a numerous and warlike nation with customs and beliefs quite contrary to ours, who dwell in rough mountains, without regular habitations, where by divine will I have placed another world under the dominion of the king and queen our rulers, through which Spain, which used to be called poor, is now rich. I should be judged as a captain who for all this time has worn armor, never putting it off for a single hour; and not by carpet knights alone, but by gentlemen of experience and accustomed to arms."

In due course of events Columbus was released and restored to partial favor, again setting sail in 1498, discovering Trinidad, and afterwards the mainland, the coast of Paria, where the natives came to the ships in their canoes, in countless numbers, many of them wearing pieces of gold upon their breasts, and some having bracelets of pearls upon their arms. He says the people were very graceful in form, tall and lithe, and the chiefs conducted his men to a very large house with façades, in which were many seats, where they gave them bread and wine, both white and red—the bread thought to be made from maize and the wine from various kinds of fruit, not grapes. The people bound their heads with handsomely worked kerchiefs, and used the same material to envelop their bodies. They were lighter in color than the islanders, and it was the fashion among all classes to wear something on the breast and arms. Many wore pieces of gold, hanging low on the bosom. The numerous stone and shell gorgets found in Canada and the United States were probably used in conformity with the same fashion. Their canoes were longer, lighter, and of better shape than had been seen before, and in the middle of each they had a cabin or room in which the chiefs and their wives were wont to travel.

Next come some curious observations, in reading which we should remember that fifty more years had to elapse before Copernicus could announce in his *De Revolutionibus* the true theory of the solar system, and more than a hundred before Galileo with his telescopes founded the new astronomy. As he had previously observed in similar latitudes, he noticed that the north star moved in a circle, which by repeated measurements with his quadrant he thought was five degrees in diameter or more. He says, "When night came on, the polar star was five degrees in altitude; then the guardians were overhead. At midnight the star was elevated ten

degrees, and when morning drew nigh the guardians were fifteen feet below." At first I thought Columbus' observations were absurdly astray, for the distance of the north star from the true pole is less than one and one-half degrees, so that the circle it describes around the pole is scarcely three degrees in diameter. But it occurred to me that as Columbus' observations were made four hundred years ago, there might be an appreciable change in the position of the pole. By actual calculation, however (aided by Mr. Thomas Lindsay, secretary of our Astronomical and Physical Society), I find the distance of the star from the pole there to have been three degrees and over, the diameter of the circle, therefore, to have been a little over six, so Columbus was not so far astray as at first sight appeared. The curious thing is, how came he to think it was only in southern latitudes this phenomenon was apparent? It must be because it is more noticeable when the polar star is near the horizon, and he did not think of varying the observation in various latitudes.

He had always thought, from Ptolemy and others, that the world was spherical, but now he believed it to be pear shaped; roundish as a whole, but with a protuberance where the stalk grows. From the west of the Azores, the land must rise gently towards the sky. He imagines the earthly paradise is a little farther on in the direction he had been traveling. Of course he thinks it inaccessible, but he believes the great streams he has found upon the ocean's surface may proceed from it. His science, we see, is rambling throughout, but I think we may absolve him from the charge of charlatanism. Still, would it not have been enough to add to glory slaves, to slaves gold, to gold pearls, without leading the queen to expect the discovery of paradise? He winds up by stating that while forwarding his dispatch and a chart of the region, he has sent the *adelantado* (lieutenant governor) with three ships to make all possible discoveries in these parts, where he believes in his soul that paradise is situate!

It would not be strange if at this period Columbus' mind was considerably unhinged. He had set out to seek fame, power, wealth. Fame he found empty; power unsatisfactory, because it was prostituted to the mere pursuit of riches; wealth remained his only object, and we all know how the pursuit of gain maddens a restless intellect. We will hasten to a brief consideration of this period, in which we shall see the last of Columbus as a navigator; and, if we were Greeks, we should plainly see the avenging Furies hurrying behind his vessels in the tempestuous air, and hear the stern decree of just but merciless Fate, requiring expiation for the race destroyed in the new world it was given him to discover.

In 1502 he sailed from Cadiz to the Canaries in four days, thence to the Indies in sixteen. Though a tempest set in upon his arrival, he was forbidden to land in Española, and "who that was ever born," quoth he, "not excepting Job, would not have died of despair. Though the safety of my son, my brother, and my friends depended on it, I was even at such a time ordered not to set foot upon the soil or seek the harbors which I through the will of God and through shedding of blood had gained for Spain!" The tempest lasted for eighty-eight days, during which he could see neither sun nor stars. "My ships," he says, "were in the open sea, their sails blown to ribbons; anchors, rigging, cables, boats, and many provisions lost; the crews very weak, and all repentant, many vowing to live a religious life, all making some vows of pilgrimage, while they were often seen to make confession to each other." However, in due course he reached the land of Cariay, and while refitting there, two Indians conducted him to Carambaru, "where the people go naked, with a golden mirror on their necks." These mirrors he does not forget to say were twelve or fifteen ducats in weight, and the folks would trade them for three hawks' bells. He was also told of Veragua and Ciguare. At the former place he sent seventy men ashore, whom the Indians conducted to a lofty mountain, and, showing them the land as far as the eye could reach, told them there was gold in every part. Why, in ten days they said, a man could collect as much as a child could carry, and, in fact, the people he sent to see for themselves, in four hours time all brought back some gold. The Indians however were hostile and massacred some boats' crews.

One of his tempest-tossed vessels was still locked in by a bar which had formed outside the anchorage and from which he had with much difficulty released the others, though leaking like sieves through the ravages of the Teredo. Columbus was suffering from fever and from excessive anxiety and fatigue. All hope of escape indeed seemed gone. What, in such a case, is all the gold in the world to any man?

Just then, his letter says, an extraordinary event occurred. In a species of delirium he painfully climbed the poop. With tremulous and imploring voice and tearful eyes he called for aid on the war captains of the sovereigns from all the four winds of heaven, but none made answer. Groaning from exhaustion he fell asleep, and, in a trance, he heard a pitying voice: "Fool, and slow to believe and serve thy God. What has he done more for Moses or for his servant David? From thy birth he has watched over thee. When he saw thee reach a fitting age he made thy name wondrously celebrated throughout the world. The Indies, that rich portion of the earth, he gave thee for thine own; thou hast

divided them at thy pleasure, he giving thee power thereto. He gave thee the keys of the barriers of ocean, which had been closed with such mighty chains. Thou wast obeyed in extensive territories, and honorably renowned in Christendom. What did the Most High do for the people of Israel when he brought them out of Egypt, or for David, whom from a shepherd he made king in Jewry? Turn to him and acknowledge thy transgressions. His mercy is infinite, thy old age shall not hinder thy great undertaking. He holds many very great possessions. Had not Abraham passed his hundredth year when he begat Isaac? and Sarah, was she not stricken in years? Thou criest for uncertain help, but answer, who has afflicted thee so much and often, God or the world? The privileges and promises God has given; those he does not revoke, nor does he when he has received service ever say, this was not his meaning, he understood it otherwise. He does not inflict punishment to show his power; he fulfils things to the letter; his promises he performs with increase. Is this the usual way or not? Thus have I spoken of what the Creator has done for thee, as for all. At this very hour he is showing thee in part the reward for those toils and dangers thou hast gone through in the service of others." "I heard this," adds Columbus, "in a lethargy, but I could not reply in definite words." So whoever was speaking concluded thus: "Fear not, have confidence; all these sufferings are written on marble, and not without a cause."

This passage has, I believe, confused most previous readers—perhaps all in our day. I have revised the translation of Mr. Major's (for the Hakluyt Society), and while adhering even more faithfully than he to the very words, I think I am enabled to show plainly that this was not in any way a relation of an actual trance or vision. Tennyson sees the romantic, the poetical, the fanciful side, and gilds Columbus' gold with magic touch. He makes him say:

" And God
Hath more than glimmered on me. Oh, my Lord!
I *swear to you I heard His voice* between
The thunders in the black Veragua nights:
'O son of little faith, slow to believe!
Have I not been about thee from thy birth?
Given thee the keys of the great ocean sea?
Set thee in light till time shall be no more?' "

There is always a feeling of regret at destroying any beautiful eidolon, even the image of gold with the feet of clay on the Assyrian plain. But it is apparent that this is only an earnest personal appeal from Columbus

to Isabella for her to reconsider his position. The riddle is plain, the new light dawns fast, if for the words "God," "the Most High," etc., we read "Your Majesty." The clever letter is a piece of adroit flattery (the food of princes) so phrased that few people but the queen would understand it, but to her it must be crystal clear. He says in this fine composition into which he throws his whole soul, that he has been deprived of his authority, has called in vain for succor from her officers, so she herself must be appealed to, and he feigns to hear her answer. He accepts the hope that she is merely trying his patience and devotion. He acknowledges that her wisdom is supreme, and, like that of the Almighty, is chastening him for his faults. But he begs her to consider that she herself had promised and given him authority and a solemn covenant, his share of which he had performed and never neglected, not suffering it to lapse by *non user* or other default. He lastly expresses the conviction that on considering his state she will relent, and, again following the good example of the Lord Omnipotent, reinduct him into his honors and possessions, and continue the same to his posterity for generation after generation.

Going on with his account, his distracted mind begins to harp again on gold. "The fleet has been so tempest-tossed that none but he could know the way to Veragua again, and in Veragua he had seen more signs of gold in two days than he did in Española in four years. . . . Gold, gold, it is the most excellent of things. The Genoese, Venetians, all nations who possess pearls, precious stones, or other valuables, take them to the end of the world to trade and convert them into gold. Gold is treasure, and he who has it has all he needs in this world, and that which will help souls on to paradise. In Veragua I hear that when one of the lords of the country dies, they bury with him all his gold." Is it not sad to find a great mind so diseased as to hint at buried treasures a very ghoul might respect? Then he goes on to plead: "For seven years I was at your royal court, where every one to whom the enterprise was mentioned treated it as ridiculous, whereas now there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer! The lands which here own your highnesses' sway are more extensive and richer than those of any other Christian power. When by the divine will I had placed them under your royal and exalted dominion and was on the point of raising a very large revenue, while, too, I was feeling secure and joyful and was waiting for vessels to take me to your illustrious presence with good fortune and grand news of gold, I, with my two brothers, was arrested, confined on ship-board, fettered, despoiled even of clothing, and was shockingly treated, without trial or conviction. Who could believe the tale that

a poor stranger would in such a spot raise a causeless revolt against your highnesses, lacking support from any other prince, alone among your highnesses' natural subjects and vassals, all my sons being at your royal court? Thirty-eight years old was I when I entered your service, and now I have not a hair that is not gray, my body is infirm, and whatever I or my brothers had acquired was seized and sold, without hearing or examination, to my great dishonor—except one shirt! I am bound to think this was not done by your royal orders. The restitution of my honor and of my losses, with the punishment of those who caused them, will make the nobility of your character famous, while it is due to those who despoiled me of my pearls and disparaged my position as admiral. . . . I am, indeed, as badly ruined as I say. I have hitherto had pity upon others; may heaven now have mercy and the earth pity me! As for temporal matters, I have not a cent for the offertory; and as for spiritual things, I have here in the Indies neglected the prescribed forms. Alone in my misery, weak, daily awaiting death, surrounded by myriads of cruel and hostile savages, separated by such a distance from the sacraments of holy Church, in what state will my soul be if here it has to leave the body? Weep for me, whoever loves charity, truth, and justice."

Sad, indeed, is the picture of himself he so vividly paints, but, O just Heaven! Oh, righteous retribution! is surely what we must think of it all! He escaped; he beached his leaky sinking ships in Jamaica, where he, nearly starved, was all but cut off by roving Indians, was only saved by Diego Mendez' heroism in daring the passage from Jamaica to Espanola in a canoe, as related in Mendez' interesting will. So at length, late in 1504, he was enabled to reach Spain, but he found the queen dying, and she expired before the end of the year, while Columbus in 1506 followed her on his last voyage for the discovery of the unknown. He was buried where he died, at Valladolid, but in 1513 his remains were transferred to Seville, where they carved this inscription, short and mean in execution, but glorious in a way, too:

"A CASTILLA Y A LEON
NUEVO MONDO DIO COLON."

In 1536 his body and that of his son Diego were transported to Hispaniola, (San Domingo). Thence, on the cession of the island to the French, they were ordered to be carried to Havana, but doubt has been lately cast on the actuality of the transfer, which is said to have been prevented by the pious fraud of a priest, who thought the remains should be left where they were at rest, and we cannot yet feel sure where the discoverer reposes.

We have seen how Columbus dealt with the Indians. Alas! this initiative was fated to be enduring. Ovando, who succeeded Bobadilla, who succeeded Columbus, early declared war against the Indians of Higüey, the eastern section of Española. They behaved with some bravery, but their naked bodies and simple weapons were not a match for the well-armed Spaniard, and they took to the forest. Many who were captured had their hands cut off. On one occasion six or seven hundred prisoners were slain at once. So, too, with the Indians of the western peninsula, Xaragua. Having treacherously obtained possession of the persons of their queen and her chiefs, or caciques, she was hanged, the chiefs burned, and the province desolated. We read in Las Casas that on one occasion the Spaniards hanged thirteen Indians "in honor and reverence of Christ our Lord and his twelve apostles." While hanging, the bodies were used like carcasses of mutton for the Spaniards to try their swords upon. No wonder the Indians soon began to grow scarce in Española! However, the Bahamas were still full of them, and the king (1509) allowed the population to be transferred, being told it would be a good action to bring them to Hispaniola, where they might enjoy the preaching and political customs there in vogue; besides, they might assist in getting gold and thereby serve his majesty. In five years they carried across over forty thousand, telling them they were conveying them to the heaven of their ancestors. This caused some of the clergy ultimately to take the subject up. Las Casas, late in life, was revolted by the sights he saw, and began a crusade for mercy. Father Antonio, a Dominican, also went to Spain, sought and obtained an interview with the king. To illustrate the cruelties which had become common in the new-found lands, he told the king that a group of people tossed a little Indian baby into a river, just for a joke, and as the little thing rose once or twice, "Ha! stupid!" cried one, "you boil up, do you?" whereat they fell into convulsions of laughter. Well, laws were made to regulate these things. The Indians were to work at the mines five months, then to receive two months' holiday (*sic*) to till their own lands; then five months more at the mines. As they sometimes sought refuge in flight, the Spaniards trained dogs to follow them. Then they began a policy of suicide, whole families putting themselves to death, and villages inviting other villages to join in leaving an intolerable world. Some hanged themselves, others drank yucca juice. We read that one man, hearing that his allotted slaves were going to hang themselves, ordered them to bring a rope for him, too; whereupon, fearing they would not be rid of him in the future state, they agreed to remain as they were.

I do not intend to follow the Spaniard to Cuba, where similar atrocities

prevailed, or Vasco Nunez to the Isthmus and the Pacific; nor shall I take you with the truculent Pizarro to Peru, or with Cortez to Mexico. Everywhere we should meet the same brutal disregard for human life, the same insatiable lust for gold; indeed, an Indian having hinted to Nunez that there was a river where they fished for gold with nets, he and all Spain became mad with greed. Nunez has been thought merciful in his dealings with the aborigines, but I come across a passage in which he mentions quite incidentally that he has hanged thirty chiefs and should have to hang as many more as he should take. He was in the pleasant habit of torturing his prisoners to make them tell where the towns were which had most gold and provisions. He would then attack these places at night.

It is not astonishing that the Indians should have vanished from the islands, all but a few hundred Caribs who keep a foothold at St. Vincent, and are adroit at basket making and similar small industries; for the primitive races dwindle and disappear before the highly specialized Caucasian, wherever the latter can exist. The diseases from which we suffer but survive, to them are deadly. Small-pox, for instance, was horribly fatal to the islanders soon after the time to which I have brought down their melancholy story, while in Mexico it mowed a terrible swath from ocean to ocean, killing many hundred thousand in a few weeks. In the plan of being, an eternal contest is always being waged among plants, birds, beasts, *and men*. Needs be, said the greatest of teachers, that offences come, yet woe to him by whom they come; and we cannot but loathe the offender against the altruistic law of love and mercy which we are taught to regard as the highest and best development of character. In the realm of Canadian history I long ago pilloried Champlain, who, great in many respects, cannot be pardoned for being the first to fire upon and slay the Indian of the north in battle. And shall Columbus escape the blood-guiltiness of destroying a million and a half of his fellow men in Española, a million in Cuba, half a million in Jamaica, a hundred thousand in the Bahamas? Why need I speak of the millions of Mexico, the millions of Colombia and Central America, the millions of Peru? all these dreadful holocausts owe their origin to him and his thirst for wealth. Cruel and merciless, indeed, the Latin races have always been. The Romans drove their slaves to insurrection and servile war; they were always sacking cities, or despoiling them as Mummius and Verres did, harassing their neighbors, ruining provinces by fiscal exactions, slaughtering the levies of nation after nation, proscribing party leaders and adherents, setting to fight in their arenas man against beast, prisoners of one nation against prisoners of another. The Spaniard seems to have preserved with his

almost Roman speech more than this Roman cruelty, with an added ferocity of his own. Their armies in the middle ages were the terror of Europe, and the worst of the race seemed to have sailed under Columbus.

I firmly believe that, barring accidents, we all get in this world what we deserve. What seem to be misfortunes, hardships, injustices, will on close examination or introspection be found to be due to some weakness of character or judgment. To the great defects of Columbus' character it is probably due that there is but one inscription to his memory in Spain; but one public statue in Italy, erected at Genoa about twenty years ago; that the new world he discovered bears another's name; that he died prematurely old, his hair whitened, and that his direct posterity soon vanished from the earth. Lovely Hispaniola is a black spot on the map of civilization, retrograding towards barbarism. Even Spain was not helped by the systems of colonization and government introduced.

To the world at large the enterprise of Columbus was indeed momentous. Those who deride older navigators are ill-informed. For ages men had sailed the open seas—the Indian Ocean before the time of Christ; while in the west, Carthaginian, Greek, and Norseman had gone far out of sight of land, but the ocean routes had run on well established courses. The ancients and the men of the middle ages sailed from the Pillars of Hercules almost due north to Britain; sighting occasional head-lands perhaps not more anxiously than we do to-day. Thence the track ran almost due north too, by the west coasts of Ireland and Scotland to Iceland, whence it turned west to Greenland and the fishing grounds. This was the way Cabot went, and the Spanish ambassador in Britain says he saw his course pricked on the map as sailed from day to-day. So from these same Pillars the sailors struck out along well-known paths, by the capes of Africa to the Canaries, feeling their way to India, as in my opening pages I have tried to show. On these Canaries, Carl Blind says Columbus found a statue, pointing west—I have not seen the passage, but I suggest it was imaginative, like the Veragua dream. That, however, was the course he took, and gave a new impulse to the world.

It seemed even to me on first visiting the West Indies that new heavens and a new earth lay unfolded; a new sea also. The sun rises and sets with a golden hue like amber or topaz, not with the red tints of the rose. The nights are not more brilliant than our own, but new constellations, *Argo navis* with Canopus and the Southern Cross, are added to Orion, Sirius, Arcturus and the Bear. Not a plant or tree resembles those of our northern forests; not a bird, beast, insect or reptile is the same. The color of the sea, its winds, currents, fish, shells, are different. When

discovered the people were all strange, their industries and mode of living were of unexpected character. True there is an unsatisfying sameness, and one returns to our more beautiful northern latitudes with fresh delight in the varying seasons and the more changeful aspects of nature, to find the masses of color on our northern hill-sides more enchanting, the perfume of our fields more delicate, our breezes healthier, and our morning and evening dews not malarious. But the new ideas caused the arts of the painter and carver to take a new departure and blossom into a higher maturity. Science was invigorated in every branch, and, inventing new aids to every sense, began the revelation of the system on which the universe exists. Columbus might have more truly said than Canning that he brought a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. In matters social, we, here, are inheritors of the enterprise of that age, and let us see to it that we do honor to our America, not only leaving it garlanded with the fruits of just and noble lives, but holding aloft to the utmost of our ability the lamps of literature and science. In matters of higher politics, we owe to the Columbian era the seeds of our present state, and looking beyond the quarrels of party and of rival colonies and nations we can appreciate the language of Conan Doyle, which he puts into the mouth of a seer of long ago, and which (like the noble apostrophe of Euripides to Athens, and that other patriotic utterance of Shakespeare, spoken through John of Gaunt, in which he calls his country "this precious stone, set in a silver sea") I cannot read without emotion. "What is this that is shown me? Whence come they, these peoples, these lordly nations, these mighty countries which rise up before me? I look beyond and others rise, and yet others, far and farther, to the shores of the uttermost waters. They crowd! They swarm! The world is given to them, and it resounds with the clang of their hammers and the ringing of their church bells. They call them many names, and they rule them this way or that, but they are all English, for I hear the voices of the people. On I go, and onwards over seas where man hath never yet sailed, and I see a great land under new stars and a stranger sky, and still the land is England. Where have her children not gone? What have they not done? Her banner is planted on ice. Her banner is scorched in the sun. She lies athwart the lands and her shadow is over the seas."



(Concluded.)

TORONTO, CANADA.

THE VIRGINIA OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD *

INFLUENCES WHICH CONSPIRED TO PRODUCE A REMARKABLE PEOPLE

It is with the highest appreciation of the honor conferred on me at your last meeting in electing me as your presiding officer for the year 1891, that I now enter upon one of the duties imposed upon me, and bespeak your attention for a short time while I read the annual address. And first, I heartily congratulate you on the flourishing condition of our association. Its constantly increasing membership, and the appreciation of its work both by the government and the public, prove incontestably the wisdom of the noble men who organized it, and the practical ability with which its affairs have been conducted. A great work lies before us, and we each should feel honored in being permitted to take part in its accomplishment,

But while we have abundant cause for thankfulness for the past, we cannot look back over the year just closing without a painful feeling of loss, in the death of some of our most distinguished and useful members. Within three weeks after the adjournment of our last annual meeting intelligence came of the death of our distinguished ex-president, the Hon. George Bancroft. His valuable life had been prolonged till it was entering on the last decade of a century in the first year of which he was born; and although exhausted nature had for some time been giving plain evidences of the approaching end, yet such was the loving regard in which he was held by his countrymen, that they were not prepared for his death, and the feeling was universal, that America had met with a grievous loss in the death of one of her greatest citizens.

He was the great American historian, whose work will live, however excellent the coming historians of our country may be. To him we are indebted for the lifting up of American history from the subordinate place it had theretofore held, and fixing it in one of the highest niches in the temple of Clio. No one could have been better equipped for his great work. Learned, industrious, striving for accuracy, with ample means and opportunities for gathering materials, he was filled with that which gave soul to his work, an ardent attachment to American institutions. He succeeded in touching the public heart, and in popularizing our history to a degree seldom attained by historians of any age or

* Inaugural address of Hon. William Wirt Henry, LL.D., president of the American Historical Association, at its opening session in Washington, D. C., December 30, 1891.

country. Now that he is removed from us, his loving connection with our association will ever be remembered and regarded as one of our highest honors.

During the month of January the Hon. James Phelan also departed this life. He had not lived to old age, but he had made his mark by his most valuable history of Tennessee, which will entitle his name to an honorable place on the roll of American historians. We should bear in mind that it was his exertions on the floor of congress which obtained for us our charter.

During the fall our losses have been more numerous. Among them several names occur to me. The Hon. John H. B. Latrobe of Baltimore, who died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having distinguished himself in various walks of life, in all of which he displayed remarkable versatility and strength. Dr. George B. Loring of Massachusetts, whose commanding figure and genial face we shall miss from our meetings. He too had walked in various paths of life, and always with distinction; but perhaps his greatest work was in stimulating the agricultural interests of New England. Professor John Larkin Lincoln, for more than half a century a distinguished instructor in Brown University, whose memory will ever be green, not only in that institution, but in the breasts of all who were so fortunate as to be taught by him. Gordon L. Ford of Brooklyn, whose devotion to learning was not only shown in his own acquirements, but in the magnificent library he accumulated. Happily he trained and left to us two learned and accomplished sons, whose lives have been thus far devoted to historical work. Useful and distinguished lives have also been ended in the death of P. W. Sheaffer, Esq., of Pottsville, Pennsylvania, author of a historical map of Pennsylvania; of Professor Charles W. Bennett of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, who obtained the Ranke library for Syracuse University; of Hon. Rufus King of Cincinnati, and of Thomas Akins, D.C.L., commissioner of the public records of Nova Scotia.

But I must hasten to the subject of this address. Every effect is the resultant of antecedent forces, and our study of any people will not be complete until we learn the various causes which have united to produce the condition of the people we study. Such a tracing of antecedents is history in its largest sense.

Taking the American colonies during the revolutionary period, nothing could be more interesting or instructive to an American, or indeed to any student of history, than a full account of the influences which conspired to produce the remarkable people who were then found in their borders.

Each colony had an individuality of its own, resulting from its development in a state of almost perfect isolation from the rest of the world. Each contained a large number of men of great capacity, of pure morals, and of unsurpassed patriotism. The continental congress of 1774 was a representative body which distinctly reflected the purity of character, the great intelligence, and the high state of Christian civilization to which the colonists had attained. That celebrated body of men were the admiration of Europe. The splendid tribute of Lord Chatham is familiar to every one, in which he declares as the result of his study of history, "that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia."

Not so familiar is the tribute of Lord Camden. Said he: "I would have given half my fortune to have been a member of that which I believe to be the most virtuous body of men which ever had, or ever will, meet together in this world."

It is true these were picked men, but the communities from which they were selected, and which selected them, must have been high in the scale of intelligence and purity to have had such men in their midst. It is true that men of great genius and force of character are from time to time met with in history, who seem to direct, if not give shape to, the destinies of their countries. But we must remember that these great characters, so gifted by nature, were themselves shaped by their environments, and to these we must look for an explanation of their work.

Following the ideas I have suggested, I propose in this paper to touch hurriedly upon the causes which conspired to produce the Virginia of the revolutionary period.

The English of the seventeenth century were the outcome of an evolution during three centuries of a people who were an amalgamation of three branches of the great Teutonic family with each other and with the aboriginal Britons. They were a people superior to any existing in the world. Developing in their sea-girt island without the disturbing influences of outside nations, they formed a distinctive people in their habits, customs, and civil institutions. In these last they had attained a degree of freedom not known to the rest of the world. The great rights of person and of property were enjoyed under a protection that was fundamental to their system of jurisprudence, and in the arts and sciences, in philosophy and literature they were in the front rank of Christendom. In religion they were Protestants, and had all the advantages of that great unshackling of the human mind which was accomplished by the reformation.

These were the people that colonized Virginia in the early part of the seventeenth century. They came to a fertile land, lying in a temperate climate between thirty-six and forty degrees northern latitude, and one which was peculiarly fitted for agricultural pursuits from the sea on the east to the mountains, the western border of their settlements. Every variety of vegetable production which is found in the temperate zones was raised in this area in profusion. And such as bore transportation to the mother country were easily shipped from convenient landings on the banks of the Chesapeake, or on the noble rivers which emptied into the great bay. Thus agriculture became the favorite pursuit. Speaking of the favored region of Virginia and the Carolinas, and the mountains which constitute its western border, Professor Shaler, in his late valuable work styled *Nature and Man in America*, says:

"This region of southern uplands has in its soil, its forests, and its mineral resources a combination of advantages perhaps greater than those of any other equal area in the world. In addition to these favorable conditions, the region possesses an admirable climate. In winter the temperature falls low enough to insure the preservation of bodily vigor; in summer the heat is less ardent than in the lower-lying regions of the New England and New York group of states. In the Virginia section we find a climate resembling in range of temperatures those which characterize the most favored regions of the old world; and it is there, perhaps, we may look for the preservation of our race's best characteristics."

After the English had planted Virginia, there was a small immigration of Germans and a larger one of French Huguenots, but they did not sensibly affect the characteristics of the colony, and soon became intermixed with the English. A much larger addition to the colony was the stream of Scotch-Irish from the North of Ireland, that poured into the valley between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny mountains during the first half of the eighteenth century, overflowing sometimes the mountain barriers. In the valley they retained their national characteristics in a remarkable degree. They were strict Presbyterians, and the church and schoolhouse were always found among the first structures they built. Tenacious of their rights in church and state, they were foremost in opposing tyranny in every form. Their constant warfare with the Indians made them a race of warriors, and they have added to the glory of Virginia in every war in which she has ever engaged. It has been said that the Virginians were an agricultural people; they were pre-eminently so; and the geography of the colony as well as the climate gave direction to their employment. Between the mountains and the sea many streams water the land afford-

ing fertile bottoms. The accessibility of deep water to nearly every part of the colony prevented the growth of large cities. In fact as late as the revolution Norfolk was the largest town in the colony, and it only contained six thousand inhabitants. The very wealth of Virginia in harbors contributed to her poverty in cities.

The profusion of productions afforded by the soil and climate stimulated the hospitality of the inhabitants, of whom generous living became a characteristic. But while soil and climate thus united to give ease to Virginia life, they rendered the colonists too well satisfied with what they enjoyed to engage in arduous or speculative enterprises in pursuit of wealth. They were content, with few exceptions, to work their lands and leave to others merchandise, mining and manufacturing.

Undoubtedly the production of the soil which had most influence on the development of Virginia character was tobacco. It is said that John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas, first cultivated it in a systematic and intelligent manner. Certain it is that from an early period of Virginia's history it was considered its most valuable product. It was easily transported across the Atlantic, and found a ready market in Europe. It became the money crop of the planters, and from it was derived the wealth which characterized them as a class. Its value was a strong preventive of the growth of towns, as the planters lived in great comfort, and often in elegance, on their plantations, and felt no desire to exchange plantation for city life. It was by the cultivation of this plant, too, requiring much labor, that slavery became fixed on the colony, an institution which was most potent in shaping the history of Virginia. The slaves were cheap labor in the cultivation of the soil, and were brought to the colony in such numbers that, with their natural increase, they became nearly half of the population in the eighteenth century. Their use in different kinds of manual labor induced the whites to hold themselves aloof from it; and as it came to pass that nearly every white man owned one or more slaves, the whites devoted themselves to superintending their own slaves, or those of the larger planters.

The custom of entailing estates kept up the large plantations, and their owners soon developed into representatives of the ancient barons of England. To a large degree they lived independent of the world around them, producing on their plantations whatever they needed. The following picture of William Cabell, of Union Hill, in Nelson county, from the accomplished pen of the late Hugh Blair Grigsby, is a fair representation of the class to which he belonged: "He was a planter in the large acceptation of the word, as it was understood rather in the interior than on the sea-

board, which included not only the cultivation of a staple, in its ordinary agricultural aspects, but the construction of the instruments, and the preparation and manufacture of articles, which the eastern planters of that day, like many of their successors, were content to find ready made to their hands. He fashioned his iron on his own stithy; he built his houses with his own workmen; he wove into cloth the wool from his own sheep, and cotton from his own patch; he made his shoes out of his own leather. He managed his various estates with that masterly skill with which a general superintends his army, or a statesman the interests of a community intrusted to his charge."

The institution of slavery had its evils, which may be traced in the history of the whites, and which have been much discussed and often exaggerated, into which, however, I do not propose here to enter. But as regards the African race there is little to lament, in comparison with the great benefits slavery conferred on it. From a state of barbarism it raised the race into a state of civilization, to which no other barbarous people have ever attained in so short a time. The late African slave is now rated by our government as superior to the American Indian, and to the natives of the Celestial empire of China, and is intrusted with the highest privileges of an American citizen. The effect upon the whites was in some respects ennobling, as it greatly stimulated the independence of character and love of freedom which characterize rulers, whether in kingdoms or on plantations. That profoundly philosophical statesman, Edmund Burke, in his speech on "Conciliation with America," delivered the 22d of March, 1775, remarked upon the spirit of liberty developed in the masters of slaves in these words:

"In Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. When this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks amongst them like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it, but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so, and those people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves

who are not slaves themselves. In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible."

The institution of slavery had a marked effect on the women of Virginia. By it they were exempt from the menial duties of life, and in their country homes they devoted themselves to the management of their households and the cultivation of their minds and manners. By reason of this the name "Virginia matron" became a synonym of all that was refined in manners, and pure and lovely in character. It is a great mistake to suppose that the Virginia matron led an idle or useless life. While her duties were not menial, they were nevertheless ample to occupy her whole time. As a mistress on a plantation she had the care of much that only a woman can attend to. To feed, to clothe, to teach, to guide, to comfort, to nurse, to provide for and to watch over a great household, and keep its complex machinery in noiseless order—these were the duties which devolved on her and which she performed to the admiration of all who came in contact with Virginia life. The mild climate in which they lived developed in the Virginia women a beauty of person commensurate with their loveliness of character, and these two conspired to stimulate the chivalrous regard in which they were held by the men. This regard was indicated in the courteous bearing of the men toward them. The Virginian indeed was courteous to all, and his bearing in life came to be described in the two words "Virginia gentleman."

The English people who came to Virginia, with few exceptions, did not leave England because of oppression in church or state; they brought with them the literature, the manners and customs, and the civil and religious institutions of the mother country, to all of which they were profoundly attached. It was simply the planting of an English acorn in the rich Virginia soil of America, from which sprang an American-British oak, which under the genial sky of the new world was destined to outstrip its English original.

The form of government allowed by the early charters was potent in the development of Virginia character, and this form, with admirable flexibility, adapted itself to the individuality assumed by the colony in its progress. The executive was a governor appointed by the crown, or was his authorized deputy. He was advised by a council selected from the colony, and similarly appointed. They were considered as representatives of royal authority, and constituted a mimic court. Their style of living was in accordance with their high rank, and was more or less imitated by the rich men of the colony according to their proximity to

the capital. Their influence was great, as they dispensed the patronage of the colony. In addition to their executive functions, the governor and council sat as a court, and for years was the only court in the colony. After the institution of county courts, which was at an early date, the governor and council retained much original jurisdiction, and became also a court of appeals. This important body also acted as a branch of the assembly and thus took the place of the house of lords in the colonial system. Its members were the representatives of the aristocracy of the colony.

As a legislative body it was merged into an assembly in 1619, when a house of burgesses was summoned composed of members chosen by the people. This, the first representative body which ever sat in America, had a controlling influence in the development of Virginia character. The elective franchise, which was for years exercised by all adult males, gave, as nothing else could, a dignity to citizenship. Each man felt himself a part of the state in the fullest sense, and became interested in knowing and directing its affairs. The house of burgesses was the Cerberus that guarded with ever-watchful eye the political rights of the colonists. Thus as early as 1624 we find it declaring that "the governor shall not lay any taxes or ympositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, otherway than by authority of the general assembly, to be levied and ymployed as the said assembly shall appoynt."

This claim of the representatives of the people to the sole right to lay taxes, the great principle which is the corner-stone of British freedom, was never abandoned by the Virginians. The acts of assembly were subject to the royal supervision, and were sometimes disallowed. But enough were approved to allow the development of the colony, according to the law of evolution to which it was subjected. This separate assembly for the colony of necessity led to the straining, and final snapping, of the cords which bound it to England and impeded its progress toward a great state. Men who became accustomed to a distinct legislative body, their own immediate representatives, ceased to regard a parliament sitting beyond the ocean, in which they were not represented, as authorized to legislate for them; and with this right claimed by parliament the question of separation became a mere question of time.

The county organization of the colony was based upon, and followed closely, the shire system of England. It was a microcosm of the state. The county lieutenant, its chief officer, was vested with executive power, and had command of the militia. He was selected from the upper class, known as "gentlemen." The county court exercised judicial functions,

and was composed of justices of the peace, who were selected from the men of highest character and intelligence in the county, and held office for life. It was a self-perpetuating body, vacancies being filled by appointment of the governor upon the recommendation of the court. No pay was attached to the office of justice, except the possibility that the incumbent might become the sheriff of the county for a limited time, which last office was filled from the bench of justices in the order of their commissions. The office of justice thus being a highly honorable one, and filled by the best men in the county, the influence of the incumbents was very great. These resided in different parts of the county, and thus each neighborhood was supplied with an officer. They were the advisers of the people, the composers of their difficulties, as well as the judges in their petty litigations in the single justice's court. Naturally they came to be regarded with the greatest respect, and to be looked up to as examples of purity and intelligence, to be imitated by their fellow-citizens. Thus their influence was most elevating in its tendency. To this class Virginia was chiefly indebted for the high character of her people. Indeed most of the Virginians who were distinguished in the revolutionary period were, or had been, justices of the peace.

While the shrievalty was in their hands defaults in the amounts of the revenue collected were almost unknown. The courts in which they sat had their jurisdiction enlarged from time to time, till it became very extensive; they also laid the county levy, and passed on the claims to be paid out of it. These courts, unlike their English originals, were held at the several county seats, and during most of their history were monthly. The monthly county courts were important factors in Virginia life. At them there was always a large gathering from different parts of the county, and much business was transacted, while county-men, living at a distance from each other, met and formed acquaintances and entered into business relations. Candidates for offices, elective by the people, attended, and they were required to set forth their claims in public speeches, and to debate with their opponents. This contributed to the cultivation of public speaking, and by these public debates the ordinary citizen was instructed in the questions of the day. In these tribunals the lawyers of Virginia were trained, and this training equipped for the higher walks of professional life the great lawyers and judges that Virginia furnished before, during, and after the revolution—such men as Edmund Pendleton, Peter Lyons, St. George Tucker, Spencer Roane and John Marshall.

When in the convention of 1829 it was sought to change the system, there was a united protest from a number of the ablest men in the body.

The accomplished P. P. Barbour, who afterward sat on the supreme court of the United States, said: "After a twenty-five years acquaintance with the county courts of Virginia, it is my conscientious opinion that there is not, and never has been, a tribunal under the sun where more substantial practical justice is administered. . . . The idea was suggested to me fifteen years ago by one of the most distinguished men we had among us; who declared it to me as his belief, that the county courts of Virginia exerted an important political influence on her population; the monthly meeting of neighbors and of professional men caused the people to mingle and associate more than they otherwise would do, and produced a discussion of topics of public interest in regard to the administration of government, and the politics of the community. These meetings, perpetually recurring in all the counties of the state, constitute so many points from which political information was thus diffused among the people, and their interest increased in public affairs."

The distinguished lawyer and statesman Benjamin Watkins Leigh followed Mr. Barbour, and said: "The eulogium pronounced by the learned gentleman from Orange is perfectly just, in declaring that these tribunals are not merely good but the best on earth." He further declared that only two charges of corruption had been brought against Virginia's justices during the existence of the office for two hundred years. Chief Justice John Marshall joined in the praises of this venerable body of public servants, and added: "I am not in the habit of bestowing extravagant eulogies upon my countrymen. I would rather hear them pronounced by others; but it is a truth, that no state in the Union has hitherto enjoyed more complete internal quiet than this commonwealth, and I believe most firmly that this state of things is mainly to be ascribed to the practical operation of our county courts. The magistrates who compose those courts consist in general of the best men in their respective counties; they act in the spirit of peace-makers, and allay rather than excite the small disputes and differences which will sometimes arise among neighbors. It is certainly much owing to this that so much harmony prevails amongst us. These courts must be preserved."

It was not till 1852 that the system was changed, and justices were made elective by the people and were paid for their services. Since then the Virginia justice has depreciated, and the office has ceased to be held in honor, and now the justices no longer hold the county court.

In front of the court, when in session, sat the clerk, always an accomplished officer. He held his office by appointment by the court and during good behavior. The interests of the community at large were closely con-

nected with the responsibilities of his office. He was the keeper of the records of the court and of the muniments of title to the lands in the county. His fellow county-men sought him for information on many subjects, and he became the legal adviser of the ordinary citizen. The office was often retained in families for generations, and the incumbents were, as a class, as admirable as any country ever possessed. Besides these officers there were sheriffs, coroners, constables and surveyors, of whom I need but make mention.

The colony was laid off into parishes, in order to accommodate the affairs of the Established church. These were managed through vestries, which laid levies for the purchase of glebes, the building and repairing of churches, and the support of the ministers and of the poor. The members of the vestries were also men selected from the best class in the community by the parishes, and were generally prominent members of the church. This county organization was a practical training of the people in local self-government, and this principle, so important in our form of government, was one to which the Virginians have been ever ardently attached.

In a new country with a sparse population the advantages of education were of necessity very limited. The children were taught by their parents, or not at all. But as the country filled up and the people became prosperous they became more anxious to educate their children, and schools were multiplied. The historian Beverley, in describing the state of the colony in 1720, says: "There are large tracts of land, houses, and other things granted to form schools, for the education of children in many parts of the country; and some of these are so large that of themselves they are a handsome maintenance to a master, but the additional allowance which gentlemen give with their sons, renders them a comfortable subsistence. These schools have been founded by legacies of well inclined gentlemen, and the management of them hath commonly been left to the discretion of the county court, or to the vestry of the respective parishes. In all other places, when such endowments have not been already made, the people join and build schools for their children, where they learn upon easy terms."

These last, being often situated in worn-out fields, acquired the name of "old field schools." They furnished the education of the average Virginian male and female in colonial days. That education which has been facetiously styled learning the three R's, reading, writing, and arithmetic, was very general. This is proved by the ancient records preserved in some of the counties. These show that of those who came for marriage

licenses the number who could not write their names was small. As early as 1660 the assembly moved for a college in which the higher branches of education were to be taught. But the scheme only took practical shape when in 1692 the English sovereigns William and Mary endowed the college, which has ever since borne their names. The influence of this institution for good upon the colony and state of Virginia has been incalculable. When its halls were opened the necessity of sending Virginia youths to England to acquire the higher education no longer existed, and most of the leaders of thought in the colony thereafter had the advantage of early training in the capital of the colony. This intensified the peculiar characteristics of Virginia society. The college trained and gave to the world during the revolutionary period a host of statesmen whose names are indelibly impressed on the page of American history. Had it numbered among its alumni only Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall, it would have laid America under lasting obligations. But besides these towering figures we recognize on her roll Benjamin Harrison, Carter Braxton, Thomas Nelson, and George Wythe, all signers of the declaration of independence, Peyton Randolph, president of the first continental congress, James Monroe, president of the United States, and a host of others, whose names are interwoven in the history of their country.

Nor must it be forgotten that by charging the college with the examination and commission of land surveyors, it was made a part of governmental machinery; and that in giving his first commission to George Washington, it was instrumental in training the father of his country for the great part he bore in the affairs of America.

I have thus hurriedly indicated some of the elements which united in the making of Virginia. Upon the nobility of her people at the revolutionary period, and their great services in the memorable struggle which secured free institutions to America and to the world, I need not dwell, as these are known to all. There is one thing however that may be mentioned, for which the continent cannot be too grateful to her. It is her efficient service in forming and securing the federal Union. Indeed the Virginia leaders of the revolutionary period were most conspicuous for their broad and national views. These extended not only to a national union but to the cultivation of a distinctive American character. Of these leaders none showed more interest in this subject than Washington. In concluding this paper I would call the attention of the association and of the country to one of his earnest recommendations having this end in view. It is the establishment of a grand national university at the federal capital. His views upon this important subject will be best shown

by the following extract from his will, by which he dedicated to this object fifty shares in the Potomac Company, put at his disposal by the state of Virginia. Said he:

"It has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purposes of education, often before their minds were formed or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own, contracting too frequently not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome. For these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and state prejudices as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is, in my estimation, my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than the establishment of a university in a central part of the United States, to which youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be sent for the completion of their education in all branches of polite literature, in the arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government; and as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment, by associating with each other and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which carried to excess, are never failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant with mischievous consequences to this country."

The establishment of such an university he urged in his speech to Congress on December 7th, 1796, at the same time that he advised the establishment of a national military school. Had his well-matured views been then acted upon in establishing such a liberal national school, the result might have been a check to that passionate sectionalism which made inevitable the great civil strife of 1861-65. But it is not now too late to act upon the dying request of the father of his country. Indeed the lapse of a century seems to bring with it the fullness of time for the realization of Washington's great conception. The subject has been ably discussed by our accomplished secretary, Dr. Herbert B. Adams, in his most valuable monograph upon William and Mary College, issued in 1887 by the Bureau of Education, who traces Washington's proposal to his connection with that college. Among other most important results which might be accom-

plished by such an institution, he points out the education of youth from all parts of the Union in the special branches required to be learned for the proper conduct of our civil service, and he most justly remarks that, "there is in these times as great need of special knowledge in civil service as in military or naval science. A civil academy for the training of representative American youth, would be as great boon to the American people as the military and naval academies have already proved."

Such a national university need not excite the jealousy of our many admirable institutions of higher learning, but should be made the capstone of the American educational system. It is a hopeful sign of the interest which is awakening on this subject to find that among the committees of the United States Senate one is appointed to consider the subject of a national university. Let us hope that the day is not far distant when an additional memorial will be erected to Washington, the most suitable of all, in the establishment of a grand national school of universal learning, into which not only American youth may proudly enter, but to which will be attracted the youth of other lands eagerly seeking to imbibe American ideas with which to infuse new life into the older governments of the world.

William Wirt Henry.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THEODORE PARKER

UNVEILING THE MONUMENT AT FLORENCE, ITALY

It will be remembered that Theodore Parker, the great American philanthropist, orator and divine, who died in Florence, Italy, in 1860, was buried in the old historical Protestant cemetery of that city. Owing to the ravages of time, the stone erected over his grave became defaced, and it has recently been replaced by a white marble monument embellished with a medallion portrait of Parker and an inscription in letters of red bronze, the voluntary work of the celebrated American sculptor, Wm. W. Story, of Rome. On the twenty-sixth of November, 1891, this memorial stone was unveiled and dedicated in the presence of a large number of Americans. It was indeed fitting that Theodore Parker, a descendant of the Puritans, and a radical latter-day development of their Protestantism, should have had his praises thus sung on their Thanksgiving Day, and that his friends and admirers should have assembled for the purpose at the Tuscan capital where he died. The monument, hidden under the folds of a large American flag, was unveiled by Miss Grace Ellery Channing—granddaughter of the famous Unitarian divine, Dr. Channing, a contemporary and friend of Theodore Parker. The medallion was much admired, as was the grave itself covered with flowers, and planted with Boston ivy taken from the walls of the late James Freeman Clarke's church.

As the ceremony was entirely unsectarian in its character religious services were omitted. The assemblage embraced several clergymen of various denominations, Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian, and many of the American states from Massachusetts to Virginia were represented among the tourists and Florentine residents present. There were among these two or three travelers from Lexington, Massachusetts, the birthplace of Theodore Parker, whose grandfather, Captain Parker, commanded the farmers in that celebrated revolutionary battle—the captain who said to his men, "Don't fire unless fired upon; but if the English really mean war, let it begin here."

The presiding officer at the ceremonies of the unveiling was the United States consul at Florence who read a sympathetic letter from the Italian statesman and scholar, Professor Pasquale Villari—now minister of public instruction in the king's cabinet at Rome, in which he expressed his sin-

cere regret that public business prevented his personal attendance at the meeting, and his highest admiration for the life-work of Theodore Parker.

The orator of the day, Hon. Charles K. Tuckerman, formerly United States minister to Greece, was then introduced and said :

“ Fellow-countrymen and friends. Thirty years have elapsed since an assemblage of mourners stood on the spot where we now stand to witness the interment of a New England clergyman, who, driven to this milder climate by the ravages of disease, died under the sunny skies of Florence—the city of flowers. Although a stranger in a strange land, the elements of nature combined as it were to cast the influences of beauty and of peacefulness over his departing soul ; a reflection so pleasing in itself that it must have served as a balm to the wounded hearts of those in his own far-distant city who were deprived of the satisfaction of paying in person their last tribute to his memory.

We, his fellow-countrymen, now in Florence, assemble to-day around the grave of Theodore Parker, not to eulogize his character, which needs no eulogium, but with the simple tribute of our presence to dedicate this new memorial stone that those who may wander into this sacred enclosure may look upon his features, sculptured in enduring marble—a work of love from the skillful artist—and happily recall the virtues and heroism of a man who did so much to elevate the tone of morality in the community in which he lived, and to enforce the principle of human freedom where it was trampled under foot. It is to be regretted that some one who knew Theodore Parker in his day and generation, some one who was personally intimate with his private life, and who is better qualified than I am to speak of him, is not standing in the place I occupy. An ordinary man may well shrink from the task, however brief and simple, when he recalls the fact that the address delivered in his native city on the occasion of Parker’s death was pronounced by one of the most intellectual men that America has produced, Ralph Waldo Emerson. Let me quote a single sentence from that address as appropriate to this occasion, and which so beautifully and so completely describes the influence of Theodore Parker that it seems almost presumptuous in me to add another word. ‘ His genius,’ said Emerson, ‘ is only *transferred*, and the nature of the world, the inspirations of youth, the stars in their courses, must affirm the truths he so valiantly spoke.’

Theodore Parker rose by his own inherent strength to the commanding position he occupied as a fervent preacher, a social benefactor and a political reformer. Without titles or worldly honors, without the claims of wealth or of inherited distinction, a simple clergyman of a simple

faith, he achieved what rank or position cannot by itself achieve—the triumph of a generous heart, a noble mind and a sublime faith in the accomplishment of the task he had set himself to perform. There were thousands who sympathized with the cause he especially espoused—freedom for the slave—but it was left for him and a small band of enthusiastic workers in the field to perform what others only professed. Many disagreed with him in his method; preferring moderation to energy, and persuasion to dogmatism—and I, for one, confess that I held to the latter opinion—but Parker felt that the only way to erase from the escutcheon of the republic a foul and degrading blot was to adopt that style of oratory which Daniel Webster described as ‘something greater and higher than all eloquence—action; noble, sublime, god-like action.’ He felt that he was not appealing to a congregation of worshipers, nor to a state, nor to a country, but to a universal public. His audience was the world, embracing every shade of condition and opinion, to reach which vehemence and assertion were the implements to be employed. Believing that the principle of freedom is universal in its application, he would stoop neither to conciliation nor to compromise; but with the courage of a soldier in the battle for humanity, he struck out with the full force of his nature, without fear and without favor.

‘Every great principle that he affirmed amid persecution,’ says Moncure D. Conway, ‘has prevailed. The slave for whom he pleaded is free; the oppressions of woman which he pointed out are removed; and the free and tolerant religion which he proclaimed is now that of the leading preachers of nearly all the churches in America.’ It is this daring spirit, this unbending resolution, this overconquering will that has surrounded the name of Theodore Parker with a halo, and ranked him among the illustrious men of his country.” (Here Mr. Tuckerman read a sketch of Theodore Parker’s life contributed by Moncure D. Conway.) In conclusion the orator said: “Friends, it is fitting that the body of such a man should repose in such a spot as this, and in the company of other illustrious foreigners of the same race as himself. Here Walter Savage Landor, one of the loftiest exponents of the English tongue, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, one of the noblest singers of freedom and the claims of humanity, sleep under the sunlight and the starlight of a land which, like his own, rejoices in the blessings of liberty and union acquired by the heroic efforts of its people.

This visit of ours to his grave, this memorial stone, these brief and imperfect words, are but evidences that the lapse of years has not impaired the respect his countrymen owe to the memory of a truly good

and a truly great man. But above and beyond these simple tributes extend the moral influences of his life and teachings, which neither monument nor epitaph nor spoken words can exemplify or enhance.

‘He sleeps unconscious in his dust ;
But unto those, the human throng
To whom his faith and works belong,
He leaves his life in perfect trust.’”

The oration was followed by a poem to the memory of Theodore Parker, written for the occasion by William W. Story :

His was a life inspired by noble thought
And dauntless courage. Firm with purpose high
For freedom, justice, truth, humanity,
Throughout his life he strenuously fought.
He practiced what with fervid power he taught,
And “Love, believe, act, fear not,” was his cry.
God to the brave and just is ever nigh,
And heaven must by the high, strait way be sought.

Conquered by fell disease, life's battle done,
With all its pains, strife, cares, death's victory won,
All that was mortal here is laid to rest ;
But his undying thoughts, words, acts, live on
To lift the fallen, cheer and aid the oppressed—
And to his memory here we raise this stone.

We can, alas ! but throw a worthless wreath
Upon his grave, and heave a useless sigh !
But still, though gone, his spirit hovers nigh
To strengthen us in hope and thought and faith.
All that he said, was, did, is ours, till death
Unfold the hoped-for future and lift high
The veil that shrouds man's life in mystery,
And all this world is vanished like a breath.

Let us have faith that, though no longer here,
He still is going on beyond this life,
Beyond its ignorant struggles, doubts and strife,
In some far region, in some higher sphere,
With loftier duties and with loftier life,
Where all that here is dark at last is clear.

SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES

HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED *

PART I.

In every conflict of opposing and enduring forces in the sphere of politics, we must distinguish between the forces themselves and the point of their impact. Yet it is only as we take the forces at the point where they impinge that we can ascertain either their nature or their momentum, either the modes of their composition or the resultant direction in which they are tending at any given moment. The discovery of the New World brought into the sphere of European politics a vast complex of international forces which found their first collisions in the conquest, partition and settlement of the North and South American continents, that is, in the seizure and occupation of waste and derelict lands in the domain of savagery, to be exploited under a higher civilization as new sources of economical advantage, as new fields of religious propagandism, and as new seats of political aggrandizement.

The independence of the United States, followed as it soon was by the independence of the Spanish-American states, put the free play of these European forces in circumscription and confine, so far as they had previously moved in schemes of colonization or in projects of the Holy Alliance proposing to make these continents an appendix to the European equilibrium. "The Monroe doctrine," under the first of its heads, was a notice served on European states by the government of the United States that "the North and South American continents, by the free and independent condition which they had assumed and maintained [in the year 1823] were henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." From that day to this no European power has planted any new colony on any part of the American continents. "The Monroe doctrine" under the second of its heads declared it "impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system

* This paper is in part the fruit of studies which began more than thirty years ago, when, on the brink of our civil war, the writer was called, as one of the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, to review in that journal the successive phases of "the Territorial Controversy." The point of view is of course entirely changed, for what was then discussed as a lesson in politics is here discussed as a lesson in history, with the difference of perspective that is implied in the well-known saying of Freeman.

to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness." From that day to this the independent states of North and South America have been free to work out their own destiny apart from the dynastic schemes of Europe.

With the declaration of independence by the United States there arose, however, a new order of economical and political forces, and these new forces could but generate a new order of problems when they came to find new points of impact in the unoccupied territory comprised within the bounds of the federal Union. The most difficult of all these problems, and therefore the point at which the conflict of opposing forces has always been hottest, must still be sought by the historian in questions relating to the occupation and government of land considered as the seat and symbol of economical precedence or political supremacy. Everybody knows that the first great dissidence among the states of the American Union—a dissidence which parted states during the revolutionary period as the distinction between Whig and Tory parted individuals—was that which arose concerning the ownership and political disposition of the so-called "back lands." How this question delayed the ratification of the articles of confederation until the revolutionary war was approaching its end is matter of familiar history.

But it is not so generally known, I think, that this same question interposed an almost insuperable barrier to the conclusion of peace with England in 1783, and well nigh lighted up the flames of a civil war between the "landed" and the "landless" states at the moment of their free and independent autonomy. This same unsettled problem so perplexed the deliberations of the federal convention of 1787 that it was the one question which the patriots and sages of that body could neither solve nor abate. Hence it was that, as I have shown in a paper previously read before the American Historical Association, they agreed to confess and avoid the then existing antithesis between the "landed" and the "landless" states by leaving it behind them in the limbo of indefinite abeyance. It was because of an irreconcilable feud between these two classes of states that the adherents of each in the convention could agree on no form of words that should ascertain the relative rights of each class and of the United States in the matter of the new states that were to be erected on what was then the unoccupied territory formerly known as "the crown lands."

On the 18th of August, 1787, and on motion of Mr. Madison, the committee of detail on the digest of the constitution was instructed to consider the expediency of adding to the prerogatives of the federal legisla-

ture an express grant of power to institute temporary governments for new states arising on the lands not yet occupied. A discussion of the clause providing for the admission of new states into the Union brought the pending discord between the two classes of states to a violent rupture. Those members who believed that the United States had established a rightful claim to the "back lands" previously vested in the crown, but now wrested from the crown by the joint efforts of all the states, were vehement in demanding an express recognition of this claim in the terms of the constitution, and when they could not extort such a concession from members representing states which had not yet ceded their unoccupied land, they were compelled to satisfy themselves with a simple plea that the constitution should at least be silent on the subject.

Even Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, representing a state strenuous above all others in asserting the claims of the Union to a proprietary and political interest in the "back lands," was brought to such a state of despondency by the conflict of opinion on this whole subject that, instead of pressing his motion that "nothing in the constitution should be construed to affect the claims of the United States to vacant lands ceded to them by the treaty of peace," he was fain to withdraw that motion, and to propose that nothing in the constitution should be so construed as to alter under this head "the claims of the United States *or of the individual states*, but that all such claims should be examined into, and decided upon by the supreme court of the United States."

It was immediately on the heel of this "irrepressible conflict of opposing and enduring forces" in the matter of new states to be carved out of public lands, that Gouverneur Morris moved to transfer the whole conflict from the question of admitting new states to the question of governing the territory considered as property of the United States. He proposed that the convention should agree to disagree as to the application of the territorial clause to so much of the public lands as was still in dispute between two classes of states and the United States. Hence the origin of the territorial clause as it stands to-day in the constitution: "The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States, *and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular state.*" That is, this grant of power was made absolute for the purposes of congressional legislation respecting the territory, and was left as colorless, indefinite and nugatory as possible in respect of its application to **any** conflicting claims which should be put forward by either the United States

or any of the particular states at variance on this subject. And this was avowedly done in order to blink and leave *in statu quo* a feud which could not be adjusted, and in order to remit to the federal judiciary the settlement of a question which the framers of the constitution felt themselves unable to solve. We thus see that the same territorial quarrels which had dragged their slow length along through the revolutionary period were the hissing serpents which came to the cradle of our infant Hercules before he was yet wrapped in the swaddling bands of the constitution, and he had not strength to throttle them. We see, too, that before our present government had been framed, the expedient of referring to the supreme court any Gordian knot which the politicians found themselves unable to untie, was accepted by our fathers as the salutary makeshift of an incompetent statesmanship.

It is because the "territorial clause," in respect of its application to disputed territory covered by it, represented a drawn battle between two classes of states that it paved the way for any number of drawn battles between any other two classes of states which should subsequently find themselves at variance as regards the public territory. *Hoc fonte derivata clades*. The congress of the United States, after passing through an Odyssey of wanderings and an Iliad of woes in this same matter of the public territory and its government, was compelled in the year 1854 to face the same deadlock with which the framers of the constitution had been confronted in 1787, and for the same reason—the presence of two opposing and equipollent forces pulling in opposite directions. We shall see, too, that the politicians of the later period were equally doomed to seek a rescue from the Caudine Forks of an insolvable political dilemma by invoking the succor of the supreme court to determine for them the meaning of their own statute when, in the case of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, a disputed question had arisen under it, not only between two classes of states in the bosom of the republic, but between two factions in the bosom of the same political party.

In the discussion before us it is proposed to deal with the government of the public territory only so far as that government has been affected by the presence of divergent views concerning slavery in our federal councils. The subject of slavery appears for the first time in this relation under cover of a bill submitted by Mr. Jefferson in the continental congress on the 1st of March, 1784, for the temporary government of the western territory, "ceded or to be ceded by individual states to the United States." This bill provided for the prohibition of slavery, after the year 1800, in the ten states proposed to be carved out of the territory in question. This

first attempt to secure the restriction of slavery fell through because New Jersey had only one delegate present in congress at that date, and therefore her vote could not be counted to make the requisite majority of all the states in favor of the measure. The states which voted in the negative were Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Georgia was unrepresented. The bill was passed without the anti-slavery restriction on the 23d of April, 1784.

On the 16th of March, 1785, Rufus King of Massachusetts moved for the immediate prohibition of slavery in all the states "described in the resolve of congress of April 23, 1784," and the motion was committed for discussion by the vote of eight states—Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina voting in the negative, the vote of Georgia not being counted, because she had but one delegate present, and Delaware not being represented at all at that moment. The territorial question was thus brought before congress for renewed debate, and this debate resulted at length in the passage of the famous "ordinance of 1787" on the 13th of July in that year. That ordinance provided for the prohibition of slavery in the states to be formed in the northwestern territory, but provided at the same time for the rendition of fugitive slaves escaping from their owners to any part of said territory.

We do not know at the present day all the procuring causes of the bargain that was made between the delegates of the trading and of the planting states who (with the exception of Peter W. Yates of New York) gave their unanimous assent to this great measure—the matrix and norm of all our earlier legislation concerning the territories. But we do know, on the testimony of William Grayson of Virginia, that the southern delegates had "political reasons" as well as economical reasons in voting as they did at that juncture. It is obvious enough that the eastern states voted for the ordinance from economical motives combined with their moral and political repugnance to the spread of slavery. *Their* gain was immediate and patent. The southern states, on their part, gained new guards for the stability of slavery in the states where it already existed, by the stipulation for the recovery of their runaway slaves; they gained a reduction, from ten to five, in the number of "free states" that were to be carved out of the territory in the northwest; and they established a precedent which could be pleaded, and which three years later *was* pleaded, for the parallel and lateral extension of slave-holding states toward the west on the territory afterward ceded.

The ordinance of 1787, two days after its passage, was communicated by Richard Henry Lee to General Washington, then presiding over the

federal convention. It was published at length in a Philadelphia newspaper, and was formally cited in the debates of the convention. It doubtless furnished the germ from which the fugitive slave clause was planted in the constitution. The ordinance of 1787 had converted the slave into a *villein regardant* as respects the Northwest territory. The constitution now proposed to make him a *villein regardant* as respects the territory comprised in the union of the states. In virtue of these two provisions General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney could say in the South Carolina convention of 1788 that the slave-holding states had thereby "obtained a right to recover their slaves in whatever part of America they may take refuge, which was a right they had not before." (*Elliot's Debates*, vol. iv. p. 286.)

It was held alike by James Madison and Alexander Hamilton that the ordinance of 1787 had been passed without the least color of authority under the articles of confederation. But the sixth article of the constitution provided that "all engagements entered into before the adoption of the constitution should be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation." This clause was held to have brought the engagements of the ordinance of 1787 under the sanctions of the new charter. The first congress which met under the constitution passed an act to adapt certain provisions of the ordinance to the constitution; and the state of Virginia on the 30th of December, 1788, and therefore after the ratification of the constitution, assented to the fifth article of the ordinance—being the only one of the articles which required the assent of that particular state.

In the debates had on the constitution while it was pending before the conventions of the several states, I do not find that "the territorial clause" was expressly cited by more than a single individual, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, and his reference to it, in its relation to slavery, was perhaps more optimistic than critical. He expressed the opinion that the new states which were to be formed out of the territory ceded or to be ceded "would be under the control of congress in this particular, and slaves will never be introduced amongst them." (*Elliot's Debates*, vol. iv. p. 452.)

Less than a month after the passage of the ordinance of 1787 the legislature of South Carolina ceded to the United States all her "right, title, and claim, as well of soil as jurisdiction," to the territory lying between her western boundary and the Mississippi river. This cession was made on the 9th of August, 1787, in full view of the legislation of the continental congress prohibiting slavery in the northwest. Yet no reser-

vation was made by South Carolina in favor of the right of her citizens to migrate to the ceded territory with their slave property.

But when North Carolina came in the year 1790 to make the cession of *her* "back lands," which bordered more or less closely on the Northwest territory, she was careful to premise that the territory so ceded should be laid out and formed into a state or states, and that the inhabitants of such state or states "should enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages set forth in the ordinance of the late [continental] congress for the government of the western territory of the United States, *provided always* that no regulations made or to be made by congress should tend to emancipate slaves." Congress accepted the deed of cession with the condition annexed, and organized the "territory south of the Ohio" in the same year. This territory was admitted into the Union as the state of Tennessee on the 1st of June, 1796. In the interim no "regulation" was made by congress respecting slavery.

It is plain that the stipulation made by North Carolina that no "regulations" should be made by congress "tending to emancipate slaves" in her ceded territory, had been inspired by the terms of the constitution empowering congress to "dispose of and make all needful rules and *regulations* respecting the territory belonging to the United States." As showing the continuity of public thought in this matter, it may be interesting to state that the language of the constitution under this head was doubtless inspired by the terms of the resolution under which the continental congress, on the 10th of October, 1780, had requested the states to cede their vacant lands to the United States. In that resolution it had been promised that the said lands should be settled "at such times and under such *regulations* as shall hereafter be agreed on by the United States in congress assembled." The power of congress to prescribe "regulations" for the territory was therefore rooted not only in the text of the constitution but in the past territorial policy of the government under the confederation. And for this reason it was that North Carolina insisted in her deed of cession that congress should make no "regulations tending to emancipate slaves." Congress in accepting the cession with the condition annexed by this particular state had trammelled its plenary power over the territory in question. To this extent the idea of a partition of the public territory between the planting and the trading states had begun to imbed itself in our polity and politics.

This idea was soon reinforced by the formal and deliberate initiative of congress itself. In the year 1798 congress solicited from Georgia "any proposals for the relinquishment or cession of the whole or any part" of

her unsettled territory, with a proviso that any such ceded district should be erected into a temporary government under the name of the "Mississippi Territory," and with a further proviso that this temporary government should be "in all respects similar to that existing in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, *excepting and excluding* the last article made for the government thereof by the late [continental] congress on the 13th day of July, 1787," that is, excepting and excluding the article which prohibited slavery. This is the first case in the history of the country under the present constitution in which congress was left perfectly free to regulate slavery in a territory according to its own will and pleasure. It had inherited the "regulations" of the Northwest territory under this head from the continental congress. Its hands had been tied as to this subject by North Carolina's deed of cession. But as regards the territory craved from Georgia congress volunteered of its own mere motion to make an exception in favor of slavery. The issue was distinctly brought to public notice while the Georgia cession bill was under consideration in the house of representatives.

Mr. George Thacher of Massachusetts moved to strike out the clause which saved and excepted slavery from the inhibition prescribed by the ordinance of 1787. An animated debate ensued. On the part of "the South" it was argued, to cite the exact words of Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina, that "in the northwestern territory the regulation forbidding slavery was a very proper one, as the people inhabiting that part of the country were from parts where slavery did not prevail, and they had of course no slaves amongst them; but in the Mississippi territory it would be very improper to make such a regulation, as that species of property already exists, and persons emigrating there would carry with them property of this kind. To agree to such a proposition would, therefore, be a decree of banishment to all the persons settled there, and of exclusion to all those intending to go there. He believed it could not therefore be carried into effect, as it struck at the habits and customs of the people." On the part of "the North" it was held by Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania that the prohibition of slavery in the Mississippi territory could not produce "a worse effect than the same regulation in the northwestern territory;" that the jurisdiction of the United States was as complete in the one case as in the other; that to legalize slavery under the temporary government of a territory would be to fasten it on the same country "for all the time it is a state;" and that, it having been "determined that slavery was bad policy for the northwestern territory, he saw no reason for a contrary determination with

respect to this territory." The sectional antithesis on this subject being thus distinctly presented, the house of representatives rejected the amendment of Mr. Thacher by an almost unanimous vote—only twelve members voting in its favor. The legislature of Georgia formally closed with the bargain offered by congress, and on the 24th of April, 1802, passed an act of cession which expressly stipulated that the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, so far as it prohibited slavery, "should *not* extend to the territory contained in the present act of cession." The idea of a partition of public territory between the slave-holding and the non-slaveholding states had now obtained a formal recognition.

Yet the congress of that day, in the very act of making this concession to the spread of slavery in the southwest, was careful to accentuate its discretionary power to regulate slavery in the territories. It was ordained in the very bill which organized the territorial government of Mississippi that "no slave should be imported or brought into it from any port or place *outside of the United States*." To understand the purport of this "regulation" we must remember that while congress at that date, and until the year 1808, could not, in legislating for the states, prohibit the slave trade, it did not rest under any such disability in legislating for the territories. That is, the national legislature, in the plenitude of its power over slavery in the Mississippi territory, conceded to the citizen of any slave-holding state a right to migrate into that territory with his slave property, but *not* the right to import slaves from abroad, and this, too, although that right enured to him so long as he retained his domicile in a state which still tolerated the slave trade. The slave-holding citizens, therefore, of states which still tolerated the slave trade were shorn of a measure of their "state rights" by the mere act of migrating into the Mississippi territory, where they came under the exclusive jurisdiction of congress. The plenary and discretionary power of congress over slavery in the territories was emphasized alike by what it permitted and what it prohibited in the premises.

So prevalent at this date, and for many years later, was the popular impression as to the power of congress to regulate slavery in the territories, that we find individual citizens and organized communities in the Northwest territory petitioning congress to rescind or at least to suspend in their favor so much of the ordinance of 1787 as placed an interdict on slavery. Not to cite all these instances, it may suffice to say that on the 25th of April, 1796, four settlers of the "Illinois country," speaking in behalf of the inhabitants of St. Clair and Randolph counties in the Northwest territory, presented a memorial to congress representing that

they were possessed of a number of slaves, "the right of property in which the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787 seemed to deny without reason, and without their [the owners'] consent. Accordingly, they prayed for the repeal of that restriction, and for the passage of an act affirming their right to hold slaves "under such *regulations* as may be thought necessary." Contemplating nothing more than a provisional toleration of slavery, they further asked congress to declare "how far or for what period of time masters of servants [slaves] are to be entitled [in the Northwest territory] to the services of the children of parents born during such servitude, as an indemnity for the expense of bringing them up in their infancy." The committee of the house of representatives to whom the memorial was referred made a report adverse to the petition on the 12th of May, 1796, and the matter was dropped.

At a subsequent day a similar petition, proceeding from a convention of the inhabitants of Indiana territory, held at Vincennes, William Henry Harrison, the governor of the territory, presiding, was submitted to congress. The committee of the house of representatives to whom the memorial was referred reported adversely to the petition on the 2d of March, 1803, John Randolph of Roanoke being the author of the report. The committee deemed it "highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier." The committee based their decision entirely on considerations of prudence and expediency, not at all on any question as to the power of congress over the subject. The whole matter was again dropped. (*House Journal*, vol. iv. p. 381, second session seventh congress.)



COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(To be continued)

PEN PORTRAITS OF STONEWALL JACKSON.

Mrs. Jackson, in the *Life and Letters* of her distinguished husband, quotes a description of her subject by a southern lady at the time he was professor in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, 1851-1861. "There was a peculiarity about him which at once attracted your attention. Dignified and rather stiff, as military men are apt to be, he was frank and unassuming as possible, and was perfectly natural and unaffected. He always sat bolt upright in his chair, never lounged, never crossed his legs, or made an unnecessary movement. The expression of his soft gray eyes was gentle yet commanding, giving you a delightful feeling of the sweetness, purity, and strength of his character. His dress (in times of peace at least) was always in good taste and faultlessly neat. Everything he wore was of the best material. 'A thorough gentleman' was not exactly the expression to describe the impression first made upon you: it was something more—a title of greater distinction than this must describe him—'a modern knight of King Arthur's Round Table' would have more properly conveyed the indelible picture he fixed upon your mind. Nothing unworthy, nothing ignoble, nothing of modern frivolity and littleness—any thoughtful observer could have seen, even before the war, that 'Stonewall' Jackson was as true a hero as Bayard, or Raleigh, or Sidney."

Mrs. Jackson also quotes from the Rev. Dr. Dabney, who was on General Jackson's staff and a member of his military family: "His person was tall, erect and muscular, with the large hands and feet characteristic of all his race. His bearing was peculiarly English, and therefore in the somewhat free society of America was regarded as constrained. Every movement was quick and decisive; his articulation was rapid, but distinct and emphatic, and accompanied by that laconic and perspicuous phrase to which it was so well adapted, it often made the impression of curtness. He practiced a military exactness in all the courtesies of good society. Different opinions existed as to his comeliness, because it varied so much with the condition of his health and animal spirits. His brow was fair and expansive; his eyes were blue-gray, large, and expressive, reposing usually in placid calm, but able none the less to flash the lightning. His nose was Roman, and well chiseled, his cheeks ruddy and sunburnt; his mouth firm and full of meaning, and his chin covered with a beard of comely

brown. The remarkable characteristic of his face was the contrast between its sterner and its gentler moods. As he accosted a friend, or dispensed the hospitalities of his own house, his serious constrained look gave place to a smile so sweet, so sunny in its graciousness that he was another man. And if anything caused him to burst into a hearty laugh, the effect was a complete metamorphosis. Then his eyes danced and his countenance rippled with a glee and abandon literally infantile. This smile was indescribable to one who never saw it. Had there been a painter with genius subtle enough to fix upon his canvas, side by side, the spirit of a countenance with which he caught the sudden jest of a child romping on his knees, and with which, in the crisis of battle, he gave the sharp command, 'sweep the field with the bayonet!' he would have accomplished a miracle of art, which the spectator could scarcely credit as true to nature.

In walking his step was long and rapid, and at once suggested the idea of the dismounted horseman. It has been said that he was an awkward rider, but incorrectly. A sufficient evidence of this is that he was never thrown. It is true that on the march, when involved in thought, he was heedless of the grace of his posture; but in action, as he rode with bare head along his column, acknowledging the shouts which rent the skies, no figure could be nobler than his. His judgment of horses was excellent, and it was very rarely that he was not well mounted."

A lady who was a relative describes him upon his first entrance into Lexington society as "of a tall, very erect figure, with a military precision about him which made him appear stiff, but he was one of the most polite and courteous of men. He had a handsome animated face, flashing blue-gray eyes, and the most mobile of mouths. He was voted eccentric in our little professional circle, because he did not walk in the same conventional grooves as other men: it was only when we came to know him with the intimacy of hourly converse that we found that much that passed under the name of eccentricity was the result of the deepest underlying principle, and compelled a respect which we dared not withhold. After he became an inmate of our household, we were not long in discovering that the more rigidly and narrowly his springs of action were scrutinized, the higher rose our respect and reverence. What may have provoked a smile when the motive or principle that lay behind the act was entirely misapprehended came to be regarded with a certain admiring wonder when the motive of the act was made clear. We sometimes used to charge him with losing sight of the perspective of things. Not drawing the distinction that men generally do between small and great, he laid as

much stress upon truth in the most insignificant words or actions of his daily life as in the most solemn and important. He weighed his lightest utterances in 'the balances of the sanctuary.' When it would be playfully represented to him that this needless precision interfered with the graces of conversation, and tended to give angularity and stiffness to his style, his reply would be that he was perfectly aware of the inelegance it involved, but he chose to sacrifice all minor charms to the paramount one of absolute truth."

"A friend once asked him," writes Mrs. Jackson, "what was his understanding of the Bible command to be 'instant in prayer' and to 'pray without ceasing.' 'I can give you,' he said, 'my idea of it by illustration, if you will allow it, and will not think I am setting myself up as a model for others. I have so fixed the habit in my own mind that I never raise a glass of water to my lips without lifting my heart to God in thanks and prayer for the water of life. Then, when we take our meals, there is the grace. Whenever I drop a letter in the post-office, I send a petition along with it for God's blessing upon its mission and the person to whom it is sent. When I break the seal of a letter just received, I stop to ask God to prepare me for its contents, and make it a messenger of good. When I go to my class-room and await the arrangement of the cadets in their places, that is my time to intercede with God for them. And so in every act of the day I have made the practice habitual.'

In the autumn of 1855 he organized his Sabbath-school for the instruction of the colored people of Lexington. His interest in the race was simply because they had souls to save; and he continued to instruct them with great faithfulness and success up to the breaking out of the war. He never traveled on Sunday, never took his mail from the post-office, *nor permitted a letter of his own to travel on that day*, always before posting it calculating the time it required to reach its destination; and even business letters of the utmost importance were never sent off the very last of the week, but were kept over until Monday morning, unless it was a case where distance required a longer time than a week."

—*Life and Letters of General Stonewall Jackson.*

GENERAL FRANCIS MARION'S GRAVE

In a brief paper in the *Magazine of American History* in December, 1888, the present writer called attention to the neglected condition of the grave of General Francis Marion of the Revolutionary army. This grave is at "Belle Isle," St. Stephen's parish, Berkeley county, S. C., and was then, as it is now, in a most shameful state of decay, the slab which formerly marked it having been shattered in 1885 by a falling tree. At the time of that publication a wealthy lady of New York city, who claimed collateral descent from the famous "Swamp Fox," declared her intention of having the tomb repaired; but after considerable newspaper talk about it the matter was dropped, and nothing has been heard of it since. In view of this state of affairs it will be a welcome piece of intelligence to many to know that at the session of the South Carolina legislature, lately adjourned, a bill was passed providing for the restoration of the tomb at a cost of \$300. It is presumed that no time will be lost in placing a suitable memorial over the grave of so distinguished a patriot and soldier. It might also be of interest to some to know that the tomb of Mrs. Marion, whose ashes rest beside those of her husband, was overthrown by the same accident that destroyed that of General Marion. No provision has been made for its restoration, although it is probable that some steps tending to this end will be taken in a short time by some South Carolinian who values the memory of the great soldier's wife.

It is hoped that the next move will be to find the grave of General William Moultrie, which has been utterly lost through procrastination in marking it. General Moultrie died in 1805, and was buried at "Windsor," St. James, Goosecreek, Berkeley county. No steps were taken to place even a stone over the grave until 1852, when a party of gentlemen from Charleston visited "Windsor" for that purpose; but after so great a lapse of time it could not be identified, and to this day no one knows where the dust of the hero of Fort Sullivan reposes.

The same legislature that determined to care for the tomb of Marion, also put itself on honorable record by passing a bill for the publication of all the records of the province and colony, which are now preserved in dust-covered tomes in the state office in London. The early history of South Carolina can never be fully or satisfactorily prepared until those precious documents are made available, and this is what the appropriation made by

the legislature will do. It is estimated that there are sufficient numbers of these papers in London to fill about twenty large octavo volumes, and the entire work can be done in a manner creditable to the state for less than \$10,000. South Carolina began this work thirty years ago, when the State Historical Society published a volume giving the full titles of all these papers in the state office, and four or five years ago the city of Charleston presented the society with \$1,000 for the purpose of having the "Shaftesbury Papers" transcribed and published. This collection has been in the hands of the editors for some time, but will now be turned over to the board, which has been appointed to edit the entire set of the records. At the session of the legislature referred to a bill was introduced by Mr. John F. Ficken of Charleston providing for an appropriation, and it became a law, giving \$4,000 for this most commendable work. It is proposed to make annual appropriations until the work is fully completed, and if the "Economists" do not have the upper hand in the next legislature, South Carolina will be able to present to her sister states and to the historical societies of America one of the handsomest and most valuable historical publications ever made in the United States. The services of a gentleman in London who has long been connected with the state office have been engaged, and many of the most valuable documents will be in this country in a few months. Many of these papers relate more or less directly to the other colonies, and will furnish much hitherto unknown material for the preparation of the early history of our country.

Shirley Carter Hughsom.

CHARLESTON, S. C., *January, 1892.*

MINOR TOPICS

WHY STUDY GENEALOGY?

Because this study furnishes one way of honoring "thy father and thy mother;" it broadens one's horizon; it links us to our kinsmen of the present and of the past; it awakens and deepens an interest in history. It brings out family characteristics that may reappear, points out special talents that may well be cultivated, and family failings that must be guarded against. It sometimes settles questions of inheritance. It ministers to that honorable pride that all ought to feel in the grand accomplishments of one's ancestors. It is an incentive and an encouragement to the performance of similar deeds. The great historic events of the ages are personal matters to us, if some one of the same name took part in them. How delightful to find that one has kinsmen over all the land! How charming the correspondences that sometimes the ties of family bring about! When one comes of a long line of honorable ancestors, with what superb and "beautiful disdain" can he answer the implied challenge of "upstart wealth's averted eye"!

As one's interest in genealogy increases; as one goes from one's immediate family to other families connected by marriage, the interest grows so real and so great that the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, the two cardinal doctrines of Christianity, become instinct with life and beauty.

FREDERIC ALLISON TUPPER

SHELburnE FALLS, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE HISTORICAL AMERICAN EXHIBITION AT MADRID.

[*Editor Magazine of American History*: I send you herewith a clipping from the *Nation* of December 24, a notice I prepared of the forthcoming Historical American Exhibition at Madrid. It has occurred to me that you might be disposed to use a part or the whole of it in your magazine, and I place it at your service. B. F.]

One of the most interesting and instructive celebrations proposed for the year 1892 is the Spanish celebration, the chief feature of which will be an exhibition at Madrid, termed the Historical American Exhibition, the special object of which is to illustrate primitive American life and the history of the period of discovery and conquest. In selecting the prehistoric and early historic eras for illustration, the Spaniards will make their own exhibition complete in itself, without in the least competing with the Chicago Exhibition.

The plan of the exhibition is, within its limits, a very broad one, comprising five general divisions, viz. : Prehistoric America, the Historic Period, Indian Industrial Arts, Cartography, Nautical Instruments, etc., and the Fine Arts and kindred subjects. Under the head of prehistoric America plans, models, reproductions, drawings, etc., are solicited of ancient caves and caverns, and anything that may help to show the use of these primitive places as human dwellings. Similar models, drawings, or photographs are desired of American menhirs, dolmens, and mounds, as well as lacustrine dwellings. All sorts of implements and objects relating to this period are desired, such as stone weapons, articles of bone and horn, pottery, ornaments, utensils of bone, wood, stone, and other materials, with fossil or animal bones throwing light on the archæology of this time. Examples of all the ages and periods of primitive life as they can be traced on the American continent are wanted.

In the historic period the objects desired include models of ancient American buildings, architectural remains, plans, models, and drawings of restored monuments. Examples of sculpture, bas-reliefs, architectural paintings, and other forms of painted decoration form another class. Under industrial art is included clothing and adornment of the aborigines and uncivilized Indians, with implements of war, offensive and defensive. Jewels of gold, silver, bone and ivory, pottery, household utensils, and articles used in transportation by water and land, constitute another division of this branch, while written documents in native tongues, pictures and photographs of Indians and effigies showing native costumes, models of Indian dwellings and Indian crania, form a third division.

The department of cartography includes maps, plans, charts, and drawings, and all that concerns ancient cartography, with models of vessels anterior to the voyage of Columbus, as well as those he himself used. A section is devoted to nautical instruments, with the idea of illustrating the instruments, charts and maps in use at the period of discovery, while objects in personal use by Columbus and pictures of the same are also desired. The fine-arts department includes ancient architectural monuments, sculpture, paintings, industrial and artistic work following the discovery, American coins, literary and scientific publications, manuscripts, charts, and plans of all kinds from the discovery to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Most liberal inducements are offered to intending exhibitors from America. The exhibition will be held in the new Library and National Museum building in the park at Madrid, which will be used for the first time for this purpose, the exhibition serving as a sort of inauguration of the structure, which has been a number of years in building. It will be opened on September 12, 1892, and will close on December 31st of the same year, thus preceding the Chicago exhibition, which it is designed, in a measure, to supplement. All objects, if securely and properly packed, will be forwarded gratis to Madrid, and returned to the exhibitor free of all expense, the exhibition not only bearing the cost of transportation, but also,

when desired, attending to the arrangement and display of the objects without any charge. Those who desire special cases of their own may provide them, and special buildings may also be erected in the park if the design is approved by the General Committee. All objects for the exhibition will be admitted duty free into Spain if they are withdrawn at the close of the exhibition, but two months will be allowed after the end of the exhibition before articles need be returned.

An international jury, proportionate to the number of the exhibitors from different countries and the importance of their exhibits, will examine the articles displayed and award the prizes. These will consist of a first prize of honor, a gold medal, a silver medal, a bronze medal, and honorable mention, each medal being accompanied with a diploma.

The exhibition covers, of course, the entire American continent, but to insure its complete success the active co-operation and assistance of citizens of the United States is especially desired. There is every reason why Americans should both be interested in this exhibition and take part in it. The conditions are liberal, the prizes ample, and the time is especially convenient to intending exhibitors at the Chicago exhibition, as objects may be exhibited both at Madrid and at Chicago. Nor is the novelty of the exhibition its least merit. Early American history has always been a favorite topic of study among European scholars, but it is safe to say that if this exhibition is carried out as it is planned, it will offer Europeans the first opportunity they have had to study primitive American life in its completeness. American collections are very rich in the materials most desired at Madrid, and it is most sincerely to be hoped that the gracious invitation of the Spanish people to participate in their Columbian celebration will meet with a generous and hearty support from American scholars and collectors.

BARR FERREE

NEW YORK, *January 1, 1892.*

NOTES

THE STORY OF A CONEY ISLAND WHALE—We hear that on Tuesday last, Mr. Abner Hatfield, of Elizabeth-Town, and another Man, being out a fishing discovered a Whale swimming about near Coney Island, on which soon after it ran ashore, and before it could get off, they came up, and killed it with a rusty sword, which happened to be on board the vessel. We are told that Mr. Coffler, at the ferry opposite to this city, on Long Island, has bought it for £30, and that it is now brought up to that place. It is said to be 45 feet in length, and that if cut up, it would produce about 70 barrels of Oyl.—*New York Gazette, Thursday, Sept. 4, 1766.*

To the Printer. Sir, If you please you may in your next rectify a few mistakes in the Account about the Whale, published in your paper of Thursday last, viz.: I. It was Mr. Holman of Elizabeth-Town, five other Men and two Boys, that discovered and killed the Whale, Mr. Hatfield was not one of the number. II. It happened, not on Tuesday but Monday last. III. The length was not 45 but 49 feet. IV. It could not reasonably be supposed that it would produce 70 Barrels of Oyl, nor more than twenty. V. It was not sold for £30, nor more than £20 or £25. VI. It was not bought by Capt. Koffler, but by Mr. Waldron at the Ferry.—*Supp. to N. Y. Gazette, Sept. 6, 1766.*

The above items are interesting as proof of the honesty and simplicity of the colonial editor. There was a whale and the editor printed a correction.

PETERSFIELD

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK—"Historical interest and study are on the increase throughout the country and there is a great awakening among all societies," says Secretary D. W. Manchester, of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, in his recent annual report. "We must keep in step and touch with this awakening spirit and movement. Almost daily, letters are received from localities near or remote for historic information on various topics. Professional men, lawyers, physicians, divines, newspaper men, come here and partake of our garnered stores. Educators high in position in this and other states seek our rooms and consult our library. It is only recently that a letter came to us from far-away New Zealand making important inquiries." President C. C. Baldwin in his annual address before the same society says: "America is a fertile field for history in its many commonwealths, its recent life, and the short time from savagery to a high civilization. From past experience comes all science. Its aggregate is all civilization—learning its lessons is progress. It is the office of the Historical Society to carry from age to age, and to keep for each age such material as may be wanted, and such societies should be, and will be if rightly supported and appreciated, a practical and most valuable school of education. The hard problems of municipal government must be worked out with the careful use of history by each municipality; for if each is to be governed only by its present experience it is but too plain there will

be an expensive series of ignominious mistakes. Never has there been such promise of interesting narratives, of entertaining knowledge of past times, and of practical wisdom for the present and the future as now."

THE LATE HON. ROSWELL B. MASON OF CHICAGO—In an appreciative sketch of one of Chicago's representative citizens who has recently passed away, one who achieved distinction in everything to which he turned his hand, and was noted for his intellectual strength, integrity, dignity and personal charms, we quote the following item of exceptional interest :

"Hon. Roswell B. Mason was elected mayor of Chicago in November, 1869. He entered upon his duties in December and showed the same traits of character, determination, integrity, and dignity that always characterized him. Two months before his term expired the disastrous conflagration of October 8, 9, and 10, 1871, overswept the city. The night following the fire, which had been stopped in its ravages southward by the mayor assuming the responsibility for blowing up the private buildings in its path, dispatches from all over Christendom announced the beginning of that world-wide charity that proved the brotherhood of man.

Immediately upon the announcement of the forwarding of money and supplies for the relief of the afflicted populace a small and influential body of the city council set about to obtain control of the application of the funds and goods. The mayor believed that this clique

meant to use the property for its own enrichment. The night following he was waited upon in his residence on Michigan avenue by a small committee of men prominent in business and affairs, headed by Messrs. George M. Pullman and Wirt Dexter. But a few moments were needed to determine the proper course to adopt for the relief of the needy and the frustration of the greedy. In spite of the clamors of the baffled and mercenary politicians, the mayor remained steadfast, and saved the city from lasting disgrace by using the machinery of the Relief and Aid Society for preventing distress."

PIONEER POETRY—Song-writing was an art much striven after by the American verse-makers of fifty or sixty years ago, particularly in the West. The song-book, patriotic, sentimental, and comic, is always in demand, even in the rudest society, and it was not slow to migrate with the pioneer. The wilderness swarmed with migratory poets ; they came in flocks like the birds. "Pioneer poetry," writes Dr. Venable, "often went on stilts, and borrowed stilts at that. The style was either painfully labored and pedantic or ludicrously exclamatory and rhapsodical. Bards of classical ambition frequently sent 'odes' to the backwoods newspapers, and sometimes furnished stanzas in Latin. They wrote under such pseudonyms as 'Juvenis,' 'Favonius,' 'Momus,' and 'Umbra.' Much of the verse measured out on the Ohio side of the Ohio was like the speech of Chaucer's clerk, 'sounding in moral virtue.'"

QUERIES

SURNAMES—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Please ask some of your readers to inform me when the Irish people were compelled by England to adopt surnames, and for what reason?

R. B. GLADSTONE

THE LAST EXECUTION FOR WITCHCRAFT—At what date was the last execution for witchcraft in the United States? Please favor me with a reply.

HERMAN A. WISE

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

PROVERBS OF THE TALMUD—Kindly tell me what are the "Proverbs of the Talmud"?

HARTMANN

NATIONAL TUNE OF ENGLAND—Kingsley says in his *Westward Ho* that the national tune of England in the time of Elizabeth was the music of the ballad of *Fortune my Foe*. Can any of your readers help me to find the words of the ballad, the author, and the music to which it was sung?

CHICAGO

REPLIES

GOTHAM [xxvii, 70]—The name Gotham was first used in connection with New York in 1807. In his quaint little work *Salmagundi* Irving says: "A most insidious and pestilent dance called the waltz . . . was a potent auxiliary; for by it were the heads of the simple Gothamites most seriously turned."

E. W. WRIGHT

VICKSBURG, MISS.

GOTHAM [xxvii, 70]—As given in the dictionary, the word comes from Goth, one of an ancient tribe of barbarians, who overran the Roman empire, and means a rude, ignorant person. Gotham-ist, a wiseacre; a person deficient in wisdom—so called from Gotham in Nottinghamshire, noted for some pleasant blunders.—*Bishop Morton*. Gothamite, an inhabitant of New York City.—*Washington Irving*.

LAWRENCE GOODE

ST. LOUIS, MO.

OLDEST TOMBSTONE IN NEW YORK [xxvi, 396, 447]—Your correspondent has recently revisited the old cemetery of Sylvester Manor on Shelter Island, and finds that he may be mistaken in regard to the age of the tombstones standing over the graves of exiled Quakers, whose remains were buried there. The epitaphs are quite legible, having been carefully and conscientiously recut by order of Professor E. N. Horsford, the owner of the property. Only one, however (out of eight or ten), remains in doubt. This is a gray rounded headstone of coarse granite (much dilapidated), having the name "Knowling" and the figure "1" still legible. This is thought to be much the oldest, and antiquarians date it back as far as 1660 or thereabouts.

These stones are rounded at the top, and (except the Knowling one) have carved cherubs' heads with outspread wings still visible on the upper part of

the headstones. The dates are 1714, 1727, 1729, and 1731, with the latest 1732. The family names are but three: Hutson or Hudson, Brown and Knowling. The age of the deceased is in one instance eighty-one years, and in another seventy-seven years. There is no doubt among the best authorities that these persons were originally refugees from New England, and Friends or Quakers in their religious belief.

CHAS. H. GARDINER
ST. MARY'S RECTORY, SHELTER ISLAND.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND CEREMONIES [xxvii, 70]—Blunt, in his *Key to the Prayer Book*, says: "During the great rebellion the Puritans gained the object which they had been pursuing for three generations." The Anglican church had been opposed for a number of years with unflagging zeal, and finally the use of the liturgy was made a crime.

An "Ordinance" was passed January 3, 1645, which forbade its use in any church; and on the eve of St. Bartholomew, another which forbade its use in private, and required all copies to be given up. There were nevertheless some loyal children and ministers of the church who continued to use it in spite of this Ordinance. Macaulay, in his *History of England*, says: "It was a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians."

This "ordinance" was passed by parliament, and the prayer-book was superseded by what was called *The Directory for the Public Worship of God in the Three Kingdoms*. As the Puritans

in the *Mayflower* (see query) came over in 1620, no doubt they had ceased to use the "forms and ceremonies of the Church of England" before the passage of the "ordinance," but just when, during the long contest of three generations, it would obviously be quite impossible to state.

GEORGE G. HEPBURN

CHURCHILL'S POEMS [xxvii, 70]—The popularity of Churchill induced James Rivington to issue proposals for an American edition of his works, soon after the death of the poet; the publication was delayed by the financial straits of the bookseller, who had been declared a bankrupt in 1767. The completion of the edition was announced by Rivington in the *New York Gazette*, and the *Weekly Mercury* of November 21, 1768, as follows: "He has this Day published, The celebrated Charles Churchill's Works, in two large Octavo Volumes. Containing The Roseiad. Night. The Prophecy of Famine. His Epistle to Hogarth, which broke the Heart of this Son of Apelles. The Ghost. Independence. The Apology. The Conference. The Duellist. The Candidate. Gotham. The Farewell. The Times.

In the Course of these Writings the Author has given his Opinion most freely upon the Conduct and Characters of the principal Personages who have been employed by Government, &c., during the latter End of the late, and the four first Years of the present Reign; presenting a Genius more truly Original than all the Muses since the Days of John Dryden, and securing the Existence of his har-

monious Numbers in the public Favour, until Poets can sing no more.

The Publisher has not been so punctual in producing this, genuine, Son of Apollo, agreeable to the Proposals, for his Promise expired eighteen Months ago (June, 1767); yet, as the Cause of the Delay must be obvious to all his patrons, and the public Favour never is denied to a Person who eagerly seeks it, he hopes that none of his Two and Twenty Hundred Subscribers will be offended, tho' it may have proved to them a Disappointment."

The list of subscribers is an extraordinary one; it covers fifty-six pages at the end of the second volume and contains 1,944 names who engaged 2,080 sets of the poems. The distribution of the volumes is also very remarkable: Maryland received 1,058, of which Annapolis had 175 and Baltimore 89; New York, 185, of which 156 were subscribed in the city, 20 at Albany, 5 on Long Island, 3 at Johnstown and 1 at Niagara; Virginia had 210, George Washington, Esq., of Alexandria, was one of the subscribers; Pennsylvania had 1 at Lancaster and 66 at Philadelphia; Connecticut had 26; New Jersey, 13; Rhode Island, 16; Charleston, S. C., 54; North Carolina,

1; Newcastle, Delaware, 14; Pensacola, Florida, 36; Massachusetts had 50—they were subscribed for by John Mein, bookseller at Boston, who announced in the *Boston Chronicle* of January 19, 1769, that they were ready for delivery to subscribers; 1 copy went to Casco Bay and 3 to Quebec; of the West Indies, Barbadoes had 66, Dominica, 36; Antigua, 22; St. Eustatia, 12; Montserrat, 9; St. Vincent's, 5; Jamaica, 4; the Gouverneur family of Curacoa, 3; Tortola, St. Croix, Grenada and Tobago, 1 each; 18 copies were sold to the Bermudas.

The large sale in Maryland is explained by the fact that Rivington organized a lottery in 1766 for the sale of three hundred and fifty acres of land in Kent county. The scheme provided for eight thousand tickets at fifteen shillings each; the prizes included the land, plated ware, goods of various kinds, and a library of books.

I have not met with a copy of the original proposals. A correspondent in *Notes and Queries* for October, 1875, asked substantially the same question as "Boston Collector," but received no response to his query.

WILLIAM KELBY

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting was held on Tuesday evening, January 5. The reports of the treasurer, librarian and executive committee were read. The society has no debts, no mortgage on its building or collections. A site for its new building has been purchased on Eighth avenue (Central park, west), between 76th and 77th streets, facing the Central park on the east and Manhattan square on the north, comprising ten city lots with a front of four hundred and four feet and depth on the side streets of one hundred and twenty-five feet. The plot of ground cost \$286,500. The committee reported that the sum of \$1,000,000 is required to erect and furnish a suitable detached fireproof building. During the year 4,144 volumes of books, 3,620 pamphlets, 24 volumes and 1,579 numbers of rare newspapers, 3 volumes and 15 separate manuscripts, 36 maps, 46 engravings and 127 rare broadsides have been added to the library. The invested funds aggregated \$78,645.

The following board of officers were elected for the ensuing year : president, John A. King ; first vice-president, John A. Weekes ; second vice-president, John S. Kennedy ; foreign corresponding secretary, John Bigelow ; domestic corresponding secretary, Edward F. de Lancey ; recording secretary, Andrew Warner ; treasurer, Robert Schell ; librarian, Charles Isham.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION held its eighth annual meeting in Washington, opening on the 29th and

continuing until the 31st of December, 1891. There were two morning sessions at the National Museum, and three evening sessions at the Columbian University. Washington is the permanent home of this association, but the next meeting will be in Chicago at the time of the World's Fair, in 1893. This outing will, of course, be very exceptional. The capital of the United States, the congresses of all nations, and the centre of the universe itself, will in that year be temporarily shifted to the shore of Lake Michigan.

In view of coming events, which cast their Columbian shadows before, the historical paper which eclipsed all others in popular interest at the Washington meeting and in the Associated Press reports that flashed over the whole country, was President Charles Kendall Adams's account of "Recent Discoveries concerning Columbus." This widespread popular report not only ushered in the Columbian year, but it was literally the first general announcement to the American people that Columbus landed from the *west* rather than from the east ; that is to say, he sailed around Watling's Island, and entered the New World on the Chicago rather than on the New York side. Besides this true view of the land-fall of Columbus, President Adams gave his audience the latest and most authentic information regarding the recent discovery of the burial-place and remains of the discoverer himself, which will be given to the country at large in the March *Magazine of American History*, with pertinent illustrations.

Another paper of interest in connection with the Columbian year was read by Professor Edward G. Bourne, of Adelbert college, Cleveland, upon the line of demarkation, established in 1493, by Pope Alexander VI., between the Spanish and Portuguese fields of discovery and colonization. The very able inaugural address of the president of the association, Hon. William Wirt Henry, appears in another part of this magazine. An excellent paper was presented by Walter B. Schaife, Ph.D., upon the commerce and industry of Florence during the Renaissance. Brooks Adams of Quincy, Massachusetts, presented a paper which attracted much attention on the "Phenomena of Universal Suffrage." Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, a graduate of Harvard and Johns Hopkins Universities, presented an objective review of the Virginia Secession Convention of 1861. Hon. A. R. Spofford, librarian of congress, read a striking paper on "Lotteries in American History." President James C. Welling, of the Columbian university, traced the history of slavery in the territories.

An excellent comparative study of the personal force in congressional politics was the well-written and well-read paper by Miss Follett, of the Harvard "Annex," upon "Henry Clay, the First Political Speaker of the House." He seems to have been much the same type of a presiding officer as was the Hon. T. B. Reed. Miss Follett showed that no other speaker so well combined the functions of a moderator, a voting member, and a party leader as did Mr. Clay. He established the tradition that a party, in putting a leader in the speaker's chair,

does not deprive itself of his services on the floor. He exercised the right to speak in committees of the whole more freely than had any of his predecessors. The president of William and Mary College, Lyon G. Tyler, son of John Tyler, gave some entertaining extracts from the records of York County, Virginia. "State Sovereignty in Wisconsin" was tersely presented by Professor C. H. Haskins; and there were some fourteen other papers of value on kindred themes discussed during the sessions.

The officers chosen for the ensuing year are as follows: Dr. James B. Angell, president; Henry Adams, of Washington, and Edward G. Mason, of Chicago, vice-presidents; Herbert B. Adams and A. Howard Clark, secretaries; Dr. C. W. Bowen, treasurer. The Hon. William Wirt Henry retires into the executive council with other ex-presidents—the Hon. A. D. White, Dr. Justin Winsor, Dr. W. F. Poole, Dr. C. K. Adams, and the Hon. John Jay. To that honorable council, comprising also Dr. G. Brown Goode, of the Smithsonian institution, and Dr. J. G. Bourinot, clerk of the Canadian House of Commons, were added Professor John Bach McMaster, of the university of Pennsylvania, and Professor George B. Adams, of Yale university.

THE ASSOCIATION OF VETERANS, which includes the Tenth Army Corps, the Eighteenth Army Corps, and the North and South Atlantic Blockading Squadrons, and indeed all who served in the army or navy of the United States on the shores or in the waters of South

Carolina, Georgia, or Florida, whether as officers or as private soldiers or sailors, at any time during the confederate war, and who received an honorable discharge therefrom, held an interesting meeting in Boston on the thirtieth anniversary of the naval battle of Port Royal. The president of the association, Judge Charles Cowley, was formerly on the staff of Rear Admiral Dahlgren, commanding the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. In his address before the association on this occasion he said: "Coming as this battle did, when the successive defeats of Big Bethel, Bull Run, Ball's Bluff, and Belmont had filled the hearts of men with grief and gloom, the victory of Admiral Dupont, won thirty years ago this morning, had a wonderful effect in cheering and stimulating the people throughout the north. The dark winter of general discontent was turned at once into glorious summer, and the clouds that had so long hovered over the Union were in the deep bosom of the ocean buried. That victory gave us firm foothold in South Carolina, which was held with unflinching tenacity for three years."

A committee was appointed, consisting of Colonel T. W. Higginson of Cambridge, Massachusetts, General P. S. Michie of West Point, and Colonel T. B. Brookes of New Windsor, New York, to correspond with the families of Admirals Dupont and Dahlgren, Generals Anderson, Hunter, Mitchel, Foster, Gillmore, and the Shermans and others, to ascertain what unprinted papers relating to the operations of this department and squadron they now have, and where and how they are preserved; also

to consider and report what action is advisable to be taken by this association for the collection and preservation of such documents and for making them available for the uses of history.

The association will hold four meetings during the coming year, one in Boston on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the capture of Fort Fisher, January 15; one in New York city or Brooklyn, on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the formal restoration of the federal flag over Fort Sumter, April 14; another in Washington, September 21, during the week of the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic; and the next annual meeting in New York city or Brooklyn, on Monday, November 8, 1892.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held a general meeting on the 21st of December, in the house of delegates, Richmond, Va., its president, Hon. William Wirt Henry, in the chair. Papers of great historic interest were read both morning and evening. Professor Garnett of the University of Virginia read an able paper on the revolutionary history of the state, explaining its five geographical sections, and how Virginia was originally settled by four race elements—the English, the Scotch-Irish, the Germans, and the French Huguenots. Professor Trent of Sewanee university in Tennessee, read some "Notes on Present Work in Southern History." Professor Hall of William and Mary college read a paper entitled "Catalogue of Epitaphs on Ancient Tombstones in York." The subjects of the evening papers were:

"The First Election of Washington to the House of Burgesses," by Hon. R. T. Barton; "The Old Brick Church, Smithfield, Virginia, built in 1632," by Hon. R. S. Thomas; "Richmond's First Academy, projected by M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, in 1786," by Mr. Richard Heyward Gaines; "Agriculture in Virginia during the First Twenty Years of the Colony," by Philip A. Bruce, M.A.; "Some Unpublished Facts Relating to Bacon's Rebellion in Accomac County, Virginia," by Mr. F. P. Brent; "Thomas Hansford, the First American Martyr to Liberty," by Mrs. Annie Tucker Tyler.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its December meeting at the house of Hon. E. M. Moore, M.D. Paper by George H. Humphrey, "Old East Avenue." The reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza W. Reid aged ninety-three years were presented by Mrs. Parker. Dr. Moore spoke at some length upon the sewerage of the city. The Tablet and Memorial Committee were requested to consider placing a tablet upon the Home of the Friendless, East avenue, in memory of the late Josiah W. Bissell, who gave to the institution the ground upon which it is built.

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Cleveland, Ohio, held its annual meeting in June, 1891, which was of more than ordinary interest from the fact that ex-President R. B. Hayes journeyed from his home in Fremont for the express purpose of attending this meeting,

and by unanimous request presided over the assemblage. The officers of this society are C. C. Baldwin, president; W. J. Gordon, W. P. Fogg, J. H. Sargent, Sam Briggs, vice-presidents; D. W. Manchester, secretary; John B. French, treasurer. The annual report of the secretary contained an amount of information quite exceptional, showing that the society is doing good work and progressing rapidly in public favor. The address of President Baldwin was on "New Methods of History," and was received with enthusiasm by an appreciative audience.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its usual meetings on the 15th and 29th of December. Mr. Henry C. Dorr occupied both evenings with a paper entitled "Williams and Harris in the Controversy between the Proprietors and the Freeholders of Providence." In opening the subject Mr. Dorr spoke of the settlement of Mooshasuck by Roger Williams, and outlined the various treaties the settlers had with the Indians. Williams neglected to consult legal advice concerning a grant of the land, and the result was that in after times serious troubles arose between the proprietors under the original charter and the freeholders concerning the rights of each class of citizens. Williams, together with the freeholders, maintained that the proprietors had only a corporate right to the lands, while William Harris and the proprietors asserted that they had an individual right in the property.

BOOK NOTICES

THE BATTLES OF SARATOGA, 1777. THE SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, 1856-1891. Illustrated. By ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH. 8vo, pp. 191. Albany, New York: Joel Munsell's Sons, Publishers. 1892.

The author very pertinently remarks in the preface to this handsome volume, that if we may believe "the signs of the times," a period has arrived in the intellectual development of our country when historical subjects can scarcely be claimed as belonging exclusively to a small class of people. "It is indeed a suitable moment in which to direct the public mind to local history. The faithful chronicle of a town or village or neighborhood becomes eventually the gem of a great collection. Monuments and historical tablets are the natural, the most simple method of education. Money lavished on them is money saved for future generations." This work opens with an able, clear, succinct account of the "Battle of Saratoga, Burgoyne and the Northern Campaign, 1777," and then proceeds to chronicle the "History of the Saratoga Monument Association." The battle of Saratoga and its attendant circumstances form an intensely dramatic narrative. In unity of purpose and culminating interest, few important events in American history have occupied so vast a theatre. Mrs. Walworth has made herself perfectly familiar with the picturesque region where the great armies manoeuvred, and finally rendered the closing scene of the spectacle a triumph that astonished the world. Her graphic descriptions bring the stirring scenes of that dramatic period into full view. Up to that hour the Americans were esteemed "rebels" by the powers of the earth. Henceforward they were patriots attempting to rescue the country from wrong and outrage. The agents of congress were no longer obliged to hold intercourse with the monarchs of Europe in stealthy ways. They met with open congratulations. A new power was recognized. A new element had entered into the diplomacy of nations. Of the fifteen battles decisive of lasting results, during more than twenty centuries of human progress, that of Saratoga is one. No martial event has ever exerted a greater influence upon human affairs than the conquest of Burgoyne. Every generation of readers will need to learn this suggestive lesson, and Mrs. Walworth has done good service in placing it before them in such readable form. The history of the Saratoga monument should

be preserved, and we congratulate its founders and promoters on this appreciative and important contribution to historic literature.

The illustrations, of which there are a dozen or more excellent portraits, add greatly to the value of the volume. The frontispiece is the fine steel engraving of Hon. Horatio Seymour, who was president of the association from 1873-1881. There are also fine portraits of William L. Stone, the efficient secretary of the association through the greater part of its history; of Chancellor J. V. L. Pruyn; of John H. Starin, its president in 1891; of James M. Marvin, of Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, of J. C. Markham, the architect, and of Mrs. Walworth, the chairman of the committee on tablets, and the author of this work. There are also many views and maps of great interest, and a visitor's guide to Saratoga Springs which will be greatly prized.

LITTLE JARVIS and MIDSHIPMAN PAULDING. By MOLLY ELLIOT SEAWALL. Pp. 64 and 133. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

The history of all navies is full of thrilling incidents. Too often they appear only in the stilted official language of orders or in the terse, seaman-like record of the log-book. The navy of the United States is no exception. Beginning its career when the British navy sailed the seas without a rival, and the British seaman believed himself invincible, it captured his best ships right and left, wherever the conditions were nearly equal, and compelled respect where at first was only contempt. It was a happy idea on the part of the author of these two little books to take known facts in the lives of the young officers of those early days, and throw them into picturesque narrative. By the way, in those of good artistic work it is a thousand pities to launch this attractive series on its literary voyage with such an unship-shape craft on its cover. The books are both intended for young readers, are printed in large type, with illustrations.

Little Jarvis was captain of the foretop when the *Constellation* fought the *Vengeance*, and died at his post like an officer and a gentleman. Paulding was the gallant young fellow whose presence of mind at a critical moment went far toward gaining the day at the battle of Lake Champlain. It is hoped that the author will continue her work to include the gallant young fellows who have kept up the fighting traditions of the navy in later years.

THE DIVORCE OF CATHERINE OF ARAGON. The story as told by the Imperial Ambassadors resident at the Court of Henry VIII. In usum laicorum. By J. A. FROUDE. Being a supplementary volume to the author's *History of England*. 8vo, pp. 476. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

This brilliant and important contribution to history is one of intense interest as well. It is a supplementary volume to the author's *History of England*, and is filled with new facts and arguments marshaled with great skill before the reader. It is thirty-five years since Mr. Froude's early volumes appeared, which provoked a deluge of hostile criticism. He went on with his researches all the same, and now gives us additional evidence to strengthen his former positions which have been so fiercely assailed. This new evidence goes far to justify the views taken in his *History of England*, with regard to the divorce of Catherine of Aragon and the execution of Anne Boleyn, as it is almost wholly derived from the dispatches of the Imperial Ambassadors at the court of Henry VIII. These men were of course Catholics, and they were the active enemies of the king. Representing Charles V., who was the kinsman and champion of Catherine of Aragon, it was their business to ally themselves with the queen's friends, and to help forward every movement having for its object the defeat of Henry's purposes. It would seem that Henry was a far less choleric and impulsive man than he has been represented; but he was resolved to be monarch in his own realm, and when his authority was disputed by a foreign priest, backed by the English clergy, he did not hesitate to take vigorous and effective measures for the vindication of his rights. The execution of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, has always been referred to as an example of tyranny and cruelty. Mr. Froude in this volume has been able to prove that Fisher "invited and pressed the introduction of a foreign Catholic army into England in the pope's interest," which puts a very different face on the affair.

Mr. Froude also shows the results of the great contest to determine whether pope or king ruled in England. A bishop undertook to burn a heretic without waiting for the king's writ. He was promptly arrested, thrown into the Tower, and his property confiscated. It was no time for half measures; Henry saw that he must put down treason with a high hand, or it would put him down. Catherine of Aragon became in the last years of his life an active conspirator against him, and Mary, her daughter, was not less disloyal. When, after vainly waiting for papal action on the divorce, Henry got himself divorced by an English court and married Anne Boleyn, he made a grievous mistake,

for Anne was a bad woman, vicious, malignant, insufferably insolent, and hated by the people and the peers alike. There seems good reason to believe that she tried to murder both Catherine and Mary. It is said that Henry was afraid to leave the country to meet Francis, because in his absence she would be regent, and he dreaded and distrusted her too much to give her such an opportunity. Anne contributed greatly to the difficulties of the situation. All the disaffected elements were drawn close together through her sinister influence. When at last her day of doom came, and Cromwell let loose upon her head the damning evidence he had gathered, there was no sympathy or pity for her. Mr. Froude's description of the proofs on which she was condemned seems to leave no room for doubt as to her guilt. Of the five men who were condemned with her, it is most significant that not one asserted his innocence. Neither did Anne herself. Her friends and allies and the Imperial Ambassador had no doubt of her guilt. Her crime was atrocious; it was treason in the most aggravated form, and there was no penalty for it but death.

JAMES HENRY MORLEY, 1824-1889. A Memorial. 8vo, pp. 61. Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1891.

The subject of this little memorial volume was the son of Sylvanus Griswold Morley, and was born in Westfield, Massachusetts, in 1824. He was descended from Colonel David Morley, who married the daughter of Rev. Sylvanus Griswold, of Feeding Hills, in that state, who was the son of Rev. George Griswold. James Henry Morley was appointed chief engineer of the Iron Mountain Railroad in 1853, which he located and built from St. Louis to Pilot Knob, a distance of eighty-six miles, during the following four years. He was a man of much excellence of character, and his life was full of generous impulses and actions.

EPOCH MAPS ILLUSTRATING AMERICAN HISTORY. By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

These maps are of the utmost value to students and teachers, and indeed to every citizen who wishes to understand the growth and magnitude of our country. There are fourteen, representing an immense amount of skilled research among the texts of grants, charters, and governors' instructions, as well as British and colonial and state and national statute books. Dr. Hart seems to have documentary authority for all boundary lines. This enterprise is commendable from every point of view.

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BENJAMIN WEST, P. R. A.

[From the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P. R. A.]

all the fleets of Christendom." This description will apply with considerable exactness to Watling's island and to no other. Watling's is not only the only one of the Bahamas that has a large interior lake, but, with the exception of New Providence, which is out of the question, is the only one that answers to Las Casas's description of having the shape of a bean.

(2) In going from Watling's island, and following the course marked out in the journal of Columbus, there is no difficulty in identifying all the islands at which the fleet of Columbus stopped between Watling's and Cuba.

(3) It is impossible to establish with any confidence such an identification, if we suppose that the landfall was on another island.

This process of reasoning, though not essentially different from those of Becher and others, is carried on in a more perfectly independent spirit, and is the result of personal explorations. It does not appear that Becher ever made a study of the question on the spot.

But interesting as this part of Cronau's discussion is, it is in regard to the second question, namely, that relating to the exact point at which the landfall took place, that his observations and reasoning are most original and most important. The basis of his conclusion is twofold: First, a very careful study of the text of Columbus's journal, as abridged or abstracted, and preserved for us by Las Casas, for the most part in the very language of Columbus himself; and, secondly, his own personal explorations and observations on the island.

His reasoning may be summarized as follows:

(1) The best landing place on the island is at or near Graham's Harbor, a little north of the middle of the west side.

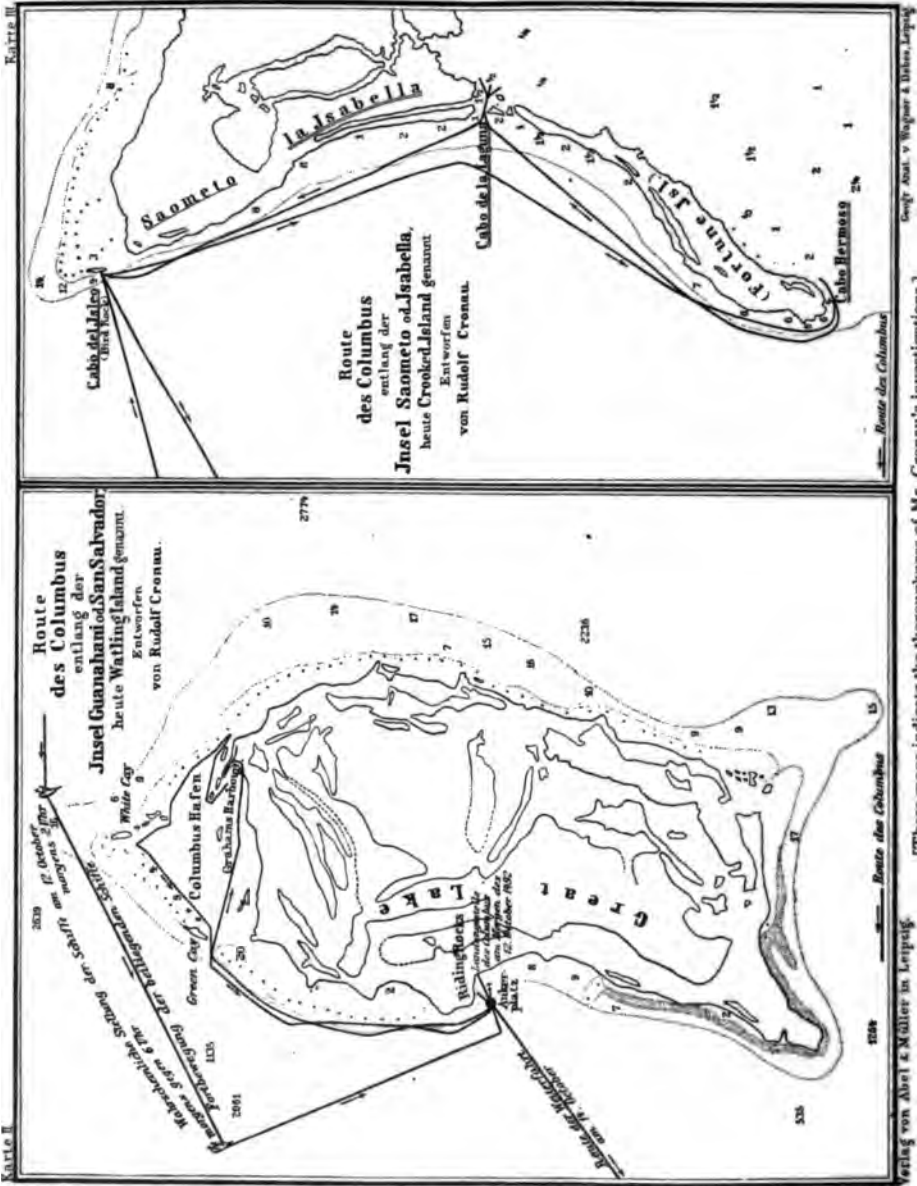
(2) The state of the weather was such as to make a landing on the west side the most natural one.

(3) A landing on the east side, at any time extremely difficult, would have been, on account of the prevailing winds and waves, at the time of the discovery quite impossible.

(4) The details given by Columbus show that the approach to the island from the west was both easy and natural.

(5) The direction taken by Columbus, in going from the first landing place, indicates that he landed on the west side, and could not have landed on the east.

(6) And, finally: Having landed on the west side, the difficulties in the narrative, which, on any other theory, seem insuperable, almost or entirely disappear.



[These maps indicate the thoroughness of Mr. Cronau's investigations.]

Now let us, in the briefest possible manner, see how this theory comports with the facts of the narrative.

(1) Columbus says, in his journal, that on Thursday, October 11th, they

"encountered a heavier sea than they had met with before on the whole voyage." In the same connection, he adds that, "after sunset, they sailed twelve miles an hour until two hours after midnight, going ninety miles." It is probable that the mile of Columbus was about two-thirds of the present English mile.

(2) Cronau reasons that the very heavy sea and the rate of sailing at twelve miles an hour could not be reconciled, except in case of a very strong wind from an easterly direction. This turbulence of the sea, rolling in as it must, from the east, would make a landing on the east side of the island impossible. Even in fair weather, this would have been extremely hazardous, because the whole of the eastern coast is fortified and protected by a continuous and dangerous line of precipitous rocks.

(3) Columbus reports that at ten o'clock, that is, when they were sailing at the rate of twelve miles an hour, he believed he saw a light. Four hours later, that is to say, after they had passed over forty-eight miles, and at two o'clock in the morning, land was first seen by Rodrigo de Triana from the *Pinta*. We are not told the direction of this land from the ship; but it was regarded as about two leagues distant. They then, Columbus says, "took in sail, and remained under square sail, lying to, till day." Cronau is of the opinion that the fleet, which under full sail was going at the rate of twelve miles an hour, when reduced to a single square sail, would necessarily have gone several miles, probably as many as fifteen or twenty, during the four hours between two o'clock and daylight.

(4) This rate of nearly or quite half speed would have carried them some miles beyond the island, which is only six miles broad; and, in the morning, whether they passed the island on the north, or on the south, the only natural course was to turn about and approach the island from the west.

(5) The abridgment of Columbus by Las Casas says that, "arrived on shore, they saw trees very green, many streams of water, and divers sorts of fruits." Columbus himself, in an unabridged passage, says: "This is a pretty large and level island, with trees extremely flourishing, and streams of water. There is a large lake in the middle of the island; but no mountains. The whole is completely covered with verdure delightful to behold." This description, especially that of Las Casas, as an abridgment of the statement given by Columbus, answers at the present time to the appearance of the island as seen from off Graham's Harbor.

(6) Under date of Sunday, the 14th of October, Columbus says: "At daybreak, I ordered the boat of my vessel, as well as the boats of the

other caravels, to be put in readiness, and I skirted along the coast toward the north-northeast, in order to explore the other part of the island, namely, that which lies to the east."*

This passage points clearly to the landing on the west side. Columbus then states that in their north-northeast movement in the boats they discovered two or three villages, the people of which beckoned them to come ashore. Columbus says, however: "I was apprehensive on account of the reef of rocks which surrounds the island, although there is a depth of water and room for all the ships of Christendom, with a very narrow entrance. There are some shoals within; but the water is as smooth as a pond." He then proceeds to describe what he calls "a tongue of land, which appeared like an island, though it was not; but might be cut through, and made so in two days," and also a place that would be peculiarly advantageous for the erection of a fortress.

Watling's island is about twelve English miles in length, and between four and six miles in breadth. Graham's Harbor, as already stated, lies a little north of the middle, on the west side. On the 21st of November, 1890, Cronau started from this harbor, to coast along to the northeast, following as nearly as possible the course indicated by the journal of Columbus. He says he had no difficulty in identifying the spot in every essential particular. The rocky shoals, which prevented Columbus from landing, impose the same barrier to navigation at the present day that they did at the end of the fifteenth century. Cronau found the entrance to the harbor, and described it with considerable minuteness, as well as with pardonable enthusiasm. He landed at the point which Columbus designated as "a tongue of land, which appeared to be an island," and describes by means of original drawings the site which, in his opinion, Columbus had in mind when he recommended it as an admirable place for a fortification. Going into somewhat minute details, he says that there is even evidence that during the last century the site was used for purposes of defence; for among other indications of occupancy he found an old rusty cannon that had been abandoned at some time apparently during the period of the French Revolution.

* This is the real meaning of the Spanish passage, although Kettell in his English translation has very blunderingly given it the very opposite meaning. Kettell's rendering is the following:

"In the morning, I ordered the boats to be got ready, and coasted along the island toward the NNE. to examine that part of it, we having landed first at the eastern part."

The Spanish, as given by Navarrete, I., p. 24, is as follows:

"En amaneciendo mandé aderezar el batel de la nao y las barcas de las carabelas, y fue al luengo de la isla, en el camino del Nornordeste, para ver la otra parte, que era de la otra parte del Leste."



LANDING-PLACE OF COLUMBUS ON WATLING'S ISLAND.

[From the sketch by Rudolf Cronau.]

This same explorer not only made personal investigations into the question of the landfall, but, what is of perhaps even greater interest, spent a full month in San Domingo for the purpose, if possible, of settling the vexed question as to the present location of the remains of Columbus.

In order to understand the full significance of what follows, it is necessary to bear in mind the history of the various removals. Columbus, just before his death, expressed the wish that his remains might be interred on the Island of Hispaniola. It was not practicable that this wish should be complied with at once, and, accordingly, it is probable that the body of the admiral remained at Valladolid from 1506 to 1513 or 1514, when it was transferred to Seville. About 1541, though the date is not precisely known, the remains were taken to San Domingo and deposited in the cathedral that had recently been completed. Although there is no record of that early date, indicating where the remains were placed, there was a tradition that they rested at the right of the altar; and one hundred and thirty-five years later, namely, in 1676, this tradition took the form of an entry in the records of the cathedral.

At a period somewhat later than that of the transfer of the admiral's remains, though the exact date cannot now be fixed, the remains of Diego Columbus, together with those of his son Luis, were carried from Spain to San Domingo, and buried in the same cathedral. It is probable that their reinterment took place at about the beginning of the seventeenth century; for there are records in Spain which apparently refer to the matter at that date. There was no inscription to indicate the locality of either vault.

When, by the treaty of Basle of the 20th of December, 1795, this portion of San Domingo was ceded to France, the Spaniards had a laudable desire that the remains of the discoverer should be transferred to one of the several islands still in Spanish possession. Accordingly, the floor at the right of the altar was explored, and a vault supposed to be that of the admiral was found. Its contents, believed to be the remains of the admiral, were transferred to Cuba with great ceremony, and were deposited in the cathedral at Havana, where they have since remained. No doubt seems to have been raised in regard to the genuineness of the remains thus removed, until on the 10th of September, 1877, some laborers, in repairing a part of the floor of the cathedral, discovered another vault on the right of the altar, lying between that from which the supposed remains of Columbus had been taken and the outer wall of the chancel. These two vaults were separated by a thin wall. One of them, the smaller of the two, was empty, while the other, the one that had apparently first been constructed, was found to contain a small leaden box, forty-four centimeters long, twenty-three centimeters high, and twenty-one and a half centimeters in breadth. A nearer inspection of the box and of its inscriptions satisfied the authorities of the cathedral that the remains transferred in 1795 were those of Diego, and that the remains of the admiral were still in the possession of the cathedral.

A long controversy on the subject, however, at once took place. The archbishop of San Domingo maintained quietly but stoutly that the larger vault next the wall was the one first constructed, that the smaller one was subsequently added for the remains of the son, that the inscriptions were genuine, and that, beyond all question, the remains transferred to Havana were those of the son Diego, while the remains contained in the newly opened vault were unmistakably those of the discoverer.

The Spanish authorities would not admit that a mistake had been made. A war of pamphlets ensued. Cronau has given the titles of as many as thirteen elaborate papers devoted to the subject between 1877 and 1880. A copy of the inscriptions was roughly made, but the matter seems not to have been investigated with impartial and scrupulous care.

Two agents of the Spanish government visited the island to look into the question ; but they made no study of the inscriptions themselves, the casket having been previously removed to a side chapel and put under the seals of the archbishop and of the government.

They reported, however, that the remains removed to Havana were genuine, and that the claim of the authorities at San Domingo was fraudulent. As to who perpetrated the fraud, they never undertook to determine ; but notwithstanding the assertions of the archbishop, whose character was above all reproach, they maintained, or rather asserted, that all the inscriptions had been forged simply for the purpose of making it appear that the remains of Columbus were still at San Domingo. The motive for forgery was alleged to be the belief that Columbus was about to be canonized and that the cathedral which could be made to appear to be the resting place of his remains would become a shrine that would be visited by hordes of pilgrims from every part of the western world.

It was to investigate this interesting question of fact that Herr Cronau, just about a year ago, spent a month in San Domingo. The account of what took place is of so much importance that I give a translation of the author's own words. He says :

"When I started in the autumn of 1890 on my journey through the West Indies and Central America, in order to collect material for illustrations, I decided that the investigation of this question should be a part of my programme. Owing to letters of introduction from the German government, I succeeded in getting access to the remains for the purpose of examining them most carefully. This investigation took place on Sunday, January 11, 1891, in the morning, in the cathedral of San Domingo. There were present the Church dignitaries, the secretary of the interior of the republic of San Domingo and his officials, and all the consuls of the governments which were represented in San Domingo ; furthermore, the author of several of the above-mentioned pamphlets, Emilio Tejera.

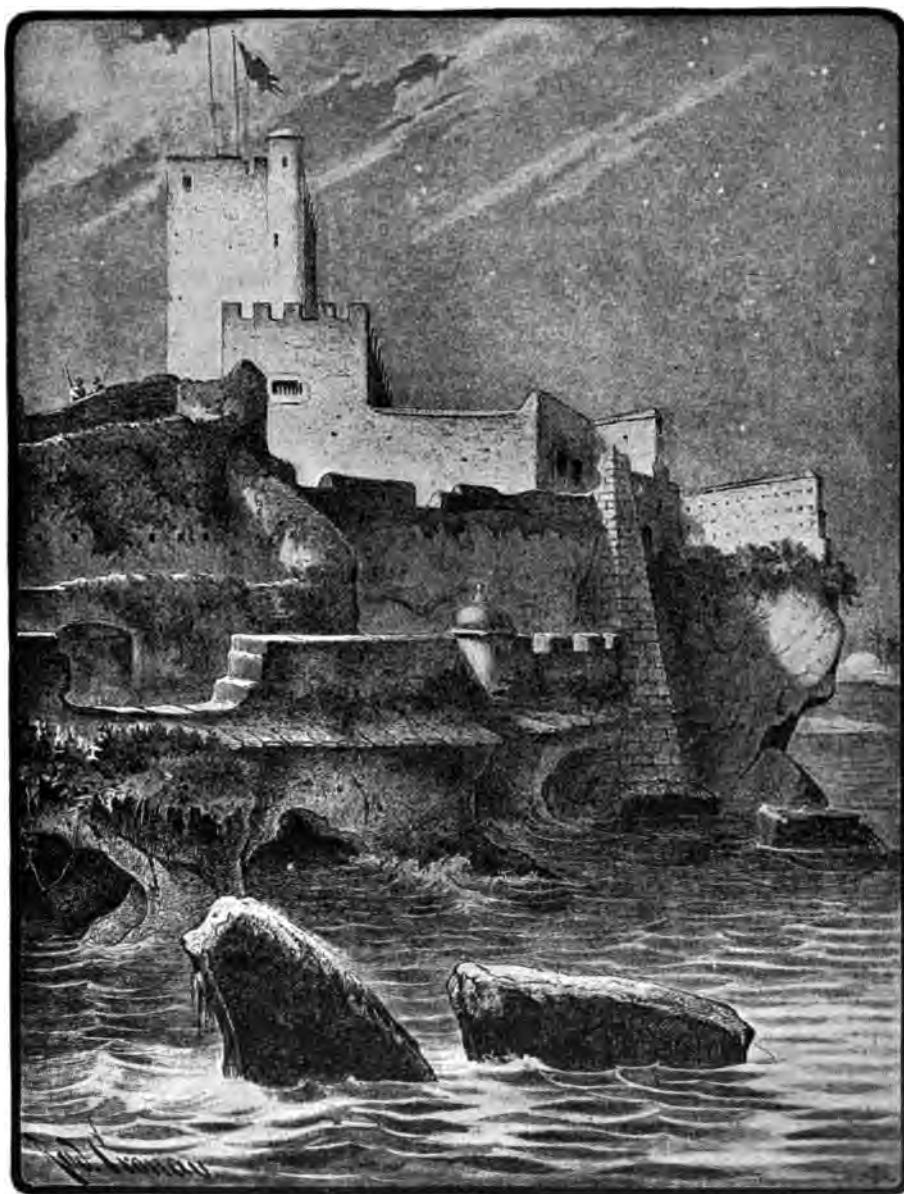
The following are the results of my investigation : The two little sepulchral chambers, the position of which can be seen from the plan and the illustrations referring to the sanctuary, occupy the entire space between the staircase C and the wall, and are separated from one another only by a thin wall sixteen centimeters thick. Both vaults are covered with a cement like mortar. Their interior can easily be seen from above, for they were purposely left in a way to be examined with ease. Both rather small rooms are empty : the contents of vault 2 are in Havana, and the leaden coffin found in vault 1 is kept under lock and key in a room behind the first side chapel on the left, in the cathedral. The door lead-

ing to this room can be opened only by means of three keys, of which the first is in the hands of the archbishop, and the other two in those of the government. The regulations require that the room should be opened only in presence of one official connected with the church and two of the officers of the government. Admission is granted very rarely, and a record kept of all visitors.

In the centre of the room stands a rather large chest (which also can be opened only by the use of several keys) containing the disputed lead coffin. The coffin itself is inclosed in a glass case, held together by strong strips of wood, and ornamented with silver handles. This glass case can, in its turn, be opened by means of several keys. In order, however, to prevent its being opened, a broad white silk ribbon had, in 1877, been wound several times about the glass case, immediately after the body was placed here, and the seals of the government of San Domingo, the church, and the consulates of Spain, Italy, Germany, England, France, Holland, and the United States were put upon the case.

No one had opened the case since, and consequently the coffin and the remains were in exactly the condition in which they had been left in 1877. After the door of the room and the chest had been opened on the above-mentioned date (the 11th of January, 1891), in the presence of the witnesses enumerated above, the glass case and its contents were lifted out and were put on a table covered with brocade, in the side nave of the church, and we were allowed to examine them. It happened that the lead coffin was open; its cover was turned back and fastened to the cover of the glass case, so that the bones lying inside were plainly visible. A considerable number of the vertebræ of the neck and back, and parts of the arm and leg bones, proved very well preserved. A vessel of glass contained the dust which had been found on the bottom of the coffin. Furthermore, one could see a little silver plate, covered with inscriptions, and a round leaden bullet. The latter lay outside of the lead coffin.

On the suggestion of the secretary of the interior of the republic, the consuls of the foreign governments declared, unanimously, that not only the silk ribbon wound about the glass case, but also all the seals, which had been put on in 1877, were absolutely intact. After this, the seals were broken, the ribbon loosened, the glass case opened, by means of three keys, and the lead coffin lifted out and put upon a table, so that an examination could now be carried on in the most careful way. The coffin itself proved badly oxidized, and showed the effects of being dented in some places, but in other respects was rather well preserved. A few fragments of the lead which had fallen off were found carefully wrapped in a piece of paper.



DIE CITADELLE ZU SANTO DOMINGO.
[From the sketch by Rudolf Cronau.]

The first thing to be done was, of course, to investigate the inscriptions on the lead coffin, and the little plate of silver. The result was the discovery that the reproductions from these, which have so far been published, are in part very incorrect. This may be due to the fact that, in the absence of good instruments, an attempt was made, as Mr. Tejera assured us, to copy the inscriptions on wood by means of penknives.

I made a special effort to make the correctest possible copies of all inscriptions. These I had photographed on zinc, and then etched, and they may be compared with older representations of the inscriptions.

The appearance of these inscriptions, which were engraved on the lead and the silver, by means of a sharp instrument, shows them to be unmistakably old. On the outside of the left wall of the coffin was found the letter C; on the front wall a letter C; on the right side wall a letter A. These letters have been explained as the initials of the words: 'Cristoval Colon, Almirante.'*

The cover bears the inscription which has been interpreted as standing for "Descubridor de la América, primero Almirante"; i.e., "The discoverer of America, the first Admiral."

The words standing on the inside, written in gothic script, and partly abbreviated, have been translated as follows: 'The famous and excellent man, Don Cristoval Colon.'†

It has been believed by some people that the fourth letter of the word Cristoval ought to be regarded as an *f*. This would in no way impair the correctness of the inscription, as the spelling 'Criftoval' is found.

As to the silver plate (which in our illustration is reproduced in its real size), it must be mentioned that it was found with the leaden bullet under the ashes which covered the bottom of the coffin. Two small screws which were also found there, and which corresponded to two holes in the plate, and to two other holes in the back wall of the coffin, showed that the little plate was originally screwed fast on that part of the coffin, but that in course of time the oxidizing of the lead had caused the screws to become loose, and to fall down, together with the plate.

Both sides of the plate are written upon, and both inscriptions are evidently meant to state the same thing. It would seem, however, as if their author had not been satisfied with the first inscription, perhaps because it did not seem intelligible enough on account of its too great brevity, and had then tried to express the same thing on the other side more in detail, for it would otherwise seem senseless to write on both

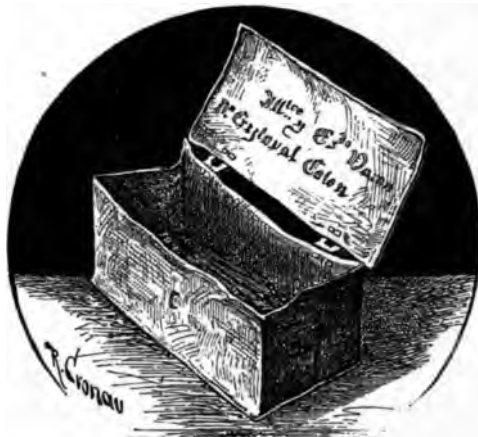
* Compare with sketches in *Magazine of American History*, vol. ix., pages 11-13.

† *Magazine of American History*, vol. ix., page 11.

sides of a plate, one side of which was always invisible, because turned towards the side of the coffin. The more complete inscription, which was doubtless turned towards the beholder, has been interpreted as follows: 'Ultima parte de los restos del primero Almirante Cristoval Colon Descubridor'; *i.e.*, 'The last part of the remains of the first admiral, Cristoval Colon, the discoverer.'

It is to be noticed that the first abbreviated word might also be resolved into 'una' or 'única.' Then the first part of the sentence would be 'a part' or 'the only part.'

We now must mention the leaden bullet found in the dust on the bottom of the coffin. The theory has been advanced that it was lodged



Der Bleisarg des Christoph Columbus.
Nach dem Originale gezeichnet von Rudolf Cronau.
[See *Magazine of American History*, ix., page 12.]

in the body of Columbus during the first years of his career as a seaman, and dropped from its place in the course of the decomposition. No special importance has been so far attributed to its presence. We, on the contrary, are inclined to consider it as a proof of the identity of these remains and those of Columbus, for the reason that he says, in a letter written to the Spanish monarchs during his fourth voyage, and mentioned above by us: 'My wound has opened again.'

We do not know that Christopher Columbus received a wound during his stay in Portugal and Spain, or during any of his journeys in the service of the Spanish monarchs. Consequently, it may be correct to suppose that he got the bullet during his early life, which seems to have been very

turbulent and adventurous. We suppose that when [in 1541] the remains were taken from the original large coffin (which had perhaps begun to decay), and were put into the small leaden coffin, the leaden bullet was found among the bones and left there. In case fraud was intended with the remains found in 1877 (as Prieto, Colmeiro, and others would have us believe), what could have induced those who committed the fraud to add such a leaden bullet? This bullet has, to our knowledge, not yet been considered as a proof of the genuineness of these remains, and has never been brought into connection with the passage cited above.

Further than that, we ask, what special interest could the people of San Domingo have had in perpetrating such a fraud, from which they have so far derived no profit whatever? And where, in San Domingo, are the artisans and the engravers who could have carried out the fraud, even under the guidance of superior intelligence?

We would mention, as another proof of the genuineness of this coffin and its contents, that the leaden coffin which had formerly been carried away by the Spaniards apparently had no inscription; at least, we nowhere find mention of one. Now, first of all, it is difficult to believe that the coffin of so distinguished a man as the rediscoverer of America should have been left without any outward sign; and, secondly, the fact that the coffin found in 1877 occupied the place of honor on the right of the altar seems of importance for our argument, as does the other fact that the smaller vault next to it, which was emptied of its contents in 1795, gives one the impression of having been added later, as if they wanted to bury the less distinguished son next to the more distinguished father.

The counter arguments of the other side cannot stand against these weighty considerations. The hypothesis that the coffin in question might possibly contain the remains of Christopher, the grandson of the discoverer, has no value; for, if that were the case, the inscriptions would read 'fourth admiral' instead of 'first admiral,' and the title 'Descubridor' would be out of place, because the grandson of the discoverer never went on a discovering expedition. The other objection, that the name 'America,' for which the letter 'A' on the cover of the coffin is generally believed to stand, was not used in Spain at that time, is equally weak, as the name America was proposed by the German Waltzemüller as early as 1507, and, as is shown on many maps, had been generally adopted by 1541 (that is, the year in which the lead coffin was probably made).

It has further been urged that the appearance of the letters on the coffin does not point to so remote a time, and is 'too modern.' The reproductions of these letters which have been published would, indeed,



Christopher Columbus
1492

lead one to such a belief, as, especially, the engraved work on the silver plate is too much modernized. The copy which we made with the most scrupulous care shows the great difference : our readers will have an opportunity to convince themselves that the inscriptions of the silver plate might easily belong to the time about 1540, as far as their appearance is concerned, by comparing them with autographs from the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century.

We should like to mention, furthermore, that Señor Lopez Pietro, the author of the pamphlets doubting the genuineness of these remains, who had been sent over by the Spanish government to investigate these tombs, never took the trouble to examine the coffin and the remains, but had finished his pamphlets before landing in San Domingo. So several highly respected and trustworthy persons in San Domingo have assured us, on their word of honor.

We were, unfortunately, unable to find out whether his colleague, Manuel Colmeiro, had adopted similar methods.

During my stay of a month, I made it a business to question a considerable number of persons who had been present at the discovery of the coffin, singly and without each other's knowledge, and found complete agreement in the statements of all of them.

After I had finished my investigation of the coffin and the remains (this took me about three hours), the ashes in the glass vessel were put into a silver casket, ornamented with gold, and this casket was also put into the coffin. After the leaden coffin had been put back into the glass case, the latter was again carefully closed, a ribbon with the three colors of the republic of San Domingo, red, white, and blue, was tied about it, and it was locked as it had been before—that is, by putting upon it the seals of the church, the government, and the several consulates. Notaries, who had been called, read the report they had made, the coffin was put back into its old place, and those present at this memorable act took their departure. The author, and certainly all those who were there with him, went away with the conviction that the venerable remains of the great discoverer were lying, and are still lying, in the cathedral of San Domingo."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "C. K. Adams." The signature is written in dark ink and is followed by a long, horizontal, looping flourish that extends to the right.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

ONCE FAMOUS LOUISBOURG

Since the beginning of the present century Cape Breton, once known as Isle Royale, has been to the world at large very little more than a mere geographical expression, and the importance which it possessed when England and France were struggling for the supremacy in North America has been long since forgotten, except by the students of history to whom the name of once famous Louisbourg will recall glorious episodes in the history of Old and New England. The object of this paper is to direct attention to some existing features of the island, and to the memorials which still remain of that old régime the history of which ended in 1758 with the fall of the great fortress on the southeastern coast.

From summer to summer for many years the writer has visited Cape Breton, endeared to him by the associations and memories of his boyhood, and always interesting for the beauties of its varied scenery, and for the opportunity it gives of drawing the visitor from the more prosaic present to the contemplation of former days, when men and heroes fought for the supremacy of two great nations on its storm-swept shores. All around its coast there are memorials of the historic past. Not only the name of the island itself, but its bold headlands, its spacious bays, its broad estuaries and harbors, connect us in the present with those adventurous voyagers who explored its waters centuries ago. It is believed by many authorities that it was "*prima tierra vista*," the first landfall made by John Cabot in his memorable voyage of 1497. Basques, Bretons, Normans, Portuguese, and Spaniards have in turn made an impress on its geography which English occupation for a hundred and thirty years has not removed.

Standing on one of the bleak hills which overlook the strait between Nova Scotia and Cape Breton we recall the times when Nicholas Denys, *Sieur de Fronsac*, was struggling against the jealousies of rival traders and attempting to establish a seigneurie for himself on the island. His name, which for a while was given to this arm of the sea, has long since disappeared, and the old word *Canso*, whatever its meaning, clings persistently to these picturesque shores. From time to time the graceful fishing vessels of New England glide over its waters, with their white canvas and trim hulls, the envy and admiration of all sailors—so amazingly in contrast with the clumsy hulks of the Basque vessels of *St. Jean de Luz* that, three centuries ago, frequented its coasts. The derivation of the name is still a

matter of conjecture. In the old maps and charts it is spelled Campseau or Canseau, and the current method is an English corruption of the first name. One writer * will insist that it is derived from the Spanish *Ganso*, and has reference to the great flocks of wild geese which fly over the strait at certain periods of the year, and naturally attracted the attention of early Spanish navigators; but this appears to be a mere ingenious effort of the same fancy which has given a Spanish origin to Canada—*Aça ñada*—instead of the generally accepted Iroquois derivation, *kannata* or collection of cabins. It has also been urged that a French sailor by the name of Canse first gave his name to the strait, but this theory has been easily disposed of by the fact that the author who is mentioned as the authority for this supposition was actually writing of the West Indies, and referred to one *Cause*.† As a matter of fact the name first appears at the port of Canseau, on the southeast coast of Nova Scotia—a great resort of Breton and Basque fishermen from early times—and was subsequently extended to the arm of the sea between the peninsula of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. L'Escarbot is no doubt correct in stating that it is an Indian word; and indeed, on reference to the best work on the Micmac tongue, we find that it still exists in the old form of *Kamsok*, which means “a steep bluff rises on the opposite side.” The Indians, in accord with their custom of naming places from certain natural characteristics, probably so called the strait from the steep bluffs on the Nova Scotia side, one of which, Cape Porcupine, is specially conspicuous from its curious resemblance to the back of the little animal from which it is named. The French, who frequented the port of Canseau, must have given it the Indian name of the strait.

St. Peter's—the French Port Toulouse—is the first place, after leaving the railway on the Nova Scotia side of the strait, where we find ourselves on historic ground in Cape Breton. In these later times a ship canal has been constructed to connect the wide bay of the same name with the famous Bras d'Or Lake. The establishment, formed at St. Peter's in 1637 by Sieur Denys, was situated, as far as can be ascertained, on a rocky neck of land in a little cove to the right of the entrance of the canal; and in this same neighborhood, from the days of the French, there has always been a small settlement of fishermen and traders. The new village, which has grown up since the construction of the canal, can be seen to the left of the canal, and is a collection of painted or whitewashed wooden houses, almost bare of trees. In old times, when Pichon ‡ wrote

* Judge Haliburton (“Sam Slick”), in the *History of Nova Scotia*, II., 223, n.

† Abbé Laverdière, in a note to his edition of *Champlain's Works*, II., 279.

‡ *Lettres et Memoires pour servir à l'histoire du Cap Breton*. A La Haye et Londres, 1759.

of this locality, it was a centre of communication for the whole island, and the most important post after Louisbourg. Here one "could observe the least motion of the English at Canso or in the passage of Fronsac, and advice could be sent to the commandant at Louisbourg in less than eighteen hours." In 1755 there were in this place two hundred and thirty inhabitants, exclusive of officers and troops, and the people, who were very industrious, found constant employment in building boats and vessels, in the cutting of timber, and in the fisheries. The name of Port Toulouse, which was given in honor of an eminent count, an illegitimate son of Louis XIV., has passed away since 1758, and the older name of St. Peter's, which existed in the time of Denys, has been restored, if indeed it ever disappeared from the vocabulary of the people or of the sailors who frequented this port. It is claimed that the name was originally Portuguese, and there is some authority for this claim in the fact that we find in the old maps a Cape St. Petro or St. Pietro in the vicinity of an arm of the sea, between the *terra des Bretones* and Cap de Breton. One learned archæologist* inclined to believe that it was at St. Peter's, and not at Inganiche, that the Portuguese made their first and only settlement in the gulf, and goes so far as to make them the builders of a fort, the ruins of which can still be traced about one hundred yards to the westward of the canal; but here we enter into the realm of mere speculation, and have really no facts before us except the general knowledge that this was certainly a favorite resort of the early French, and was probably visited by the Portuguese as early as, if not before, the Basques. We have to be content with the information given us by Champlain, who had the best means of knowing something of the subject, that Inganiche was the scene of the abortive attempt of the Portuguese to establish a settlement in Cape Breton, and we should probably be grateful to the learned antiquarian who favors the claim of St. Peter's, that, in his zeal for the Portuguese, he does not tax our ingenuity too far, but allows the Micmacs to retain the possession of the word Inganis or Inganiche—undoubtedly of Indian origin.

But leaving these curious imaginings of the old mortalities of the countries on the gulf—and it is amazingly easy to build up theories of the past on the slight evidence that remains to us of the occupation of the island before the French—we come to the remarkable mediterranean sea known in these times as the Bras d'Or lakes. Here we can sail or steam for many hours on the bosom of an arm of the sea, ever widening, ever lessening, with the highlands of the north always visible, and the lowlands

* Rev. Dr. Patterson, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. VIII., sec. 2, and the *Magazine of American History*, May, 1891, Vol. XXV., p. 389.

of the south receding as we find ourselves on one of its great expansions. Anon we pass through a narrow gorge or channel, cut by some convulsion of nature, or more probably worn by the action of the waves since primeval times, and pass from one lake to another. From northeast to southwest, in the course of untold centuries since the world was young, the sea has steadily forced its way through the rocky hills of the interior of the island and formed a series of lakes, bays, and channels, affording safe and uninterrupted navigation for ships of large size for at least fifty miles from Point Aconi, the most easterly head of Boularderie Island, to the narrow isthmus which long barred progress to the Gut of Canso. Here at last the enterprise of man has come to the aid of these inland waters and given them access to St. Peter's Bay, by means of the fine canal already mentioned. The lakes divide Cape Breton into two sections, each distinguished by diverse natural features. The northern division is remarkable for its lofty mountains and cliffs.

The southern division has none of the ruggedness and grandeur of the country on the other side of the lakes, but here we find the most spacious harbors, of which Sydney and Louisbourg are the best, and the richest coal areas of the island. From Port Hawkesbury, at the strait of Canso, as far as Cape Lawrence, there are no good harbors on the picturesque western coast compared with those on the southern and eastern coast of the other division. Between the eastern entrances of the Bras d'Or and the storm-swept promontory of Cape North there is the fine harbor of St. Anne's, which at one time was nearly chosen the capital of Cape Breton, then Isle Royale, and is in its natural aspect more interesting than Louisbourg on account of its sublime vistas of forest-clad hills, and the great ocean far beyond. The Bras d'Or lakes are connected at the east with the gulf by means of two guts or straits known as the great and the little Bras d'Or entrances, one running to the north and the other to the south of the fine island of Boularderie, which is a long, narrow tract of land inhabited chiefly by Scotch settlers, and which was also called in French times the Isle de Verderonne, until it came to be better known by the name of its first proprietor, a French gentleman who served with distinction in the French navy, and at Port Royal in Acadia. At several points on the lakes, from St. Peter's to Sydney, there are many features of interest to attract the tourist. The picturesque narrows which connect the two lakes is now crossed by a graceful drawbridge of iron, over which the railway passes from the strait of Canso to the capital town of Cape Breton. At this point you catch many charming glimpses of the expansive lake and the dim hills which stretch far to the north and west. Baddeck, strictly speak-

ing, Bedek, an old Micmac name changed by the French to Bedeque, is a charming harbor, where a little summer retreat has been made on the slopes and plateaus of the hill that rises from the water's edge.

Here Charles Dudley Warner dipped his pen to describe its charms in his humorous vein, and now science finds its representative in Professor Bell, the inventor of the telephone, who has raised his laboratory in this sylvan retreat, and finds the rest he needs by cruising in the devious channels and bays of these beauteous inland waters. The sail from this pretty spot through the entrance of the great Bras d'Or offers many a charming vista of cliffs where the gypsum mingles its white with the dark green of the overhanging spruce, and where the land rises into lofty hills, with their slopes dotted here and there with cottages surrounded by little patches of meadow. Churches with tapering steeples, all of an unfailing type—square, commodious, and ugly—testify to the religious fervor of the inhabitants who live by the side of this interesting lake. At vespers we hear the peal of the bells coming over the water, and finding an echo in the dark receding hills. Sometimes this sheet of water takes a fancy of running deviously into the recesses of the hills, and of forming bays and basins where the land rises precipitately from the water's edge, and only at intervals offers places sufficiently level for the farmer to make his little clearing. Many places on the lakes bear uncouth Micmac names—Whycocomagh, for instance—but still, there are not a few memorials of the old French days. One romantic basin, where the entrance is barred by ragged islets, and the shores are indented by numerous little coves, receives the waters of a stream which forces its way from the northwestern country where we meet with a Sky Glen, a Mull, a Glen Dhu, Strath Lorn, Glencoe and Brigend, to remind us of the origin of the people who now live among the Cape Breton hills. But this basin and river still bear the name of Denys, in honor of the old seigneur of Cape Breton, who held large grants of land in the country watered by the river in question.

No one who visits the Bras d'Or lakes but will readily confess that it is appropriately called the Golden Arm, not merely on account of its picturesque features, but equally for the natural wealth that exists in its waters, its excellent farm lands, its plaster quarries, and in the other riches that still lie buried in its mountain ranges. This poetic name, however, appears to be quite of recent origin. All the old French and English charts of the island give to the lakes the name of Labrador. It is true the English version of Pichon's descriptive sketch, in one place, speaks of the Golden Arm, but in every other part of the work he uses the old name. In Denys's map of 1672, and in that of the Sieur Bellin in 1744, we find

"Labrador"—the latter adding "*appelée par les sauvages 'Bideanboch.'*" It is still called by the Micmacs "Petoobook," which is the correct spelling of a word which the French reproduced as nearly as possible from the sounds. In all probability, it is the same name given by the Portuguese navigators to the sterile country to the east of Canada, which they were the first Europeans to discover. How it came also to be applied to this inland sea of Cape Breton we have no conclusive evidence to guide us. It is generally believed that the name was first given to the coast of the continent because Cortereal took away with him a number of Indians who were described as well fitted for slaves. No such incident is connected with the history of Cape Breton. If it were possible to believe that the name Brador or Bradour is an Indian name, meaning a deep and narrow bay, which, like the fiords of Scandinavia, stretches into the interior of a country, then the difficulty would be solved, but there is no good authority for this statement. Bradore bay, on the Labrador coast, is considered to be of French origin—simply the Breton mode of pronouncing *Bras d'cau*; and if we are to accept this as a fact, then it is easy to suppose that the French who settled on this Cape Breton sea gave it the name which describes its natural characteristics.

It is a curious fact, which is worth mentioning in this connection, that a French privateer, commanded by M. de Brotz, which was captured the year before the first siege of Louisbourg, while cruising in search of colonial vessels, was not only built on the lakes, but actually called after them, *Labrador*—another proof of the general acceptance of the name. It is just possible that among the early settlers in this part of the island there were some French settlers from Bradore Bay, on the bleak northeastern coast of the gulf, and that in this way the name was first given to this beautiful lake, which, in later times, so impressed its visitors that they changed it to the more poetic appellation which it now bears.

If Bras d'Or is but a modern phrase, it is not the only example we have of the tendency to give a French version to names, the original meaning of which has been lost in the lapse of centuries. We see this illustrated in the name of the little bay of Mainadieu, to the westward of the dangerous isle of Scatari, to which was also sometimes given the name of Little Cape Breton. The southern head of this bay is that cape from which the large island itself has in course of years been called. Nearly all the French maps describe it as Menadou, and Charlevoix gives us, for a variation, Panadou—in all probability an Indian name, like Pictou in Nova Scotia, or Mabou on the western coast of Cape Breton, or Cibou,

which was the Micmac name of either St. Anne's or Sydney, if not of both, since Seboo is Indian for a great river.*

It was obviously easy to coin Mainadieu out of the old Indian word, so akin to it in sound, and to suppose that it was once given by some storm-tossed sailor who believed that he saw the hand of God stretched forth to guide him into this little haven of refuge on the rough Cape Breton coast. Nigh by are two little harbors on whose low hills fishermen have dwelt from the earliest days of which we have any records, and whose names appear frequently in the accounts of the two sieges of Louisbourg, especially in that of 1758, since it was in one of these ports that Wolfe established a depot for the support of his batteries.

Some years ago a woman of the neighborhood, while passing a little hillock, accidentally discovered a small jar which had been hidden for a century and a quarter or more, until the rains and snows had worn away the earth and brought it to light. As she lifted it carelessly a little stream of gold coin poured forth—*louis d'or* from the mint of the days of Louis Quinze, whose head was imprinted on the metal. In all probability, in a hurried flight to Louisbourg, when the English came on the coast in 1758, the treasure was buried and never reclaimed by the owner, who found his death behind the walls of the old town. The place where these coins were found is now known as Little Loran, in distinction from Great or Big Loran, the port nearest to Louisbourg, where Wolfe made his post. Some contend that the name is only a corruption of Lorraine, but nowhere in any writing or map is there authority for such a hypothesis. Bellin, Pichon, and others give Lorembec, which naturally recalls Kebec and Arambec, the other name of Norembeque or Norembec, and other Indian names of places in Acadia and on the gulf. In the Micmac tongue *bek* or *bec* is a familiar termination to the names of places, and one French writer has called this harbor Laurentbec. We may assume that Laurentbec was simply an attempt to Gallicize an unknown Indian name whose sound to the ear naturally recalled the familiar title of the great gulf and river of Canada. Loran is only the corruption of the stately name of Lorraine, which was given it for years when no one, after the occupation by the English, could interpret the original word Lorembec, and there was a general tendency to fall back on the French régime in such matters of perplexity. In all likelihood we see in the strange and hitherto meaningless Lorembec a survival of an Algonquin word, which was applied in some remote time of which we have no accurate knowledge to the ill-

* See Rev. Dr. Rand's *Micmac Dictionary*, published at Halifax, N. S., 1888. The beautiful "Sissiboo" in western Nova Scotia is the same name in a slightly changed form.

defined region which was known as Norumbega, or Norumbec, or Norumbegue, and even Arambec—though Nova Scotia was probably Arambec—and was believed by some mariners and geographers of ancient days to extend from Florida even to the eastern shores of Cape Breton. The old French voyagers may have found the word on the coast of Cape Breton, and have given it to the places where they first heard it, and where it has lingered until its origin has been forgotten and it has at last become Loran. Thus we may see in these obscure harbors of eastern Cape Breton a link to connect us with the past of northeastern America—that land of shadows and mysteries where the city of Norumbega rose, with palaces as substantial as those chateaux-en-Espagne of which all of us dream in the buoyancy and enthusiasm of hopeful and early manhood.

But we leave all these interesting memorials of a misty historic past that we find on the shores of Cape Breton, and pass on to Louisbourg, to which the thoughts of the student and traveler naturally turn. Our starting-point is Sydney, the present capital, prettily situated on a peninsula well adapted for a fine town, and the headquarters of a large coal trade—one of those old places where, among the modern improvements of towns nowadays, a few quaint one-storied houses, tumble-down barracks, and worm-eaten wharves show it has had a history. Sydney has one of the safest and largest harbors in America, and has been, from the earliest times in the history of Cape Breton, the constant resort of vessels engaged in the fisheries, or in the commerce of this continent.

One of the most noteworthy events in days before France built Louisbourg was the fact that it was in this spacious haven Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker anchored his fleet during the September of 1711, after the great loss he sustained while on his way to attack Quebec. It was here he came to the determination to sail to England without striking a blow for her honor and gain in America. From time to time French corsairs found refuge in the sheltered nooks and creeks of this great port, but we have no record of any event of moment that signalized its history until the foundation of the town in 1784, by Lieutenant-Governor Des Barres, a soldier who took part in the second siege of Louisbourg, and was present at the death of Wolfe on the field of Abraham. The little capital of the island was named in honor of Lord Sydney, then one of the queen's secretaries of state. The town has had a sluggish growth during its century of existence, and it is only within a few years, with the development of the great coal mines in the vicinity, that it has thrown off the apathy of the past, and taken a place among the active mercantile communities of Nova Scotia. It has an energetic competitor in

North Sydney, some six miles lower down the harbor, not far from the entrance of the port. In the summer days the port is visited by vessels of the French fleet that protect the fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and the industrious descendants of the Basque, Breton, and Norman adventurers of old still drag up the riches of the sea on the Grand Banks, where the codfish—the *baccalaos* of the Basques—appear as prolific as in the days when those sailors first explored the unknown waters of eastern America. By the irony of fate, the only remains of French dominion now in the Gulf of St. Lawrence are the insignificant islands of St. Pierre, Miquelon, and Langley, off the southern coast of the great island to which the names of Baccalaos, Terre Neuve, Avalon, and Newfoundland cling from the days of Cabot and Cortereal. Louisbourg is in ruins, and the French flag is no longer seen in that port, but floats only from the mastheads of ships of France in the harbor which they neglected in the days when her king was master on his royal island.*

After leaving Sydney we have to travel for a distance of at least twenty-four miles on a fairly good road, which offers no particular attractions except for a few minutes when we cross the Mira river, a noble stream which broadens, some miles from its mouth, into a long, extensive lake surrounded by well-wooded hills, and is justly named Grand Mira by the people. Glimpses of Catalogne Lake and of the great ocean away beyond to the eastward help to relieve the monotony of a rugged landscape. We pass a number of not too well cultivated farms, each with its little homestead of logs or sawn lumber, chiefly occupied by Scotch settlers. Gradually we can smell the fresh salt air, that tells us of our nearness to the sea, and suddenly emerging from a desolate-looking country, covered with small spruce, or with stumps and rocks where there happens to be a little clearing, we find ourselves on the hills which overlook the harbor, which stretches before us from northeast to southwest. If the day be foggy and dull—and there is a prevalence of such weather on that southeast coast of Cape Breton—the feeling that comes to the visitor is one of intense loneliness as he surveys the scattered houses, the almost deserted port, the absence of any commercial activity, and the wide expanse of ocean stretch-

* Until a few years ago the French flag floated from a tall staff on a grassplot near the water's edge in front of a large white house with wide, generous veranda and green shrubberies, which was and is still one of the conspicuous features of the harbor of Sydney. Within a stone's throw of this old mansion, whose framework is now nearly a century old, have anchored the vessels of the Newfoundland squadron for fifty years and more, and its quaint, low rooms are filled with mementos of illustrious French sailors, like Admirals Le Roncière and Cloué, who in times past have partaken of the hospitalities of the kindly owner—the late Senator Bourinot—long a vice-consul of France.

ing away to the eastern horizon. This feeling is naturally intensified by memories of the very different scenes that were witnessed on the same harbor in the middle of last century. It is by such contrasts between the past and the present that a place like Louisbourg makes the most impression on the mind. A large, bustling city would cause us almost to forget the historic days of old, and could not have the charm of the lonely aspect that the site of the old town now wears.

The fortifications of Louisbourg were commenced in 1720, and cost the French nation three millions of livres, or about six million dollars; or, taking into account the greater value of money in those days, over ten million dollars of our money, and even then they were never completed in accordance with the original design, on account of the enormous expense, which far exceeded the careful estimates, and of the reluctance of the French king to spend money in America when it was required to meet the lavish expenditure of mistresses, and the cost of wars of ambition in Europe. The walls of the fortifications were chiefly built of a porphyritic trap—a prevailing rock in the vicinity.* A considerable portion of the finer materials used in the construction of the brick and stone masonry of the fortifications and buildings was actually brought from France, as ballast, probably, in the fishing fleet from year to year; but it is also well known that a good deal of the timber and brick was purchased from traders of New England, who had no objection to earn an honest penny, even among a people whom they at once despised and hated. Some of them, in all probability, helped at a later time to demolish the very walls for which they had furnished materials. It is stated with so much persistence by French officers, that we must believe there is some truth in it, that the fortifications had been constructed carelessly, and worthless sea-sand used in mixing the mortar. It is quite probable that at Louisbourg, as in Canada, the officials in charge of the works cheated the government in every possible way in order to amass enough to get out of the country, to which many of them had a strong aversion.

This harbor, so full of memories, possesses natural characteristics which are peculiar to itself, and after a while bring with them a feeling of rest and isolation from the great world which frets and fumes away beyond it, and has brought none of its activity to its now relatively deserted shores.

* Dr. Gesner, in his *Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia*, p. 303. "The quarry," he writes of a visit to the ruins in 1849, "is seen about half a mile from the town. The stones were employed in their rough state. With them I found a handsome cut rock, closely resembling the Portland stone of England. I have been informed that this rock was obtained by the French at Mira river, but I have never seen any like it in America. Pieces of fine polished marble were also found among the ruins of the governor's dwelling."

Nature here, too, is seen in most varied aspects. The very atmospheric changes, so sudden at times, somehow seem adapted to the varying moods of life. One day all is bright, and the waters of the port sparkle in the sunshine, the gulls and seabirds take lofty flights in the pure atmosphere, the patches of stunted spruce assume a deeper green, and the lights and shadows play above the ruined ramparts of the old town, to which the eye ever turns in remembrance of the past. Then in a moment the wind veers round, and as we look to the southeast we can just see above the horizon a low bank of gray shadow, which moves forward, and soon enshrouds the islands at the entrance and the lighthouse on its rocky height in a cloud of mist, which increases steadily in volume until at last the point of land on which the old fortress once stood is no longer visible to the eye. Then, a few hours later, the wind changes once more, a cooling breeze comes from the northwest, the dense fog is driven out to sea again, and the harbor is revealed in all its solitary beauty. Or perhaps the wind rises to a storm, and then the waves dash with great velocity on the rocks and islets that bar the ocean from the port, which, despite the tempest outside, seems remarkably unruffled, and affords still a safe anchorage to the boats and vessels that are now its sole tenants, instead of the great fleets of stately ships that whitened its waters in the days of old.

Let us walk around this harbor on a bright day, when the fog, for once, has found its way beneath the horizon, and take a brief survey of the natural features of this curious landscape, and of the memorials that still remain of the old régime. The lighthouse point, or rocky promontory that forms the northeastern entrance, is the terminus of a great mass of rocks, where the inevitable spruce has obtained a foothold, and the varied flora of this northern region bloom amid the crevices or on the swampy ground which is a prevalent feature of the country. The beach is one great collection of rocky débris, which seems to have been thrown up by some giant effort of nature, and it requires no slight effort to find one's way amid these masses of rock piled on rock, worn smooth as marble by the unceasing action of the waves, and covered at their base with great bunches of entangled seaweed and shells, which glisten like so many necklets of amber beneath the sunlight as it peers into the little pools that have been left by the tide when it has receded to the bosom of mother ocean. Some few paces eastward of the lighthouse a mound or two of turf represents the battery which in Wolfe's time did so much execution on the works on Goat Island, about a third of a mile distant in a southerly direction—a mass of rock and earth, where old cannon balls and pieces of artillery are now and then turned up by the waves as they roll during the equinoctial gales on its

rugged shores. On these islands that guard the port seabirds without number still build their nests, and at certain seasons of the year, when the visitor lands among the rocks, they rise by myriads into the sky, and hover like a great cloud above the islets. The lighthouse, a tall wooden building with a fixed light, stands securely on a pinnacle of rock—a dreary home in the storms of autumn and winter, and the fogs of spring. From here, sometimes—although rarely at this particular point—in early spring, one can see vast fields of ice stretching as far as the eye can reach, blockading all approaches to the port, as in the days when Pepperrell's little expedition lay anchored at Canso. But the westerly winds soon scatter these ice-floes, and send them to melt in the warm current of the Gulf Stream, and the keeper from his lantern tower looks once more on the wide expanse of ocean, with all its varied moods in that uncertain region where storm and sunshine are ever fighting for the mastery. A short distance from the lighthouse there is a white modern cottage, a pleasant summer home, whose green lawn slopes to the edge of a little pond, guarded from the encroachments of the ocean by a causeway of stone. Here is a vista of land and sea of rare attraction for the wearied resident of the town.

Following the sinuosities of the harbor we come to where once stood the carceing wharf of the French, and here, when the writer last saw the place, was a high and long pier for loading vessels with the coal brought some twelve miles from the mines by a narrow-gauge railway. In this neighborhood, when the railway was built, there was to be a new town of Louisbourg, and a large coal business was to be prosecuted in summer and winter; but the pier has fallen into decay—it is probably removed by this time—the railway has been derailed in places, the wooden trestle-work over Catalogne Lake has rotted away, and Louisbourg has again been deserted for the town of Sydney. The road round this rugged promontory runs through great rents blasted in the rocks, and nears at times the very edge of the precipices. At intervals are fishing stages and moldering warehouses, recalling old times of large business activity. We pass by the little northeast harbor which forms so safe a haven for the trading schooners and fishing boats which are always moored here as in former times. As we walk down the west side towards the site of the French town we notice that the land ascends gently from the very edge of the harbor, and forms a pleasant site for the present village of Louisbourg, a collection of twenty or more whitewashed or painted houses, a canning factory,* and two or three churches. Some shops stand by the roadside or in the vicinity of the wharves, where there is generally

* The manager was—perhaps is—also from Maine, like Pepperrell.

fish drying on flakes. Some meadows, covered with a spare crop of grass or late vegetables, represent the agricultural enterprise that is possible on a thin soil, which receives little encouragement in this changeable atmosphere of fog and rain, in this country where the spring is a delusion and the summer too often a mockery, since it is so short, though in July and August there are days whose cool, soft temperature is most delicious. The old ruins of the grand, or royal battery, about midway on the west side, are quite visible, and as we survey them, map in hand, it is easy enough with a little patience and an effort of the imagination to trace the lines of the works. Here, however, as elsewhere, we can pay our tribute to the thoroughness with which the English sappers and miners, one hundred and thirty years since, obeyed their instructions to destroy the old fortifications, and leave not one stone on another lest they might at some time be found serviceable to an enemy. Just before coming to the *barachois*, so often mentioned in the accounts of the two sieges,* we see before us a large wooden chapel with a prominent steeple, the most pretentious ecclesiastical building in the place, and the cross that points to heaven is so much evidence that Rome claims her votaries in her old domain, and that the hatchets of the Puritan iconoclasts of Pepperrell's time were of little avail after all, but that her doctrines still flourish in the island of Cape Breton. We cross the *barachois* by a rude bridge and follow the road along the beach for a quarter of a mile or so, then come to a collection of fish stages and wharves made of poles laid on logs which are redolent of the staple industry of Louisbourg. Then we turn up a hill, and soon find ourselves on the grass-covered mounds of the old town. If we take a position on the site of the king's bastion, the most prominent point of the ruins, we see to the southwest the waters of the spacious Bay of Gabarus, generally called in old English books *Chapeau rouge*, though how it came to be so called has heretofore been one of the many puzzles that the names of many places in Cape Breton offer us. In the well-known map of Nicholas Bellin, the famous French engineer, which is given in Charlevoix's *History of New France*, the bay is called by the still more mysterious name of Gabori. As a matter of fact the bay appears to have been named at an early period after a M. Cabarus, a Frenchman of Bayonne, who was the first to visit its shores, though I have not been able to find the exact date.† It was on the beach of this great bay that the New England troops under Pepperrell in 1745 and the

* The name *barachois* was given by the French to a salt water pond, having communication with the sea. The name is still common as *barasois* in Cape Breton.

† In one of Dufosse's (Paris) catalogues appears the following entry, which corroborates the

British army under Amherst and Wolfe in 1758 made their landing and marched against Louisbourg. Immediately below are the remains of the casemates where the women and children found a refuge during the last siege. Looking at the three that remain, it is easy to see that any number of persons must have been huddled together in a very pitiable fashion. Sheep now find shelter within these rudely constructed retreats. All around them in summer time there are patches of red clover, mingling its fragrance with the salt sea breeze, and reminding us how often this grass grows rank and rich in old graveyards, as it were to show how nature survives the memorials of man's ambition and pride. The low, rugged country that stretches for a league and more to Gabarus presents all the natural features of rock and swamp, with patches of alders and the stunted fir that seem to flourish best on this poor, bleak coast. It is quite easy to follow the contour of the fortifications until they come to the old burying-ground on Rochefort Point, where hundreds of New Englanders and of French and English soldiers found their last resting-place in 1745 and 1758. No tombstone or cairn or cross has been raised; the ground has never been blessed by priest; the names of the dead are all forgotten. Frenchmen, Englishmen, and colonists, Catholics and Puritans, now sleep side by side regardless of the wars of creeds, beneath the green sward which the sheep nibble with all the avidity of their kind.

The deep ditch near the King's bastion is still full of water, and the stumps of the picket palisades, which were raised in 1745 between the Princess's and the Brouillon bastions are visible in places. We can see, too, in the water the remains of the bridge which stretched across the shallow pond between the Maurepas and Grève batteries. The places of the numerous stages for drying fish in the old times on the harbor front can still be traced, with a little trouble, on the shore at low tide. On the site of the town there are piles of brick and stone, which have been dug up by the present inhabitants when they required materials for building. Many of the chimneys in the humble cabins of the fishermen are built of brick from France, or perhaps from New England. Cannon balls and bombshells are frequently found at low tide on the shores, and more than once an old swivel cannon has been dug up in the sand. It is rarely, however, that any relics of interest or value are discovered at Louisbourg.

statement in the text : "Cabarrus (Dominique de). Lettres de noblesse accordées au Sieur Dominique de Cabarrus, négociant à Bayonne, données à Versailles au mois d'Avril, 1789. Copie contresignée par d'Hozier de Serigny, 4 pp. in fol. Cachet du Cabinet d'Hozier.

"Ext. C'est le frère du Sieur Dominique de Cabarrus qui a donné son nom à la baie Cabarrus à l'Isle Royale."

Delving in the débris of an old foundation, probably that of the hospital, the writer once found some pieces of tarnished gold lace, which may have belonged to an officer wounded in the last siege. But such a treasure as was found at Loran—to give the place its now familiar name—has never, to my knowledge, been turned up among the ashes of the old town. All articles of value were taken away by the people, if, indeed, there were many in a place which few persons regarded as a permanent home.

Those who have ever paid a visit, of late years, to the city of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, and lingered for a while under the noble elms that shade its wide streets and cluster around the buildings of Harvard, may have noticed a small gilded cross above the doorway of Gore Hall, where the great New England university has housed its principal library. One must at first wonder why this religious symbol, only found as a rule on Roman Catholic buildings or Anglican churches of an extreme type, should adorn the doorway of a seat of learning in once Puritan New England. On inquiry we find it is a historic link which connects the old Bay State with the distant and almost forgotten port on the windy eastern coast of Cape Breton. Nearly a century and a half has passed since this simple cross was taken from its place on a Louisbourg church, probably by one of the soldiers of Pepperrell's expedition, at the command of one of the Puritan clergymen, who regarded it as a symbol of idolatry. It was carried to New England and forgotten among other relics, until an enthusiastic and scholarly historian brought it to light and gave it the prominent position it now occupies in Harvard. Here we have undoubtedly clear evidence of the extreme liberality of these days that would make the old preacher, Moody, who carried to Louisbourg a hatchet to cut down the Papist images, lift his voice in stern rebuke of the degeneracy of his countrymen were he permitted, by a higher power, to return to the land where he once denounced the Roman Catholic religion with so much bitterness of tongue. In the state where Governor Endicott cut the red cross from the English flag, the same symbol now not only invites the people to numerous churches, but seems to offer a benison to the youth of New England who pass beneath the portals of Harvard's library.*

As one looks carefully in these days at the natural position of the old fortress, it is quite obvious that it must have been extremely weak on the

* In a letter to the author, Dr. Justin Winsor, the librarian of Harvard, says: "The story is that the iron cross above the door of our library was brought back to Massachusetts after the siege of Louisbourg (in 1745) by the returned troops. When I found it, in 1877, in the cellar of the library, it had a label on it to that effect. It is supposed to have been on the Catholic chapel (in the citadel or hospital church?). I say this much, and give a cut of it in the second volume of the *Memorial History of Boston* (frontispiece)."

land side, when once an enemy obtained a footing on shore. The most dangerous point was, of course, Gabarus Bay, and the French would have been wise had they built strong permanent forts or batteries at every cove where there was a chance of an enemy's landing. The history of the last siege shows that the French were quite aware of the necessity for such batteries, but they had no force strong enough to maintain even the works they were able to construct with the materials close at hand. In endeavoring to prevent the landing they had left the town itself almost undefended. Then, when the enemy was established in force, the French were not able to hinder them from taking possession of the northeast entrance, and the green hills which command the town. The grand battery was never of any use, and the one at Lighthouse Point was also deserted at the first sign of peril. Both of these works, if held by the French, could have thwarted the plans of the English for some time; but as it was there were no men to spare for these outworks, if, indeed, they were in a condition to resist attack for many days. The town, then, from the land side, stood isolated and dependent entirely on its own defenses. From the sea, on the other hand, it was much less liable to danger. We have evidence of this in the fact that the island battery at the entrance, during the two sieges, for weeks kept the fleet outside of the harbor. If Lighthouse Point had been defended by a powerful fort, garrisoned by a sufficient force, the entrance would have been almost impregnable.

The rocky islands that lie between the ocean and the port, and make it so secure a haven in the most tempestuous season, present a very picturesque aspect as we survey them from the heights of the old town. They seem to form a sort of cordon of rocks and shoals, on which the sea rushes in all its impetuosity, only to find itself stopped in its fierce desire to reach the peaceful haven. The spray rises in times of storm in great clouds of mist on these dangerous rocky ledges, and then, as soon as the wind subsides, there is hardly a ripple to tell of the danger that lurks beneath the unruffled surface that hides these rocks, where death ever awaits the storm-tossed or careless sailor. It was on one of such rocks in the vicinity of Porto Novo, to the northeast of Louisbourg, that the French frigate *Chameau*, on her way to Quebec, was shipwrecked one August night in 1725, and all New France was "placed in mourning, and lost more in one day than she had lost by twenty years of war." It is easy to imagine that there are several channels among these Louisbourg islets as one surveys them on a fine, calm day, but woe betide the vessel that recklessly and ignorantly ventures within these dangerous passages, which are only so many lures to shipwreck and death.

As we stand on the ruined ramparts, let us for a moment forget the placid scene that forces itself upon us on every side in these days of the old port's departed greatness, and recall the history of the past, with its enterprising adventurers and discoverers, its bold soldiers and famous sailors, its squadrons of stately ships and its regiments drawn from France, England, and the Thirteen Colonies, then developing into national life and activity. Cape Breton, in these times, is merely a fine island to the tourist who travels through its picturesque lakes, and surveys its noble ports and bays only in the light of the practical present. Its geological features and its rich coal deposits attract the scientist. Others speculate with the eye and brain of the capitalist on the opportunities that its mineral and other resources, and its admirable position at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, offer to enterprise and energy. Some still look forward with reason to the time when Louisbourg will become a great port of the world's commerce, and more than realize the conceptions of the astute Frenchmen nearly two centuries ago. But these are not the only thoughts that will press upon the mind at times when we travel over the historic ground that lies between the old village of Port Toulouse and the ruins of Louisbourg. We can see in imagination the sails of the Basque and Breton fishermen hovering centuries ago off the bays of the island, which had no name and hardly a place then in the rude maps of the world. We can see Spaniard and Portuguese venturing into its unknown rivers and harbors, and giving them names which were so many recollections of their old homes across the sea. At times, when the vessels of many nations anchor in its safe havens, we hear a curious medley of tongues—the Saxon words of Kent and Devon, the curious dialect of the Bay of Biscay, the sonorous Spanish and its offspring, the Portuguese; the Celtic language of Bretagne, so closely allied to that of the ancient Britons across the English Channel. The years pass by, and the island still remains a solitude, save where the wandering Micmac raises his birch lodge and lights his fires on the shores of the inlets and rivers of the noble lakes, then in all the sublimity of their pristine beauties—vistas of great forests untouched by the axe, and of mountains where the foot of European never trod. Then suddenly a town rises on its eastern shores—a town with walls of stone, where the cannon and lilies of France tell of the ambition of the nations of Europe to seize the new world, with its enormous possibilities. Then it is no longer the sails of adventurous fishermen that dot these waters. We see great fleets, with their armaments of heavy metal, ranged for miles off the harbor that now represents the power of France. We can hear the shouts of triumph as the flag comes down from the *Vigilante*, sur-

prised on her way to succor Louisbourg. We can see the dim hull of the *Aréthuse* stealing, amid the darkness of night, through the vessels of the blockading squadron, to tell the French king that his dream of empire in America is fast drawing to an end. We can see the old, leaky *Notre Dame de Délivrance*—no longer a name of auspicious omen—carried into port with its rich cargo of gold and silver from the mines of Peru, amid the cheers of the sailors on the English ships, and of the soldiers as they crowd the ramparts of the town, over which the French flag is flying still in mockery of the hopes of De Ulloa and his French companions, when they sought the port as a safe refuge after their storm-tossed voyage from the Spanish colonies of the south.* We can see the men working like so many ants in the trenches, and manning the batteries from which the shot flies fierce and hot upon the devoted town, making great breaches in its walls. Farmers, fishermen, and mechanics of New England, sturdy, energetic, sharp-witted, full of wise saws and scriptural quotations specially adapted to themselves and their own wishes; men from the grass meadows of Devon and the hop gardens of Kent; stalwart highlandmen whose hearts still go across the water to Prince Charlie, or linger in their Scottish glens, which may know them no more; sturdy English sea-dogs, as ready to swear as to fight; the self-reliant, calm merchant of the Piscataqua, the tall, gaunt form of Wolfe, with his emaciated face, on which illness had left its impress; Duchambon and Druccour, with disappointment and care depicted in their eyes, as they survey the ruins of their fortress; the silent, sullen Frenchmen mourning their fate as they see the red cross of England flying above their citadel; a gentle, cultured lady, amid the storm of shot and shell, showing Frenchmen that their women would, if they could, fight for France and her honor to the last; † a sturdy sailor, who, in later times, was to give England the right to claim an Australasian continent in the southern seas. ‡ All these pass in rapid panorama before our eyes as we recall the shadowy past with its associations of victories won on three continents. Here we stand on ruins which link us with the victories

* In 1745, after the capitulation, the French flag was allowed to remain on the citadel, and several ships were consequently decoyed into the port. Among these was the *Délivrance*, laden with ingots of silver from South America, and having on board a distinguished Spanish savant, Don Juan de Ulloa, who has left us a record of his impressions of Louisbourg.

† Madame Druccour, wife of the governor, "has performed such exploits during the siege as must entitle her to a rank among the most illustrious of her sex; for she fired three cannon every day in order to animate the gunners. After the surrender of the town, she interested herself in behalf of all the unfortunate people that had recourse to her mediation." See *Pichon's Memoirs* (London, 1760), p. 382.

‡ The famous Captain Cook was a petty officer on the English fleet.

of Plassy, Rossbach, and Minden; with new empires won in Asia and Europe; with the rise of dynasties, and the defeated schemes of kings and princes once dominant in Europe. Three continents were here allied in the days of Pitt, and whether we walk over these old ruins in Cape Breton or bow reverently before the monuments that tell of England's famous men in her ancient abbey, and see most conspicuous among them all the stately figure of Chatham, with his outstretched arm, "bidding England to be of good cheer, and hurling defiance at her foes," we feel that though this land of ours be new and have few of those historic memories that make every inch of England or of France so dear to the historian, the poet, and the novelist, yet here at least, at Louisbourg as at Quebec, and on the banks of Champlain, we have a rich heritage of associations that connect us with the most fascinating and momentous pages of the world's history. But we soon awake from this reverie to see around us only grassy mounds, and in place of the great fleets which once whitened the sea, from Lorembec to Gabarus, with their great spread of canvas, in days when ships were objects of interest and beauty, and not uncouth masses of iron and steel, we see now only a little fishing boat running merrily with a favoring breeze through the narrow entrance, perhaps a white sail or two in the distant horizon, or a lengthening streamer of smoke which tells us of a passing steamer, engaged in the commerce which long since left this port, once the hope of France. History often repeats itself, and perhaps the time may come when a great town will rise on the site of the old fortress; not a town of bastions and batteries, to represent the ambition and evanescent glory of nations, but a town built on a permanent basis of commerce, energy, and enterprise, with its port crowded with shipping bringing to it a constant freighting of riches greater than those concealed in the ships of Pepperrell's time; with mansions and edifices illustrating the culture and progress of the new era which had at last come to an island long forgotten by the world, despite the important part it once played in the wars of national ambition on the continent of America. With these hopes we leave the old port, where

"Owners and occupants of earlier dates
From graves forgotten stretch their dusty hands,
And hold in mortmain still their old estates."

Geo. Bowring

OTTAWA, CANADA.

SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES

HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

PART II

At a still later day, the legislative council and house of representatives of the territory of Indiana adopted a series of resolutions which Governor William Henry Harrison approved, praying a suspension of the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787. As this document emanated from the territorial legislature, it came before congress with the force and effect of an official proceeding. It was referred to a special committee of the house of representatives on the 6th of November, 1807; this committee made an adverse report in the premises, and the house concurred in their denial of "popular sovereignty in the territories." The landmark of freedom set up by the ordinance of 1787 for the benefit of the northwest territory was left undisturbed.*

Meanwhile a new and larger territorial question had come to vex the councils of the nation. The status of the Louisiana country, under the stipulations of the treaty by which France ceded it to the United States, could but give rise to questions which were entirely novel as to the constitutional power of congress to regulate slavery in newly acquired territory, and therefore in territory outside of the Constitution at the date of its adoption. It is known that the treaty of cession contained a stipulation to this effect: "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the union of the United States, and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal Constitution, to all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

A question was early raised as to the quality and extent of the recognition implied by the word "property," as used in this clause. By the opponents of slavery it was contended that the term "property," as here employed, could import only such property as was universally recognized "according to the principles of the federal Constitution," and therefore could not extend to "property in slaves," which was purely the creature

* *Annals of Congress*. Tenth Congress, First Session, p. 919.

of municipal law. But congress soon came to the resolution of such questions by erecting the Louisiana country into two municipal communities, one of which, the southern, was called the "territory of Orleans," and the other of which, the northern, was called the "district of Louisiana." In the southern territory the institution of slavery was left undisturbed, but the importation of slaves from abroad was prohibited. The northern district was summarily annexed to the jurisdiction of Indiana territory, and so became subject to the principles of the ordinance of 1787, including the sixth article, which prohibited slavery. Again the discretionary power of congress over slavery in the territories was exemplified, and again did the policy of an equitable partition of territory between "the north" and "the south" receive a fresh affirmation.

Under a new charter of temporary government given by congress to the territory of Orleans on the 2d of March, 1805, and under the terms of which any implied restrictions on slavery had been expressly repealed, it was held by many persons that even the interdict previously laid on the slave trade from abroad had been also repealed. It is probable that this construction was not foreseen or intended by congress, but in fact the foreign slave trade was revived for a season at the port of New Orleans under color of such an interpretation, and its prosecution was winked at by the federal authorities. It should be recalled that South Carolina, after having interdicted the foreign slave trade for a time, had revived it in 1804, in prospect of its speedy termination by federal enactment after 1808, and a new activity was thereby given to the nefarious traffic by vessels clearing from the port of Charleston to the port of New Orleans.*

The attention of congress having been called to this subject by a member of the house of representatives from South Carolina, Mr. David R. Williams, and a committee having been raised on his motion to consider "what additional provisions were necessary to prevent an importation of slaves into the territories of the United States;" this committee, of which Mr. Williams was chairman, reported a resolution condemnatory of the foreign slave trade as to "any of the territories of the United States." The resolution was adopted, and a committee was appointed to bring in a bill pursuant to its terms, but the measure failed to be acted on, notwithstanding the energy with which it was pressed by Mr. Williams.

The foreign complications of the United States with England and France, which, extending from the beginning of our government, had resulted at last in a war with the former power, came in 1812 to transfer

* *Annals of Congress*. Sixteenth Congress, First Session, vol. i., pp. 263, 266.

the stress of the sectional feud between "the North" and "the South," from questions concerning the power of congress to regulate slavery in the territories to questions concerning the power of congress to regulate commerce, to pass embargo laws, and thus to impair the rights of shipping property in the trading states. The discontents of the eastern states came to a head in the Hartford convention, and when these discontents had been appeased by the repeal of the embargo act and the return of peace, the sectional feud again swayed back to the question of the territories, and in the years 1819 and 1820 vented itself in a fierce struggle over the admission of Missouri as a slave-holding state, and over the organization of Arkansas as a slave-holding territory.

We have seen that an impassable chasm had been opened in the federal convention of 1787, between two classes of states differently interested in the disposition that should be made of the vacant lands, and that this chasm was opened in the forum of the convention so soon as the question arose in that body as to the constitutional provision that should be made for the admission of new states into the Union. In the year 1820, in this same matter of the public territory, an irrepressible conflict arose between two classes of states differing in their social systems, in their economic pursuits, and in their political predilections. The impassable chasm between the states was here opened in the forum of congress on a question then and there raised as to the terms and conditions on which Missouri should be admitted into the union of states. The chasm had been temporarily closed in 1819 by the allowance of slavery in the bill organizing the territory of Arkansas.

Missouri after having been temporarily included in the district annexed to the territory of Indiana, and after passing through other stages of territorial subordination, had been erected into a separate territory by act of congress, approved June 4, 1812. In this act no restriction of any kind was laid upon slavery, and greater legislative power was vested by congress in the general assembly created under the act than had been previously conceded to the legislature of any territory.

What is called "the Missouri question" arose, in the first stage of its emergence, from an attempt made in the house of representatives to insist on the prohibition of slavery in Missouri as the condition of her admission into the Union. It was proposed to put this condition in the act of congress authorizing the territory to frame a state constitution. The opponents of this restriction, while generally admitting the sovereignty of congress over the territories in the matter of slavery, were unanimous in denying this prerogative to congress in the hour and article of admitting

a state into the federal Union, for the obvious reason that such a restriction, in the absence of any constitutional power to impose it, would be the exercise of arbitrary authority; would impair the autonomy of a "sovereign state;" and would destroy the equality of the states in a matter left free to each under the Constitution. Southern statesmen like McLane of Delaware, and Lowndes of South Carolina, frankly admitted the discretionary power of congress to regulate slavery in the territories. So far as I can discover, John Tyler of Virginia, then a member of the house of representatives from that state, and afterwards President of the United States, was the only person on the floor of either house of congress who openly questioned it at that juncture.

Everybody knows that the scission between the slave-holding and the non slave-holding states in this great crisis of our political history was closed by what is called "the Missouri compromise." That celebrated compromise was brought forward in the shape of an amendment to the bill which provided for the immediate admission of Missouri as a slave-holding state, and provided further that slavery should be forever prohibited "in all the territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, lying north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the state of Missouri." The compromise was adopted in the Senate on the 17th of February, 1820, by a vote of thirty-four yeas to ten nays. In the house of representatives it was passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-four yeas to forty-two nays. A partition of the territory of the United States between the two classes of states at variance was now enacted into the statute law of the land.

Florida was purchased from Spain in 1821, and was erected into a territory in 1822, with the toleration of slavery, but not without the intervention of congress at a later date to revise certain "regulations" of the territory which moved in the matter of slavery and its relations. The legislative assembly of Florida undertook to impose discriminating taxes on the slave property of non-residents. All such discriminating taxes were formally disallowed by congress, which thus asserted its just supremacy over each of the territories during the period of their territorial vassalage.

The passage of "the Missouri compromise" marks the close of an old order and the beginning of a new in the secular controversy over the disposition and regulation of slavery in the public territory. Mr. Jefferson confessed at the time that this Missouri question, "like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled him with terror," as being "the knell of the

Union." He predicted again and again that the geographical line fixed by that compromise, because it "coincided with a marked principle, moral and political," and because it thereby created a clean and clear line of cleavage between the slave-holding and the non slave-holding states, would never be obliterated, but would be marked deeper and deeper by every new irritation in our federal politics. He saw with the eye of a political philosopher that the controversy between our two classes of states differently related to the subject of slavery had passed from the sphere of *economics* into the sphere of *politics*, and that, too, into the sphere of politics made blood-warm by conflicting interests, and touched into a fine frenzy by conflicting views as to the ethics of slavery. From the first there had been a *tacit* attempt to effect the partition of public territory between the planting and the trading states, and to the end that the pending equilibrium between the two classes of states might be maintained as far as practicable, it had not been uncommon to provide for the twin admission of a "slave state" and of a "free state" into the federal Union. But now the antithesis between the "slave states" and the "free states" was distinctly articulated in the polity and politics of the country. Henceforth the feud between them would be as internecine, so Jefferson said, as the feud between Athens and Sparta. He descried from afar the advent of a new "Peloponnesian war."

His vision was true, but his analysis was insufficient. For in truth it was no fault of "the geographical line" fixed by the Missouri compromise that that line was so portentous, and that forty years afterwards, as Jefferson feared in 1820, it bristled with the bayonets of "states dissevered, discordant, belligerent." The fault was in the opposing and enduring forces which eagerly confronted each other across the line—forces of thought and passion so persistent and immitigable, that even when the party leaders of each seemed to be singing truce with their bugles, they were really marshaling their clans for new civic feuds of ever-widening sweep and ever-deepening intensity.

In the year 1845 the republic of Texas was admitted into the Union by joint resolution of both houses of congress, and with a provision, *inter alian*, that "the Missouri compromise line," as a recognized compact between the sections, should be applied to the territory in case of its partition into states. The idea of a territorial "partition" was again embodied in our polity and politics.

The annexation of Texas had for its natural, if not its inevitable, sequel, the war with Mexico, which resulted in the treaty of peace concluded at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the ratifications of which were exchanged

between the two countries at Queretaro on the 30th of May, 1848. By this treaty, a vast accession was made to the territorial possessions of the United States. The annexation of Texas had been avowedly prosecuted in the interest of slavery, considered as a political institution. It was so interpreted by Mr. Calhoun, as secretary of state, in a letter written by him to Mr. Pakenham, the British minister, under the date of April 18, 1844. The Mexican war, though declared by our congress to have been begun "by the act of Mexico," was held by many at the south as well as at the north to have been precipitated by the act of the administration of President Polk in ordering an advance of United States troops on the territory in dispute between Texas and Mexico. Supporters of the war at the south had not hesitated to call it "a southern war," because it portended the aggrandizement of slavery considered as a political institution. Such sectional irritations could but excite a counter irritation among the representatives of "the North" in congress. As early as the 9th of August, 1846, on the introduction of a bill into the house of representatives, appropriating two million dollars to aid in the adjustment of our difficulties with Mexico, Mr. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania brought forward his celebrated proviso, drawn *mutatis mutandis*, from the ordinance of 1787, but denuded of the clause enjoining the rendition of fugitive slaves. It was expressed in the following terms:

"Provided, that as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime whereof the party shall be duly convicted."

The bill with this proviso annexed was passed in the house of representatives by a vote of eighty-five yeas to seventy-nine nays. The bill as thus amended went to the senate, where, by parliamentary strategy (that is, by "talking it to death"), the opponents of the bill caused it to fall through for want of time to act upon it before the hour fixed for the adjournment of congress at that session. At the next session a similar bill was passed, with a similar proviso, declared to be applicable "to all territory on the continent of America which shall hereafter be acquired by or annexed to the United States." This sweeping proviso, after being adopted in committee of the whole, was finally rejected in the house of representatives on the 3d of March, 1847, by a majority of only five votes.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was, therefore, concluded and ratified in full sight of the sectional exasperations it was destined to foment.

Henceforth the "territorial question" assumed vaster proportions, commensurate not only with the extent of the newly-acquired domain secured from Mexico, but also with the growing rivalry of the two antagonistic sections. The constitutional relations of the question were complicated, besides, with recondite questions of public law as to the force and effect of the local municipal law of Mexico in the matter of slavery. On the one hand it was contended that the slaveholder had no right to migrate to the new territory with his slave property, because, by the constitution of Mexico, the institution of slavery, always the creature of positive municipal law, could have no recognized existence on the soil in question. On the other hand it was argued that the territory of the United States, as the common possession of the several states, was held in trust by the federal government for the common enjoyment and equal benefit of all the people of the United States, with all the rights, privileges, and immunities severally secured by law to the inhabitants of the several states. It was further argued on this side that, at the moment the new acquisition was consummated, the antecedent municipal law of Mexico was superseded by the Constitution of the United States, which, *proprio vigore*, extended its sway over the annexed domain, and placed the rights of the slave-owner under its shield.

In this attitude of the question a proffer was made by southern members of congress to effect a truce between the sections by extending "the Missouri compromise line" to the Pacific ocean. The proposition was rejected by the northern members, who, in the stage which the controversy had now reached, steadfastly resisted any further "partition" of territory for the extension of slavery. Many were the parleys held in hopes of effecting a political armistice. By what is known as "the Clayton compromise," so named from the Delaware senator, Mr. John M. Clayton, whose name it bears, it was proposed that "the whole territorial question," as then pending, in relation to Oregon, California, and New Mexico should be referred to a special committee of eight senators, four from "the north," and four from "the south," who should also be equally divided in a party sense between democrats and whigs. In this committee it was proposed by a southern member to reaffirm "the Missouri compromise line" as a basis of settlement. The proposition was rejected by the northern members. This deadlock caused, as Mr. Calhoun afterwards said, "a solemn pause in the committee." When all prospect of an agreement on "the Missouri compromise line" had vanished in this committee, it was proposed by the southern members to "rest all hope of settlement on the supreme court as the ark of safety." The refuge sought by the fathers in the federal convention of 1787 now seemed the only asylum open to

April

their children in the congress of 1848. The fathers had eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth were set on edge. A bill was matured in the committee, providing for an appeal to the supreme court of the United States from all decisions of a territorial judge in cases of writs of *habeas corpus*, or other cases where the issue of personal freedom should be involved; the bill was reported from the committee with the approval of three-fourths of their number, but after passing through the senate was defeated in the house of representatives by a vote of one hundred and twelve nays to ninety-seven yeas. Five-sixths of the negative votes came from the northern states.

After the failure of "the Clayton compromise," a bill organizing the territory of Oregon was passed as a separate measure, with a proviso annexed prohibiting slavery in the terms of the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787. President Polk in an elaborate message to congress justified his approval of the bill by reasons drawn from the precedent set in the Missouri compromise act of 1820, as reaffirmed at the annexation of Texas. If William Grayson avowed that the southern delegates in the continental congress of 1787 had "political reasons" in voting for the prohibition of slavery in the northwest territory, President Polk made no secret of the fact that he had "political reasons" in accepting the prohibition of slavery in Oregon—because it laid the basis of an argument for the parallel and lateral spread of slavery to the Pacific ocean, on the old theory of an equitable "partition" of territory between the two sections. So persistent, we see, was the stress of political motives in this struggle for a "partition" of the territories.

Rendered impotent by its dissensions, the federal legislature, though clothed with plenary power over the territory of the Union, had virtually abdicated its functions with respect to the new domain acquired from Mexico. We had "conquered a peace" from Mexico but had lost it among ourselves. In prudent forecast of such disaster, Mr. Calhoun, "the Palinurus of the south," with a patriotism which does him honor, had introduced a resolution in the senate on the 15th of December, 1847, shortly after the opening of the thirtieth congress, declarative of the opinion that "to conquer Mexico and to hold it either as a province, or to incorporate it into the Union, would be inconsistent with the avowed object for which the war had been prosecuted [the redress of grievances]; a departure from the settled policy of the government, in conflict with its character and genius, and, in the end, subversive of all our free and popular institutions." Mr. Webster, "the Ajax Telamon of the north," was equally earnest in reprobating the dismemberment of Mexico, but these

counsels of the two great opposing leaders passed unheeded by the zealots who at that time swayed the counsels of the administration.

On the 4th of March, 1849, the administration of General Zachary Taylor was called to inherit the fateful legacy bequeathed to it by his predecessor. He favored the early admission of California and New Mexico as states, under constitutions which had been prepared at their own initiative, in the absence of enabling acts from congress. Henry Clay, who had returned to the senate at this crisis to lend his great abilities to the work of conciliation, proposed on the 29th of January, 1850, that the pending territorial questions should be settled as part and parcel of the wide agitations springing up from slavery in all its relations under the Constitution. The five measures which he advocated, to "stanch the five bleeding wounds of the country," were: (1) the immediate admission of California as a state; (2) the adjustment of the boundaries of Texas; (3) a more effective bill for the recovery of fugitive slaves; (4) the abolition of the slave traffic in the District of Columbia; and (5) the passage of organic acts for the territorial government of Utah and New Mexico. These propositions, with all others then pending on the same subject, were, on the 19th of April, 1850, referred to a select committee of thirteen members, consisting of Messrs. Clay (chairman), Cass, Dickinson, Bright, Webster, Phelps, Cooper, King, Mason, Downs, Mangum, Bell, and Berrien. This committee submitted a report covering all the points above enumerated, and accompanied the report with a bill which, from the comprehensiveness of its scope, was called at the time "the omnibus bill." This bill, in its relation to the territories, provided for their organization by acts of congress, but declared that the legislative power under them should not extend to the passage of "any law in respect to African slavery." Pending the consideration of this bill, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi moved on the 15th of May to amend the bill by substituting for the words, "in respect to African slavery," the following clause: "No law shall be passed interfering with those rights of property growing out of the institution of African slavery as it exists in any of the states of the Union." At a later day a counter-amendment was proposed by Salmon P. Chase of Ohio in the following terms: "*Provided, further,* that nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorizing or permitting the introduction of slavery or the holding of slaves as property within said territory." These two amendments expressed the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery antithesis. After an animated debate they were both rejected in the senate by a vote of twenty-five yeas to thirty nays. Various other amendments having then been offered and defeated,

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois moved to strike out the words relating to "African slavery," and to provide that "the legislative power of the territory should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution of the United States." This amendment, after being at first treated with almost unanimous contempt, receiving only two votes, was finally adopted and on the 31st of July, 1850, was incorporated in the Utah territorial bill, which was passed by a vote of thirty-two yeas to eighteen nays. The lassitude of exhausted disputants rather than the cohesion of clear-thoughted opinion was represented in this majority vote.

It was sought by this amendment to remit the whole slavery discussion to the territorial legislatures, "subject only to the Constitution of the United States," as interpreted by the supreme court. The expedient was unhappily open to a double construction at the moment of its invention. Some who favored it at the north supposed that the inhabitants of a territory would be left "perfectly free" to prohibit as well as to establish slavery during their period of territorial dependence. Others who favored it at the south repelled this assumption as extra-constitutional so far as the prohibition of slavery was concerned, and held that all legislation of a territory inimical to slavery would be null and void, because inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. The bill as finally passed provided at first for the organization of Utah alone, but a few days later the senate passed a similar bill for the territorial government of New Mexico, and the house of representatives having concurred in both, they were both signed by President Fillmore on the 9th of September, 1850.

In order to measure by a few criteria the magnitude and intensity of the opposing forces which had now come to their impact on the public territory, it is only necessary to recall the fact that, as early as the winter of 1844-45, the legislature of Massachusetts, borrowing a leaf from the nullification history of South Carolina, had declared by a solemn act, on the eve of the annexation of Texas, that such an act of admission "would have no binding force whatever on the people of Massachusetts." On the other side the legislature of Virginia declared on the 8th of March, 1847, that in the event of a refusal by congress to extend "the Missouri compromise line" to the Pacific ocean, or in the event of the passage of the "Wilmot proviso," the people of that state "would have no difficulty in choosing between the only alternative that would then remain, of abject submission to aggression and outrage on the one hand, or determined resistance on the other, at all hazards and to the last extremity." A similar resolution was reaffirmed by the Virginia legislature on the

20th of January, 1849, accompanied with a request that the governor of the state, on the passage of the "Wilmot proviso," or of any law abolishing slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia, should immediately convene the legislature in extraordinary session "to consider the mode and measure of redress." Even after the so-called "compromise measures of 1850" had been enacted by congress, declarations still more emphatic and proceedings still more positive were promulgated by the legislatures of Mississippi and South Carolina.

"The great pacification" of 1850 had failed to pacificate. How fond was the illusion wrought by it may be read in the fact that though the two great political parties of the country, the whig and the democratic, had accepted "the compromise measures of 1850" in their respective "platforms" for the presidential election of 1852, as putting "a finality" to the slavery agitation and as the supreme test of political orthodoxy; and though the candidates of the latter had prevailed over those of the former because they were supposed to stand "more fairly and squarely" on the basis of that adjustment, yet it was reserved for the leaders of the democratic party, in this very matter of the territories and their government, to reopen the whole slavery agitation with a breadth and violence never before known in our annals. Because the surface of our political sea was at that moment no longer swept by storm and tempest, men flattered themselves with the hope that the winds of sectional passion were dead, whereas they were only tied for a season in the bag of *Æolus*. Their roar might still be heard by those who had ears to hear.

Congress in 1853 and 1854 was called to organize the territory of Nebraska, carved out of that portion of the Louisiana purchase which, lying north of 36° 30' north latitude, was covered by the Missouri compromise of 1820 prohibiting slavery. At first the committee on territories in the senate, Stephen A. Douglas being chairman, did not purpose to disturb the terms of that compromise; but the territorial bill for Nebraska, in respect of the legislative power it conferred, was couched in the same terms as had been prescribed in the bills for the government of Utah and New Mexico. As those bills were meant to leave these territories *tabula rasæ* in the matter of slavery and its relations, it was indeed hinted by the committee that the "principles" on which those bills proceeded were inconsistent with the retention of a "compromise" which had placed an invidious limitation on popular sovereignty in the territories, under the guise of placing an invidious interdict on slavery. After hesitating for a time on the brink of the chasm which he saw to be yawning before him, Mr. Douglas, on the 23d of January, 1854, in the act of reporting a bill for the

organization of two territories, one to be called Nebraska, and the other Kansas, boldly proclaimed the doctrine that the Constitution and all laws of the land extended to these territories "*except* the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 3, 1820, which was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called 'the compromise measures,' and is declared inoperative and void." That is, the terms of "the Missouri compromise," which the committee of the senate were "not prepared to depart from" when they made their first report, were now declared to have been already repealed by the later compromises of 1850.

As two rays of light, when they impinge in the physical realm, may so neutralize each other as to produce darkness, so it would seem that two "compromises," when they impinge in the political sphere, may so neutralize each other as to produce an explosion. Certain it is that the repeal of "the Missouri compromise," while having for its avowed object to effect the sempiternal banishment of "the slavery agitation" from the halls of congress, and its localization in the distant domain of the territories, had for its consequences to set the whole nation by the ears. It threw the apple of sectional discord into congress, into the supreme court, into every home in the whole land.

How far our federal politics in this recoil from a recorded precedent and an established landmark had swung from the moorings of the Constitution in the matter of the territories and the power of congress over them, may be gauged by a single remark which Mr. Calhoun dropped in the last speech he ever delivered in the senate (it was on the 4th of March, 1850), when he referred to the fact that as recently as during the debate on the organization of Oregon territory, everybody in the senate, if he mistook not, "had taken the ground that congress has the sole and absolute power of legislating for the new territories." Congress in 1855, smitten with paralysis by the shock of "an irrepressible conflict" between the "free states" and the "slave states," was compelled to declare its *déchéance* as to a power so singly vested in it that its power was "sole," and so fully vested in it that its power was "absolute." In fact, it was not the quality or extent of the power, *but the incidence of the power*, which led the politicians to shuffle it out of sight.

The first effect of the effort to "localize" the "slavery agitation," by relegating it to the territories, was to precipitate a political and military crusade alike from "the North" and from "the South" for the speediest possible seizure and occupation of the two strategic points of Kansas and Nebraska, which had been so rashly uncovered by the tactical blunders of

politicians manœuvring for a position. A second effect of the new policy was to convert the forum of the supreme court into the *champclos* of a judicial tourney which, by its decision, served only the more to embroil the fray it was sought to compose. The *Dred Scott decision* is commonly supposed to have placed its ægis over the rights of slave property in the territories during the interim of their subordination to the power of congress, but when the opinion of Chief Justice Taney, which was read as the opinion of the supreme court in that famous case, is collated and compounded with the separate opinions of the justices who, it is supposed, "concurred" in that decision, this conclusion is by no means clear or certain. Among the "concurring" justices there is surely no one who, whether for his learning or his character, is entitled to greater weight than Mr. Justice Campbell. But that great jurist, in passing on the merits of the case, expressly stated that he did not "feel called upon to decide the jurisdiction of congress," and that "courts of justice could not decide how much municipal power may be exercised by the people of a territory before their admission into the Union." Indeed, the *Dred Scott decision* did but render the confusion worse confounded. It was discovered at last that "the ark of safety," to which our statesmen, from the origin of the government, had looked for refuge from the turbulence of the "territorial question," could not outride the storm.

It remains, then, to say that the dogma of "popular sovereignty in the territories," never a principle of the Constitution, and never striking any root in the history of the country before the date of our Mexican acquisitions, was a mere expedient and makeshift, invented for the evasion of a duty which congress had become incompetent to perform because of the schism in our body politic—a schism created by the wrench and strain of two distinct social systems contending for supremacy in the same national organism.

I have ventured on this long review not only for the historic interest of its separate stages, but also for the light it sheds on the difference between the opposing forces which at different epochs met and impinged at the same point of impact—the public territory. At the epoch of the ratification of the articles of confederation, at the conclusion of peace with Great Britain in 1783, at the formation of the Constitution in 1787, the great differentiation between two classes of states had turned on the question of the ownership, partition, and government of the unoccupied lands wrested from the British crown. The condition of unstable equilibrium was here produced by the presence and antagonism of two classes of states differently endowed with territorial possessions. Under the Constitution, from 1789 to 1860, this condition of unstable equilibrium resulted, in the first stadium of our

history, from the presence and antagonism of two classes of states with different economic systems, determined by the waning profit of slave labor in the northern states, and by the increasing profit of slave labor in the southern states. From an unstable equilibrium swaying primarily in economics, this sectional counterpoise passed, in its second stadium, to an unstable equilibrium swaying in party politics; and this second stadium was reached at the advent of "the Missouri compromise," with its geographical line of discrimination between "the two great repulsive masses," pitted against each other in the same parallelogram of forces—the federal Union. From the year 1820 to the year 1860, the jar and jostle of these great repulsive masses continued to increase in vehemence of momentum and in amplitude of vibration, until at last they shook the Union to pieces for a season, in the secession of the Confederate States.

It was natural and inevitable that this great oscillation of opposing and enduring forces should have always come to its highest ascensions in the partition and government of the common territory, because it was then that the two contending sections could find the freest field for political rivalry and hope for the largest trophies of political conquest. After the bargain had been struck in the federal convention between the trading states of New England and the planting states of South Carolina and Georgia, in virtue of which the former secured the congressional regulation of commerce, and the latter secured the constitutional allowance of the slave trade till the year 1808, it was foreseen at the time that two great objects of sectional interest would still survive in the Union—the fisheries for the benefit of New England, and the Mississippi valley for the benefit of the southern states. This fact was not only foreseen but openly stated on the floor of the federal convention.* It does not need to be said that the question of the Mississippi valley opened an immensely wider field for the play of economical and political forces within the Union than the question of the fisheries. The former, in its newly emerging issues, was destined to supply recurring questions of purely sectional and domestic politics. The latter, in its newly emerging issues, could but supply such questions in the second degree, for in the first degree they are always questions of international politics.

All this was clearly perceived, I say, in 1787, and in 1788 when Patrick Henry and William Grayson "thundered and lightened" in the Virginia convention against the ratification of the Constitution. The struggle for the territories under our present Constitution has always been, down to 1860, as Grayson phrased it in 1788, "a contest for dominion—

* *Elliot's Debates*, vol. v. p. 526.

for empire " in the federal government. It has been a contest on the one side for the protection and extension of slave labor, with the order of economics and politics which such a social system implies ; and a contest on the other side, for the protection and extension of free labor, with the order of economics and politics subtended by a diversified system of industry. The distinction between the opposing forces and the point of their impact was revealed at once when the shock of battle came in 1860 ; for with the first shock of that battle, the question of the territories, as a watchword and challenge between the two sections, sank beneath the horizon of the national consciousness in the twinkling of an eye. The " territorial question " never had any significance except as the earnest and pledge of political ascendancy in the federal Union ; and when the civil war came, that significance was buried out of sight by the new form which the impact had taken in passing from words to blows. The antagonistic forces now stood face to face in battle array. The house so long divided against itself had come at last to realize that, if it was not to fall, it " must become all one thing or all the other ;" and so it came to pass, rather by the logic of events than by the logic of human wisdom, that the war for the political union of the states passed into a war for the social and economical unification of the American people. It is sorrow and shame that this beneficent result could not have been reached without the rage and pain of a great civil war ; but now that it has been reached, the sorrow and shame of the old epoch, with the rage and pain of the transition period, are slowly but surely melting away into a new and deeper sense of national unity, with its vaster problems of duty and opportunity. The problems before us are indeed of increased complexity and difficulty, but they move no longer in the political dynamics of two distinct civilizations, each boasting its superiority to the other, and each wasting its energy by working at perpetual cross purposes with the other. The energies formerly expended in the " irrepressible conflict of opposing and enduring forces " can now be conserved in the political dynamics of a unified civilization, and can be correlated into new forms of social and economical evolution, without detriment to our " indestructible union of indestructible states."



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PATRICK HENRY IN THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION, 1788

It has been sometimes represented that Mr. Madison's logic prevailed over Mr. Henry's eloquence in this memorable contest, in which they were the leaders. It is true that Mr. Madison argued with great logical powers, and that he was a prince among logicians. But it is not true that Mr. Henry was simply eloquent. He also displayed great logical powers, and upon the question of the plan of government proposed, over which the trial of logic occurred, Mr. Henry prevailed, carrying the convention for the amendments he proposed by a large majority.

John Marshall, after he had achieved his great reputation as chief justice of the United States, upon a visit to Warrentown, Virginia, was asked his opinion of Wirt's *Life of Mr. Henry*. He replied that he "did not think it did full justice to its subject. That while the popular idea of Mr. Henry, gathered from Mr. Wirt's book, was that of a great orator, he was that and much more—a learned lawyer, a most accurate thinker, and a profound reasoner." And proceeding to compare him with Mr. Madison: "If I were called upon," said he, "to say who of all men I have known had the greatest power to convince, I should, perhaps, say Mr. Madison, while Mr. Henry had without doubt the greatest power to persuade."

In this convention, however, Mr. Madison and his party carried their point by influences very different from those of logic, some of which, we have seen, were questionable. The strongest force that they brought to bear was the overshadowing influence of Washington. Mr. Monroe wrote: "Be assured General Washington's influence carried this government," and such was the opinion expressed by Grayson and Mason. Even this great influence would have failed, in all probability, had the convention known that New Hampshire had made the ninth state to ratify on June 21st, or had Governor Clinton's letter to Governor Randolph been laid before that body. As it was, the result was attained by inducing several of the delegates to vote against the wishes of their constituents. Had these voted the sentiments indicated by instructions, or by the votes of their associated delegates, the result would have been against ratification without previous amendments. The fact that Mr. Henry carried the convention on the main topic of the debate—the defects of the proposed constitution—is but a part of the honor to be accorded to him. A study of the reported debates shows that he was a statesman of the highest order, and

that he understood the nature of the new government and foresaw its practical working more clearly than any of his contemporaries.

His first and great objection to the new plan was that it constituted a consolidated government, with powers drawn directly from the people and operating directly upon the people of the adopting states, and changed the existing confederation of sovereign states into a great national supreme government. He said in his first speech: "That this is a consolidated government is demonstrably clear; and the danger of such a government is, to my mind, very striking. . . . Who authorized them (the framers) to speak the language of *we the people*, instead of *we the states*? States are the characteristic and the soul of a confederation. If the states be not the agents of this compact, it must be one great consolidated, national government of the people of all the states."

This view of the nature of the new government he continually referred to, and insisted on. Mr. Madison in reply said: "I conceive myself that it is of a mixed nature: it is in a manner unprecedented; we cannot find one express example in the experience of the world. It stands by itself. In some respects it is a government of a federal nature; in others it is of a consolidated nature. Who are parties to it? The people, as comprising thirteen sovereignties, not as one great body."

This definition Mr. Henry ridiculed unmercifully. He said: "This government is so new, it wants a name. I wish its other novelties were as harmless as this. . . . We are told that this government, collectively taken, is without example; that it is national in this part, and federal in that part, etc. We may be amused, if we please, by a treatise of political anatomy. In the brain it is national; the stamina are federal; some limbs are federal, others national. The senators are voted for by the state legislatures; so far it is federal. Individuals choose the members of the first branch; here it is national. It is federal in conferring general powers, but national in retaining them. It is not to be supported by the states; the pockets of individuals are to be searched for its maintenance. What signifies it to me that you have the most curious anatomical description of it in creation? To all the common purposes of legislation, it is a great consolidated government."

Later, when he had pushed Mr. Madison to the wall, and wrung from him the admission that by the possession of the sword and purse the new government possessed everything of consequence, he said, triumphantly: "Mr. Chairman, it is now confessed that this is a national government. There is not a single federal feature in it."

—WILLIAM WIRT HENRY'S *Life of Patrick Henry*

A GROUP OF MISSOURI'S GIANT LAWYERS

NEARLY ALL OF NATIONAL FAME

I was sworn in as a member of the St. Joseph bar in April, 1849. The Buchanan county bar was then ten years old, the first term having been held on Monday, July 15, 1839, at the house of Joseph Roubidoux,* Hon. A. A. King, judge; Samuel Gilmore, high sheriff; Warren Toole, clerk. The first case was Andrew S. Hughes *vs.* Ishmael Davis; dismissed by plaintiff. Andrew S. Hughes was the first lawyer, and Ishmael Davis, father of R. T. Davis, one of the first settlers. The county seat being located by commissioners at Sparta, the next court was held there at the house of David Hill, now a corn field, where the county seat remained until 1847, when it was removed to St. Joseph by a vote of the people.

The bar at Sparta is only traditional to me, but seems real, as I so often talked with the old actors there. When I came it was a thing of the past except in memory.

While the county seat was at Sparta, the local attorneys residing there were Amos Rees, then a brilliant young lawyer, who soon removed to Platte City, and was a Kansas pioneer in 1854, and died in Leavenworth City in 1885 at the age of eighty-four, an honored and successful lawyer; Henry M. Vooris, a Kentuckian of great original genius, who followed the county seat to St. Joseph, and died in 1876 as judge of the supreme court of Missouri—whose epitaph, in the Shakespearian phrase, can be lined, "He was an honest man," and, I can add, a great one.

There was also Lawrence Archer, a South Carolinian, who left St. Joseph in 1850 for health, and still lives in San José, California, an honored citizen of the golden state. Another was James B. Gardennier, a Tennessean, young, ambitious, and talented. He made a brilliant canvass for congress in 1850 against Governor Willard P. Hall, and was defeated by a few votes; was appointed in 1851 attorney-general by Governor King, and died at Jefferson City long ere his powers had matured. The next was Robert M. Stewart, afterward governor, and one of the brainiest men who ever filled the gubernatorial chair of Missouri. Born in New York, he emigrated

* In an article on "The Beginnings of the City of St. Joseph" [*Magazine of American History*, xxvi., 108], the log-house of Joseph Roubidoux is described, and a picture given of the first post-office in St. Joseph, 1841.

west, edited a paper in Kentucky and at St. Charles, Missouri, and landed at Rushville in 1839, settled in DeKalb, and soon defeated Jesse B. Thompson, the leading Democrat, for the legislature. His great theme was the building of a railroad from Hannibal to St. Joseph, and in 1848 he got the bill passed and traveled over the line of it for months, being carried from a hack into the hotels, as he was bent almost double with rheumatism. In 1850 he had enough money pledged to make the survey, and in 1852 congress made the land grant of 68,000 acres. In 1854 he was in the senate, and procured state aid to assist in building it, and it is one of the pleasing reflections of age to know that the writer's vote carried that bill over the veto of Governor Sterling Price in 1854. Governor Stewart gave way to habits of dissipation in his later years, which ended his life and prevented his being nominated for vice-president in 1864 instead of Andrew Johnson, the idea being to put on the ticket with Mr. Lincoln a loyal man from a southern state, but one born in a northern state if such could be found. Governor Stewart suited all the conditions, except that on the momentous day he appeared in the convention at Philadelphia in bad condition, and lost the prize. He died in St. Joseph in 1870.

Another jurist at Sparta was Peter H. Burnett, the first circuit attorney in the Platte Purchase, who emigrated to Oregon in 1844, from thence to California in 1848, was the first governor, a supreme judge, and is now full of years and honor at eighty-six, awaiting the call of the just made perfect. There was William B. Almond, a Virginian, who lived a life full of incident and romance, reaching St. Louis in the early thirties. He was with the American Fur Company several years on the Yellowstone. Coming back to Lexington, Missouri, he married, and in 1837 followed the emigrants to old Sparta, going back to Platte City in 1842. He went to California in 1849, was elected judge in 1850, came back in 1852, and was elected judge in the St. Joseph district; resigned and returned to California in 1854, and came back to help settle Kansas in 1856. He died at a hotel in Leavenworth City in 1860. The next at Sparta was Benjamin F. Loan, born in Breckenridge, Kentucky. He settled in Jackson County and read law, came to Sparta in 1840, and won manly fame and wealth by his talents, honesty, and devotion to his clients, and died at St. Joseph in 1881, greatly regretted and honored by his fellow-citizens, after serving his district six years in congress.

William Cannon of Tennessee, of the Andrew Jackson school, was there also, a rough, unhewn, but strong man, who left Sparta for Texas about 1845, and died in 1852. Following him was Willard P. Hall, born at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1820, of a revolutionary family; a clear and strong

intellect, he succeeded Peter H. Burnett as circuit attorney in 1844; was in the Mexican war, in General A. W. Doniphan's regiment; in congress six years; brigadier-general, lieutenant-governor, and governor; refused the position of supreme judge twice, as the writer knows, being solicited by the governor to urge his acceptance of the position. He died full of years and honors at his home in St. Joseph in November, 1882.

The last of the Sparta lawyers, but not the least, was General Andrew S. Hughes, a Kentuckian, sent by President Adams in 1826 to the Platte Purchase as an agent to the Pottawatamie Indians. He was a brother-in-law to Governor Metcalf of Kentucky, commonly called "old stone-hammer," because he was a most excellent stonemason and built many chimneys for the earlier settlers in Mason county, Kentucky, and one for the writer's grandfather in 1793 in that county. General Hughes had been a senator in Kentucky, and when the Platte Purchase was admitted as part of the state, and his wards, the Indians, had vanished, he returned to his first love and practiced law. He is the only one of the above-named Sparta lawyers I did not know personally, and for each and every one of them I have a warm and genial recollection that involuntarily starts a sigh and a tear, coupled with the pleasing memories that they were my friends. General Hughes was a brilliant and successful lawyer, but too indolent to labor. His few forensic efforts put him at the front rank of his profession, where he stood as long as he practiced. He left one child, an industrious son, General Bela M. Hughes, now of Denver, Colorado, who inherited all the sparkling wit, brilliant anecdote, and real genius of the father. Venerable in years and honors, the son approaches the fourscore mile post with all the simplicity and hospitality of the patriarchal days. The writer recently spent an evening with him at his home in Denver.

These settlers of Sparta were supplemented by General A. W. Doniphan, W. T. Wood, and David R. Atchison, residents of Liberty, in Clay county, Missouri. Nearly all these men were distinguished in after life.

In the year of 1840 there were four great bars in the United States, celebrated for wit, learning, and genius. First, Boston, with its Webster, Choate, Sumner, Parker, and their compeers; second, Richmond, Virginia, with Leigh, Wise, Botts, and their colleagues; third, Lexington, Kentucky, with Clay, Breckenridge, Tom Marshall, Dick Menefee, Matt Johnson, and many others since known to fame; fourth, the supreme court of Mississippi, with S. S. Prentiss, Alex. McClung, Jeff Davis, Henry S. Foote, Sharkey, Baldwin, Marshall, Smede, and Coleman. These were the most brilliant bars in the United States. They were the "last of the Mohicans" as common law expounders, for in the next decade the com-

mon law was largely superseded by code procedure. Science, form, and precedent gave place to agrarian platitudes of simplicity. This effort to get simpler forms was the worm which smote Jonah's gourd, and was like the parliamentary edict of the fourth year of James I., which reduced common law to statute; that dethroned Coke and Littleton, and the crowning of kingly prerogative as a court of the last resort. It was the dynamo that wrecked the government by beheading Charles I. in 1649. The common law dominated the courts of this country until code practice was enacted in New York in 1847. The bar has gained in learning, but lost in forms, eloquence, and force. The profession has lost in courtesy, dignity, and the professional aplomb which put the lawyer in the front rank as leader and legislator.

A senator in the United States senate for twelve years, vice-president four years, and president of the interstate for one day, were the achievements of David R. Atchison. Conqueror of New Mexico and Chihuahua, with millions of wealth and territory, was the result of the campaign of the first Missouri regiment under General Doniphan in the Mexican war. Three governors, six district judges, four supreme court judges, eight generals, and all successful and profound lawyers. This old bar well deserves a place amid the archives of a nation. In April, 1849, when I became a member of the St. Joseph bar, most of the Sparta bar were in successful practice. In addition, there were John Wilson, a son of Senator Robert Wilson, and Jonathan M. Bassett.

In 1849 A. W. Terrill of Austin, Texas, was a young attorney, a Missourian by birth, who has since earned fame in his adopted state. Judge Henry S. Tutt, a Virginian, who commanded the guard of honor that conducted Lafayette from Washington City to Richmond in 1825, was then a member of the bar, and he and myself are the only resident lawyers who drag superfluous on the stage; and looking though the glimmer of the forty years which have so greatly changed the profession, the judicature, and the country, I may exclaim, "There were giants in those days." Most of them have passed the dark river, and time forbids I should attempt to delineate the characters of the many actors who have since added lustre to the Buchanan county bar. Some have passed like meteors, lighting for a moment the legal sky, while many honored names remain to break a lance in the forensic arena, but their prowess and achievements must be left to an abler chronicler.



ST. JOSEPH, MO.

CAREER OF BENJAMIN WEST

BIRTH OF THE FINE ARTS IN AMERICA

In the wilds of the new world, a century and a half ago, there was, apparently, no spot less likely to produce a famous painter than the Quaker province of Pennsylvania. And yet, when George Washington was only six years old there was born in the little town of Springfield, Chester county, a boy whose interesting and remarkable career from infancy to old age has provided one of the most instructive lessons for students in art that America affords.

Perhaps Benjamin West's aptitude for picture-making in his infancy, while he was learning to walk and to talk, did not exceed that of hosts of other children, in like circumstances, in every generation since his time. But many curious things were remembered and told of this baby's performances after he had developed a decided talent for reproducing the beautiful objects that captivated his eye. It was in the summer of 1745, a few months before he was seven years old, that his married sister came home for a visit, bringing with her an infant daughter. The next morning after her arrival, little Benjamin was left to keep the flies off the sleeping baby while his mother and sister went to the garden for flowers. The baby smiled in its sleep, and the boy was captivated. He must catch that smile and keep it. He found some paper on the table, scrambled for a pen, and with red and black ink made a hasty but striking picture of the little beauty. He heard his mother returning and conscious of having been in mischief tried to conceal his production; but she detected and captured it, and regarded it long and lovingly, exclaiming as her daughter entered, "he has really made a likeness of little Sally!" She then caught the boy in her arms, and kissed instead of chiding him, and he—looking up encouraged—told her he could make the flowers, too, if she would permit. The awakening of genius in Benjamin West has been distinctly traced to this incident as the time when he first discovered that he could imitate the forms of such objects as pleased his sense of sight. And the incident itself has been aptly styled "the birth of fine arts in the new world."

The Quaker boy, in course of years, left the wilderness of America to become the president of the Royal Academy in London. His irreproach-

able character not less than his excellence as an artist, gave him commanding position among his contemporaries. From first to last he was distinguished for his indefatigable industry. The number of his pictures has been estimated, by a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, at three thousand; and Dunlap says that a gallery capable of holding them would be four hundred feet long, fifty feet wide, and forty feet high—or a wall a quarter of a mile long.

The parents of Benjamin West were sincere and self-respecting, and in the language of the times, well-to-do. His mother's grandfather was the intimate and confidential friend of William Penn. The family of his father claimed direct descent from the Black prince and Lord Delaware, of the time of King Edward III. Colonel James West was the friend and companion in arms of John Hampden. When Benjamin West was at work upon his great picture of the "Institution of the Garter," the king of England was delighted when the Duke of Buckingham assured him that West had an ancestral right to a place among the warriors and knights of his own painting. The Quaker associates of the parents of the artist, the patriarchs of Pennsylvania, regarded their asylum in America as the place for affectionate intercourse—free from all the military predilections and political jealousies of Europe. The result was a state of society more contented, peaceful and pleasing than the world had ever before exhibited. At the time of the birth of Benjamin West the interior settlements in Pennsylvania had attained considerable wealth, and unlimited hospitality formed a part of the regular economy of the principal families. Those who resided near the highways were in the habit—after supper and the religious exercises of the evening—of making a large fire in the hallway, and spreading a table with refreshments for such travelers as might pass in the night, who were expected to step in and help themselves. This was conspicuously the case in Springfield. Other acts of liberality were performed by this community to an extent that would have beggared the munificence of the old world. Poverty was not known in this region. But whether families traced their lineage to ancient and noble sources, or otherwise, their pride was so tempered with the meekness of their faith, that it lent a singular dignity to their benevolence.

The Indians mingled freely with the people, and when they paid their annual visits to the plantations, raised their wigwams in the fields and orchards without asking permission, and were never molested. Shortly after Benjamin West's first efforts with pen and ink, a party of red men reached and encamped in Springfield. The boy-artist showed them his

sketches of birds and flowers, which seemed to amuse them greatly. They at once proceeded to teach him how to prepare the red and yellow colors, with which they decorated their ornaments. To these Mrs. West added blue, by contributing a piece of indigo. Thus the boy had three prismatic colors for his use. What could be more picturesque than the scene where the untutored Indian gave the future artist his first lesson in mixing paints! These wild men also taught him archery, that he might shoot birds for models if he wanted their bright plumage to copy.

The neighbors were attracted by the boy's drawings, and finally a relative, Mr. Pennington, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, came to pay the family a visit. He thought the boy's crude pictures were wonderful as he was then only entering his eighth year. When he went home he immediately sent the little fellow a box of paints, with six engravings by Grevling. John Galt, who wrote from the artist's own statements,* describes the effect of this gift upon the boy. In going to bed he placed the box so near his couch, that he could hug and caress it every time he wakened. Next morning he rose early, and taking his paints and canvas to the garret, began work. He went to breakfast, and then stole back to his post under the roof, forgetting all about school. When dinner time came he presented himself at table, as usual, but said nothing of his occupation. He had been absent from school some days before the master called on his parents to inquire what had become of him. This led to the discovery of his secret painting, for his mother proceeded to the garret and found the truant. She was, however, so astonished with the creation upon his canvas, that she took him in her arms and kissed him with transports of affection. He had made a composition of his own out of two of the engravings—which he had colored from his ideas of the proper tints to be used—and so perfect did the picture appear to Mrs. West that, although half the canvas remained to be covered, she would not suffer the child to add another touch with his brush. Sixty-seven years afterwards, Mr. Galt saw this production in the exact state in which it was left, and Mr. West himself acknowledged that in subsequent efforts he had never been able to excel some of the touches of invention in this first picture.

The first instruction in art which the artist received was from Mr. William Williams, a painter in Philadelphia. Young West's first attempt at portraiture was at Lancaster, where he painted "The Death of Socrates" for William Henry, a gunsmith. He was not yet sixteen, but other paintings followed which possessed so much genuine merit that

* John Galt's *Life of West*, published in 1816.

they have been preserved as treasures. One of these is in possession of General Meredith Reed of Paris, France, a descendant of the signer. West returned to his home in Springfield, in 1754, to discuss the question of his future vocation. He had an inclination for military life, and volunteered as a recruit in the old French war; but military attractions vanished among the hardships involved, and in 1756, when eighteen years old, he established himself in Philadelphia as a portrait-painter, his price being "five guineas a head." Two years later he went to New York, where he passed eleven months, and was liberally employed by the merchants and others. He painted the portrait of Bishop Provoost, those of Gerardus Duyckinck and his wife—full length—one of Mrs. Samuel Breese and many others, which are in the families of descendants, and characteristic examples of his early work.

In 1760 an opportunity offered for him to visit Rome, Italy. He carried letters to Cardinal Albani and other celebrities, and as he was very handsome and intelligent—and came from a far away land about which hung the perpetual charm of tradition and romance—he soon became the lion of the day among the imaginative Italians. It was a novelty then for an American to appear in the Eternal city, and the very morning after his arrival a curious party followed his steps to observe his pursuit of art. He remained in Italy until 1763, and while there he painted, among others, his pictures of "Cimon and Iphigenia," and "Angelica and Medora." His portrait of Lord Grantham excited much interest, and that nobleman's introduction facilitated his visit to London, which proved so prolific in results. There was no great living historical painter in England just then, and at first there was no sale for West's pictures, as it was unfashionable to buy any but "old masters." But the young artist was undaunted, and presently attracted attention in high places. His picture of "Agrippina Landing with the Ashes of Germanicus," painted for Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York, secured him the favor of George III. and the commission from his Majesty to paint the "Departure of Regulus from Rome." His untiring industry and gentlemanly habits were conspicuous, and may be regarded as among the great secrets of his continual advance and public recognition. His "Parting of Hector and Andromache," and "Return of the Prodigal Son," were among his notable productions of this period. His "Death of General Wolfe" has been, says Tuckerman, "truly declared to have created an era in English art by the successful example it initiated of the abandonment of classic costume—a reform advocated by Reynolds, who gloried in the popular innovation." His characters were clad in the dress of their time. Reynolds said to the

Archbishop of York: "I foresee that this picture will not only become one of the most popular, but will occasion a revolution in art." It was purchased by Lord Grosvenor. Among the long list of paintings executed by order of the king were "The Death of Chevalier Bayard;" "Edward III. Embracing His Son on the Field of Battle at Cressy;" "The Installation of the Order of the Garter;" "The Black Prince Receiving the King of France and His Son Prisoners at Poitiers," and "Queen Philippa Interceding with Edward for the Burgesses of Calais." West was one of the founders in 1768, of the Royal Academy, and succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as president of the institution in 1792, which post he held almost uninterruptedly until 1815.

In the year 1780 he proposed a series of pictures on the progress of revealed religion, of which there were thirty-six subjects in all, but he never executed but twenty-eight of these, owing to the mental trouble which befell the king. He then commenced a new series of important works, of which "Christ Healing the Sick" was purchased by an institution in Great Britain for £3000, and was subsequently copied for the Pennsylvania Hospital. "Penn's Treaty with the Indians" was painted for Granville Penn, the scene representing the founding of Pennsylvania. West wrote to one of his family that he had taken the liberty of introducing in this painting the likeness of his father and his brother Thomas. "That is the likeness of our brother," he says, "standing immediately behind Penn leaning on his cane. I need not point out the picture of our father, as I believe you will find it in the print from memory." Tuckerman says that the work which, in the opinion of many critics, best illustrates the skill of West in composition, drawing, expression, and dramatic effect, is his "Death on the Pale Horse." His "Cupid," owned in Philadelphia, is one of his most effective pictures as to color.

The full-length portrait of West by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P. R. A. which forms the frontispiece to this number of the Magazine, represents the great artist in his character as president of the Royal Academy, delivering a lecture on "coloring" to the students. Under his right hand may be noticed, standing on an easel, a copy of Raphael's cartoon of the "Death of Ananias." The picture of West's face has been considered a perfect likeness, but the figure somewhat too large and too tall in its effects. A copy of this portrait was made by Charles R. Leslie; and Washington Allston also painted a portrait of the artist. There exists, it is said, a portrait of West from his own hand, taken apparently at about the age of forty, three-quarter length, in Quaker costume.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ARBUTUS

AN INDIAN LEGEND *

Many, many moons have faded,
Many, many moons have vanished,
Since an old man in his wigwam
Dwelt beside a frozen river,
Dwelt alone beside the river,
In a forest black and lonely.
Long and white his beard and locks were,
Choicest furs his heavy garments,
For the world was one long winter—
Snow and ice o'er all the landscape.
Winds went wildly through the forest,
Searching all the trees and bushes,
Searching for the birds to chill them,
Over hill and over valley,
Chasing evil sprites before them.
And the old man through the forest,
Through the snow-drifts deep and chilling,
Sought for wood to feed the fire
Dying in his lonely wigwam.
Homeward in despair he staggered,
Sat beside the dying embers,
Cried aloud in voice of terror :
" Mannaboosho, Mannaboosho,
Save me, ere of cold I perish."
And the wild wind's breath of coldness
Blew aside the lodge door rudely,
And a maiden, winsome, lovely,
Entered from the gusty darkness.
Red her cheeks like sweet wild roses
Burning by the dusky forest ;
Large her eyes, with lustre glowing
Like a fawn's eyes in the darkness ;
Long her hair and black as raven,
Black as Kah-gah-gee, the raven,
And it swept the ground she walked on.
In her hands were buds of willow,
On her head a wreath of wild-flowers,
Ferns and grasses were her clothing,
And her moccasins were lilies,

* The author is indebted to Hon. C. E. Belknap of Michigan for the prose version of this legend.

Lilies white that love the meadows ;
When she breathed, the air around her,
All the air within the wigwam,
Passed from winter into summer.
And the old man said : " My daughter,
I am very glad to see you ;
Cold my lodge, indeed, and cheerless,
But it shields you from the tempest.
Tell me who you are, my daughter,
How you dare to brave the tempest,
In the clothing of the summer ?
Sit you here, and tell your country,
Name your victories in order,
Then my great deeds I will tell you,
I am Manito the Mighty."
Filled he then two pipes for smoking,
Filled he pipes with the tobacco,
So that they might smoke while talking.
When the smoke in curling eddies
Warmed the old man's breath, he uttered
Words of boasting, words of glory .
" I am Manito," he boasted,
" When I blow my breath, a stillness
Falls upon the flowing waters."
And the maiden said in answer :
" Lo, I breathe, and all the landscape
Blossoms with a thousand flowers."
And the old man said in answer :
" When I shake my long locks hoary,
All the ground with snow is covered."
" I but shake my curls," she answered,
" And the warm rains fall from heaven."
" When I walk," the old man answered,
From the trees the leaves come falling ;
Creatures wild in terror flee me,
Hiding each in winter fastness ;
Wild birds leave the lake and river,
Fly away to distant countries."
" When I walk," the maiden answered,
" Plants lift up their heads in beauty,
Many leaves come on the branches,
Birds come back from distant countries,

Singing with delight to see me—
All the world is full of music."
Thus they talked in emulation
Till the air within the wigwam
Warmer grew and ever warmer,
And the old man's head kept nodding
Till it lay upon his bosom,
Lay upon his breast in slumber.
Then the sun came back in splendor,
And the bluebird, the Owaissa,
On the wigwam's top alighting,
Called aloud with joyous singing :
"Say-ee, say-ee, I am thirsty!"
And the river cried in answer :
"I am free, come here and drink me!"
As the old man slept, the maiden
Passed her small, white hand above him ;
Small he grew and ever smaller,
From his mouth came streams of water ;
Small he grew and ever smaller
Till his form had almost vanished,
And his clothing turned to green leaves.
Then the maiden, lowly kneeling
On the ground before the green leaves,
From her bosom pure and lovely
Took white flowers most fair and precious,
Hid them there among the green leaves.
Then she breathed upon the blossoms,
Breathed upon the blossoms saying :
"All my virtues give I to you,
All my sweetest breath I give you ;
All who pick you must be lowly,
All on bended knees must pick you."
Through the woods and o'er the prairies
Passed away the lovely maiden ;
All the birds sang love songs to her,
And where'er her footstep lingered,
Grows to-day the sweet-breathed May-flower.

Frederic Allam Tupper.

SHELBURNE FALLS, MASSACHUSETTS.

A CORNER OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

Macaulay, in that inimitable chart for the historical narrator, an *Essay on History*, tells us that he who would present the fine shades of national character must see ordinary men as they appear in their ordinary business and their ordinary pleasures. He must obtain admittance to the convivial table and the domestic hearth. He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying as too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind. Everything, therefore, which casts a ray on other times, every morsel which has been snatched from the "wastes of time," is in some sense history, or the material of which history is composed.

An attempt is here made to place on the canvas suggestions of what primitive rural Pennsylvania was like from data which have escaped the larger meshes of the drag-net of general history. The county of Bucks, in the southeastern corner of the state, is one of the three original counties, and the particular locality in which Penn's "country house" was situated; thus it has been selected as the typical community of that state. It became an organized county in 1684. Its official records extend back to that year with unbroken continuity. The inventories of the estates of deceased persons, deeds, court records, wills, and well-authenticated tradition have been laid under contribution for this reproduction of the "still life" of the early settlers, with something of their surroundings, what they wore, the furniture of their homes, the vehicles they traveled in, the value of their possessions, the books they read, the prices of their produce, and the inns in which they were entertained.

The story of colonial New England seems tempestuous, sanguinary, and forbidding in contrast with the Arcadian repose with which life rippled on for one hundred years on the green shores of the Delaware. From the arrival of Penn to the revolution there are no points of exciting interest for the writer in the history of Pennsylvania. The Indians were friendly. Their children romped in the dooryards of the white families. There were no religious feuds, for Penn was a man of boundless catholicity. All sects had perfect immunity. He was a Quaker, but established no church. He was an enthusiast, but not a bigot. His province, therefore, presents the unique spectacle of a colony founded by religious zealots in which there was perfect tolerance.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the improved social condition of the people of eastern Pennsylvania than the changed facilities for travel. As late as 1783 there were eight populous townships in Bucks county in which there was not a single pleasure carriage of any sort. In that year, a full century and more after Penn's arrival, there was one "chariot" owned in the entire region. A chariot was as high up in the world as a vehicle could then aspire. The swain who paused in the furrow to regard its triumphal progress over the rough roads of the period, many of them little improved to this day, felt that he was gazing at one of the rare spectacles of the earth, and not to be mentioned in the same breath with the "carts," "drags," "chaises," "phaëtons," "riding chairs," and other quaint and curious conveyances which rattled the bones of forefathers and foremothers "over the stones." In two of the townships, then as now among the wealthiest in Bucks, there was not a two-horse wagon in use before 1745. For about sixty years goods and passengers were transported on horse-back or in rude one-horse carts. The distance to the meeting-house, the smithy, the store, and the election place was great, and must have made serious inroads upon the time of the settlers.

"Did the forefathers vote?" was the topic in a recent number of one of our magazines. So far as the Pennsylvania forefather is involved, it may be said that his visits to the election for nearly a century must have been infrequent. Until 1777 the election for the whole county, and it embraced a large area, was held at one place, and many voters were obliged to travel thirty or forty miles to cast a ballot. Few of the offices were elective, little interest was shown, and relatively few votes recorded. For many years, too, the only meeting-house was in Falls township, in which Penn's private manor was situated. Worshipers traveled to this sanctuary from the remote townships, twenty-five miles or more distant. For the first quarter of a century after the English occupation, it was no unusual thing for settlers to drive twenty-five miles to the nearest mill or smithy, but in those times horses were rarely shod, and blocks used by the Indians to grind corn were freely loaned to the whites. An important part of the "furniture" of the horse was the side-saddle. The Pennsylvania grandam sat a horse well and enjoyed a ruddy, robust womanhood.

The garb of the Pennsylvanians in the first century finds no imitation in the modern fashion plate. Dr. John Watson, an excellent local authority, furnishes a sketch of the dress, manners, and customs of the people of Buckingham, one of the ancient townships. He remembered back as far as 1750, and his information for the previous years was derived from the first settlers, or from those who had known them familiarly. Dr. Watson's

sketch was published in 1826 in the memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. He writes that laboring men wore buckskin for breeches, jackets of hemp and tow, wool hats, strong shoes with brass buckles, and linsey and leather aprons. A "well groomed" gentleman wore a coat with three or four plaits in the skirt wadded like a coverlet, cuffs to the elbow, and broad-brimmed beaver hat. A woman in full fashion wore stiff whalebone stays worth eight or ten dollars, silk gown plaited in the back, sleeves twice as large as the arm, "locquet" buttons, and long-armed gloves. Brides in addition to this wore a long black hood.

The inventory of the contents of a Bucks county dry goods store in 1745 shows the following fabrics, all of which have long since passed out of the vernacular of fashion: "Isingham, bag and gulix, quilted hum-hums, turketas, single allopeens, jumps and bodice, whalebone and iron busk, alibanies, dickmansoy, cushloes, crimson dannador, byrampauts, naffermanny, prunelloe, barragons, druggett and floretta." The early court records teem with curious applications for the licensing of inns and for the laying out of roads. In 1727 one Thomas Jones, in asking for a road along his premises, closed an urgent appeal with the assertion that he would "always be ready to pray for the eternal happiness of the Honorable Bench." The old court papers fix in a definite way the value of articles then in common use. An indictment of 1761 charges the prisoner with the theft of a pair of women's stays, valued at two pounds sixpence; a pair of men's pumps, seven shillings sixpence. Conrad Hause in 1763 received thirty lashes for stealing a woollen petticoat of the value of seven shillings. A tame doe was worth four pounds; a yard of calico, six shillings, many times its present price; a linen handkerchief, two shillings, and a silk handkerchief, three shillings. One hundred and fifty years ago two gills, or a "drink," of Pennsylvania rum cost eightpence.

Property in slaves was quite common among the colonists in Bucks for a long time. There is little novelty in the statement that the early Pennsylvanians, as well as the inhabitants of the other colonies, kept human chattels, but the fact is vividly brought to mind when one finds slaves repeatedly inventoried with cattle, implements, and products. Certain differences in the ordinary modes of living between the former days and the present are indicated in the inventories. Household articles are often named in groups, by rooms, so that the actual equipment of parlor, bedroom, kitchen, are faithfully set forth. Thus it seems to have been no unusual circumstance to have a bed in the parlor as late as 1760, and probably for some years afterward.

Occasional glimpses of the literature of the eighteenth century which

had found its way into the colony are given. An examination of several lists about the middle of the century brings to light the following titles: *Tillotson's Sermons*, *Dr. Scott's Christian Life*, *Chillingsworth's Works*, *Isaac Pennington's Works*. The inventory of the estate of one of the most bookish men of the county, dying in 1745, exhibits the following catalogue: *Sewell's History of England*, *Reformers of Ye Church of England*, *Dyche's Dictionary*, *The Complete Distiller*, *The Poems of Catherine Phillips*, *Ye Fair Hypocrite*, *The Evil of Stage Plays*, *Memorials of Woodland*, *Ye Works of King James*, *Travels of Fine Godliness*.

The ancient courts of the county were, relatively speaking, much more largely attended than the courts of the present day. In the early days then there were no local newspapers to glean from the field of gossip. The news of the period was carried by word of mouth, and "court time" was the great occasion to trade bits of tattle afloat in far-off neighborhoods.

The old records are full of proceedings against "prisoners taken in execution," as unfortunate debtors were then called. Sometimes the debtor was discharged by making satisfaction to his creditor "by servitude"; that is, he was sentenced by the court to serve each creditor long enough to discharge the debt. Robert Lawrence, in 1765, was sentenced to serve twenty creditors in succession. The limit of his temporary slavery was seven hundred and twenty-four days. When the debt was under ten pounds, and the debtor was a soldier "in His Majesty's service," he was discharged.

Penalties were extremely severe. In 1758 the negro "Christmas" was tried for burglary. He broke into a house and stole articles of dress valued at two dollars and a half, was convicted, and sentenced to be hanged.

Irving says, in the *Sketch Book*, that he entered "for the hundredth time that picture of convenience, and broad, honest enjoyment—an English Inn." English literature teems with references to these retreats. Their names have been carefully preserved from the earliest times. Their legends, traditions, and associations are imbedded in English history, essay, and biography. Since the introduction of railways in the "tight little island," the great roads have ceased to be the thoroughfares they once were. The ideal inn has therefore fallen into neglect. In Escott's *England*, attention is called to the probable extinction of these interesting features of social life in the parent country. In Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, it has passed through the same development, and is threatened with a like fate from the operation of similar causes.

With the introduction of the inn in Pennsylvania came also those curi-

ous, ancient signboards, some of which gave names to the English inns for generations before they were set up in this country. It being the practice to insert the sign names in the applications for license to the county court in Pennsylvania, these petitions furnish an official directory of those singular legends by which owners of inns distinguished their houses. The horse has been repeatedly honored in these names. He is presented in a variety of colors and relations, such as "The Sorrel Horse," "The Black Horse," "The Waggon and Horse," etc. The animal kingdom also furnishes "The Lion," "The Elephant," "The Bull's Head," "The White Bear," "The Buck," "The Eagle," and "The Swan." Names were often found in the implements of agriculture and its products: "The Harrow," "The Barley Sheaf," "The Plow." Historical names and incidents are preserved in "The Penn's Manor House," "The Indian." Associations of the road find expression in "The Half Way House," "The Traveller's Rest," "The Drover." Inns along the Delaware were appropriately named "The Waterman," "The Deck Boat," "The Anchor," etc.

It would be easy to extend the inquiry outlined in this sketch much further, but enough is given to suggest sources of information of the past to be found in the dust bins of the public offices in all the counties of the older states. Much of the material is too microscopic for the eye of the general historian, but it furnishes all we shall ever know of the life of that very large segment of the colonial population which Mr. Lincoln would have called the "common people."

Henry C. Michener

DOYLESTOWN, PA.

MINOR TOPICS


SIGNIFICANCE GIVEN TO COMMON WORDS

"Great writers and orators are commonly economists in the use of words," writes Edwin Percy Whipple in his *American Literature*. "They compel common words to bear a burden of thought and emotion which mere rhetoricians, with all the resources of the language at their disposal, would never dream of imposing upon them. But it is also to be observed that some writers have the power of giving a new and special significance to a common word, by impressing on it a wealth of meaning which it cannot claim for itself. Three obvious examples of this peculiar power may be cited. Among poets, Chaucer infused into the simple word *green* a poetic ecstasy which no succeeding English poet, not even Wordsworth, has ever rivaled, in describing an English landscape in the month of May. Jonathan Edwards fixed upon the term *sweetness* as best conveying his loftiest conception of the bliss which the soul of the saint can attain to on earth, or expect to be blessed with in heaven; but not one of his theological successors has ever caught the secret of using *sweetness* in the sense attached to it by him. Dr. Barrow gave to the word *rest*, as embodying his idea of the spiritual repose of the soul fit for heaven, significance which it bears in the works of no other great English divine. To descend a little, Webster was fond of certain words, commonplace enough themselves, to which he insisted on imparting a more than ordinary import. Two of these, which meet us continually in reading his speeches, are *interesting* and *respectable*. The first of these appears to him competent to express that rapture of attention called forth by a thing, an event, or a person, which other writers convey by such a term as *absorbing*—or its numerous equivalents.

There is no word which the novelists, satirists, philanthropic reformers, and Bohemians of our day have done so much to discredit, and make *dis-respectable* to the heart and imagination, as the word *respectable*. Webster always uses it as a term of eulogy."

ANECDOTES OF THE DARK DAY OF 1780

A somewhat unique work has recently been issued in Salem, Massachusetts, by Sidney Perley, entitled *Historic Storms of New England*, which contains a graphic description of the dark day of 1780. The light of the sun seemed to be almost taken from the earth, and a strange darkness settled over the land. Pieces of burnt leaves were continually falling, and the rain water was covered with a scum-like soot,



which would indicate to the people of this generation that the forests were on fire in some direction. Some of the incidents related by Mr. Perley are interesting.

"In Boston, one of Rev. Dr. Byles's parishioners sent her servant to him when the darkness was greatest, asking whether or not in his opinion it did not portend an earthquake, hurricane, or some other elementary commotion. 'Give my respectful compliments to your mistress,' facetiously replied the doctor, 'and tell her I am as much in the dark as she is.'

At Salem, Dr. Nathaniel Whittaker's congregation came together at their church, and he preached a sermon in which he maintained that the darkness was divinely sent for the rebuke of the people for their sins.

An incident with a certain humorous tinge took place at Medford. When the day was darkest, a negro named Pomp, who was very much frightened, went to his master and said: 'Massa, the day of judgment has come; what shall I do?' 'Why, Pomp, you'd better wash up clean, and put on your Sunday clothes.' Perceiving that his master showed no signs of fear, Pomp began to draw his attention to evidence of his conviction. 'Massa, it *has* come; for the hens are all going to roost.' 'Well, Pomp, they show their sense.' 'And the tide, massa, in the river has stopped running.' 'Well, Pomp, it always does at high water.' 'But, massa, it feels cold; and the darkness grows more and more.' 'So much the better, Pomp, for the day of judgment will be all fire and light.' Pomp concluded that he would wait for something further to turn up before preparing for the great day.

The legislature of Connecticut was in session at Hartford. The deepening gloom enwrapped the city, and the rooms of the state house grew dark. The journal of the house of representatives reads: 'None could see to read or write in the house, or even at a window, or distinguish persons at a small distance, or perceive any distinction of dress, etc., in the circle of attendants. Therefore, at eleven o'clock adjourned the house till two o'clock afternoon.' The council was also in session, and several of its members exclaimed, 'It is the Lord's great day.' There was a motion to adjourn, but Col. Abraham Davenport, a member from Stamford, quickly arose, and with great moral courage and reason said: 'I am against the adjournment. Either the day of judgment is at hand, or it is not. If it is not, there is no cause for adjournment. If it is, I wish to be found in the line of my duty. I wish candles to be brought.'"

NOTES

THE HALF-KING'S OPINION OF WASHINGTON'S MILITARY ABILITY—The following interesting statement is from the journal of Conrad Weiser, September 3, 1754: "By the way Tanacharisson, otherwise called the Half-King, complained very much of the behavior of Colonel Washington to him (though in a moderate way, saying the Colonel was a good-natured man, but had no experience), saying that he took upon him to command the Indians as his slaves, and would have them every day upon the outscout and attack the enemy by themselves, and that he would by no means take advice from the Indians; that he lay at one place from one full-moon to the other and made no fortifications at all but that little thing upon the meadow, where he thought the French would come up to him in open field; that had he taken the Half-King's advice and made such fortifications as the Half-King advised him to make, he would certainly have beat the French off; that the French had acted as great cowards, and the English as fools, in that engagement; that he (the Half-King) had carried off his wife and children, so did other Indians, before the battle began, because Colonel Washington would never listen to them, but always driving them on to fight by his directions."

PETERSFIELD

GEORGE BANCROFT'S SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL POSITION—Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis writes: "The social position which Mr. Bancroft held when he returned from Germany to this coun-

try was enviable. His friendships comprehended the great men of two hemispheres for half a century. Learned societies at home and abroad had elected him to honorary membership. He bore honorary degrees from American, English, and German universities. A partial list of these societies and degrees occupies nearly half a column in the quinquennial catalogue of Harvard University. The senate of the United States extended to him the unprecedented honor of free access to the floor of their chamber. His society was eagerly sought both at Washington and at Newport, and it required all the restraints of his methodical habits to preserve strength for the work still before him. Towards the close of his life the anniversaries of his birthday were made much of by friends. Flowers, messages and congratulations were showered upon him.

The position of Bancroft's history as the standard history of the United States has left for the critics to discuss only the question how long the work will be able to maintain this position. The *Edinburgh Review* says: 'The real liberality, the general fairness, the labor and conscientious research it evinces, deserves, and we are assured will receive, his [the English reader's] warmest approbation.' The *Westminster Review* predicts 'with confidence that his work will be reckoned among the genuine masterpieces of historical genius.' Lecky, in his *England in the Eighteenth Century*, accuses him of violent partisanship, and charges that it greatly impairs his 'very learned history.' If the English people,

as a whole, had not been able to appreciate Bancroft's labor and conscientious research, his fairness of purpose, and the real liberality beneath his sharp, incisive criticism, it could only have been because they had become less tolerant than we know them to be."

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION TRUE CULTURE—The work of the American society for the extension of university teaching is practically, and intentionally, of the nature of an object lesson to the United States on the successful organization and conduct of university extension. The society now carries on extension work in five states, and two more are organizing under its direction. These seven states present almost every conceivable variety of equipment, culture, financial condition and local peculiarity. Out of the organization of work under such varying conditions the society is gathering a rich store of wisdom and experience for the benefit of any city or locality desiring to start extension work. From a wide experience in city, town and village—with and without the nucleus of some existing institution; in

localities ranging in general culture from the university town to the simple farming district—with methods of financial support, including the gifts of single individuals, a guarantee fund formed by several persons or by some society, popular subscription, or simple advertisement and self-supporting courses, the great fundamental principles underlying successful organization are being slowly evolved.

The results of its experience the American society places at the disposal of any college, individual or society desiring to undertake extension teaching. From the report of the first year, and the estimates for the coming season, it appears that in carrying on this national experiment, the American society in its two years of existence will have expended, including the expenses of local centres, no less than forty thousand dollars; nearly all of which, with the exception of lecturers' fees paid by local centres, has been given by public-minded citizens of Philadelphia. Another illustration of the fact that true culture is not selfish, but recognizes and fulfills its obligation both to individuals and to the nation.

QUERIES

FIRST AMERICAN LADY TO PETITION THE KING—The London newspapers of October 17, 1764, contained the following item: "On Wednesday the 19th of September last, an American lady was introduced to his Majesty at Richmond, and presented a petition. His Majesty received the distressed stranger with his

wonted charitable goodness, and assured her of his royal protection. It is imagined her prayer will be granted, she being the only American lady that has had occasion to apply to his Majesty."

Who was the lady, and what was the nature of her petition?

PETERSFIELD

COLONEL MAINWARING HAMMOND—Is anything known concerning the family of Colonel Mainwaring Hammond, an early settler of Virginia? In what part of Virginia did he live? Was his wife, Jane Hammond, who was a sister of the wife of Colonel William Willoughby, commissioner of the British navy when he died in 1651? Was Captain Law-

rence Hammond of Boston, Massachusetts, who was a son of Mrs. Jane Hammond of Virginia, also a son of Colonel Mainwaring Hammond? These facts are needed by Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury of New Haven, Connecticut, in the preparation of their large *Family Histories and Genealogies*, now nearly completed.

REPLIES

HARRY CROSWELL'S LIBEL ON JEFFERSON [xxv, 320]—There was an inquiry in my article in the last April (1891) number of the *Magazine of American History* to learn if any one could tell whether Harry Crosswell, convicted of a libel on President Jefferson and appealed, ever had a new trial. Mr. E. P. Magoun, of Hudson, New York, while unable to answer the question, gives me the following items of interest:

"In 1802 a newspaper by name *The Bee* was commenced by Charles Holt, in Hudson, New York. With some interruptions Mr. Holt had published *The Bee* for the previous five years at New London, Connecticut. Having incurred a fine and imprisonment there, under the Sedition Act, it became nec-

essary for him to seek another location, and being invited by the republicans, transferred his printing materials and paper to Hudson, New York. Its circulation was about one thousand. On the appearance of *The Bee* in Hudson, a small paper, less than a letter sheet in size, was issued from the office of Mr. Crosswell, called *The Wasp*, by 'Robert Rusticoat, Esq.' Its object was indicated by the following couplet:

'If perchance there comes a *Bee*,
A *Wasp* shall come as well as he.'

It was published but a short time, and both *Wasp* and *Bee* stung with personal abuse."

HORATIO KING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The stated meeting for February was held on Tuesday evening, the 2d inst., the president, Hon. John A. King, in the chair. Announcement was made of the gift to the gallery of a portrait in oil of the Hon. Myron Holley, presented by his daughter, Miss Sallie Holley. Mr. Eugene Smith read the paper of the evening entitled, "A Village Hampden of New Amsterdam." It described the life and settlement at Harlem of Captain Jochem Pieterse Kuyter, whose famous plantation was named Zengendal, or Vale of Blessing.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The quarterly meeting was held on January 19th at its hall, in Dearborn Avenue, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The reports of the secretary and librarian were read, showing a gratifying increase in the society's collections through purchase and gifts. Hon. Lambert Tree has enriched its collection of pictures by the presentation of a chromo-lithograph representing the entire block of buildings, including signs, on the north side of Lake Street from Clark to La Salle, in 1859, and their appearance while being screwed up to the new grade established by the city at that time, the merchants continuing their business in the buildings while they were being raised from their old foundations. It was one of the most important retail blocks in the city. Mr. John Moses, the secretary, then read an able, instructive and interesting paper, entitled, "Richard Yates, the War Governor of

Illinois," being a careful study of his life and public services. Remarks were made by Rev. Robert W. Patterson and Colonel Frank A. Eastman.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY at its regular meeting, January 26th, President Rogers in the chair, listened to an interesting paper on "The Anglo-American Revision of the Translation of the Bible," by Dr. Thomas Chase. The speaker gave an account of Tischendorf's finding of valuable old manuscripts of the Bible and their publication. It was one of the causes of the revision of the Bible. It was a new witness of the validity of the text. It was found that there were disagreements with the Greek text. People were surprised that there were differences. They supposed the text had been miraculously preserved. Some one hundred and fifty thousand differences have been found, but nineteen twentieths of them are quite unimportant. Errors often arise from accidental repetitions. In the case of the New Testament there are the words of the fathers, and numerous later versions with which to work out the correct text. Having a better knowledge of Greek lexicography, the students of this century were fitted to revise the translation of King James. In the opinion of the lecturer the time was ripe for the revision. He spoke of the faithfulness with which the committee had worked, and the accuracy of results. In his opinion the revision of 1881-85 will supplant that of 1611, as it supplanted the Geneva version.

Remarks were made by Rev. Dr. Vose, Secretary Perry and President Horatio Rogers. Attention was also called to certain recent gifts to the society, among which was a painting of General Barton, given through the will of the late George F. Cushman, a grandson of General Barton.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on January 12th, at Utica, New York, President Charles W. Hutchinson in the chair. After the reading of reports, the following officers were unanimously reëlected: president, Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson; vice-presidents, Henry Hurlburt, George D. Dimon, Hon. Daniel E. Wager; recording secretary, Rees G. Williams; corresponding secretary, General C. W. Darling; librarian, Dr. M. M. Bagg; treasurer, Warren C. Rowley; executive committee, Alexander Seward, Daniel Batchelor, George C. Sawyer, N. Curtis White, Bloomfield J. Beach of Rome.

On the evening of the same day S. N. D. North of Boston delivered the annual address before the society, his theme being "The Evolutions of the Factory System." He said: "It is the peculiar glory of Oneida county that she furnished the first and best types of these early textile manufacturers in New York State. It was claimed by Hon. J. G. Dudley, in an address before the New York Historical Society, that the first woolen factory built in the United States was that of Dr. Seth Capron, at Oriskany, which was built in 1809 and incorporated, by act of the legislature, in 1811. This is an obvious error, for woolen factories—nearly as complete in

their equipment—were in operation in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut before the close of the last century. But the genesis of both the woolen and the cotton industries in New York State was upon the banks of the Oriskany and Sauquoit Creeks. Dr. Capron, who inspired both enterprises, was moved to the undertaking by the patriotic desire to achieve for his country an industrial independence commensurate with the political independence he had contributed so much to secure."

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting in the state house at Trenton, New Jersey, on the 26th of January, 1892. Officers elected for ensuing year were: John Clement, president; Dr. S. H. Pennington, General W. S. Stryker, Rev. Dr. G. S. Mott, vice-presidents; William Nelson, corresponding secretary; W. R. Weeks, recording secretary; F. W. Ricord, treasurer and librarian; George A. Halsey, John F. Hageman, David A. Depue, Nathaniel Niles, John I. Blair, Franklin Murphy, Garret D. W. Vroom, James Neilson, executive committee. The reports showed that the society has about six hundred members, and a library of twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and forty-nine volumes.

The paper of this annual meeting was read by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, editor of the *Magazine of American History*, its subject being "Some Important Events in Colonial History." It related chiefly to the three colonies, Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, with a background of European history. "One of these

colonies," Mrs. Lamb said, "had been founded for gold, another for trade, and the third for religion's sake, yet the clarifying processes of growth and development in a century and a half brought them into close relations with one another in producing one of the grandest events in the world's annals, the birth of a nation."

THE ROCHESTER (NEW YORK) HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular February meeting in the chamber of commerce. The paper of the evening, "Rochester in the Forties," was read by Dr. Porter Farley, which called out many interesting reminiscences from those present. This promising society has recently issued its first volume of publications—a valuable contribution to the historical bibliography of western New York.

SAUGATUCK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Westport, Connecticut. The annual meeting of this society was held on the 6th of February, the president in the chair. Reports were read showing the progress of the society. During the year two hundred and seventy-seven volumes have been received, also forty-two pamphlets, several maps, and various relics. The officers elected for ensuing

year were : Horace Staples, president ; Wm. J. Jennings, Wm. H. Saxton, Rev. K. MacKenzie, vice-presidents ; Rev. James E. Coley, secretary ; Wm. Gray Staples, librarian ; Dr. L. T. Day, treasurer.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY continues to hold monthly meetings at its rooms, No. 23 West Forty-fourth street. At the meeting October 9, no regular paper was prepared, but President Wilson read portions of an article which he had read before the Huguenot society, on "Judge Bayard's London Diary." At the meeting, November 13, Edward Wakefield of London, England, delivered an address on "The Domesday Book," giving an interesting account of this old English record, the name of which, he said, signified that it was intended as a final record, from which there was no appeal, like the Divine judgment at doomsday. At the meeting December 13, Berthold Fernow of Albany lectured on "The Churches and Schools of New York" ; and at the first meeting of the new year, January 8, 1892, Josiah C. Pumpelly read a sketch of the life of "Captain John Paul Jones, the hero of the *Bon Homme Richard*."

BOOK NOTICES

WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL. 1747-1748.

Copied from the original with literal exactness and edited with notes. By J. M. TONER, M. D. Square 8vo, pp. 144. Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany. 1892.

This journal of a journey over the mountains was the earliest literary effort of George Washington, begun when he was but one month over sixteen years of age. He had left school that year and must either go to college or embark in business. His aptitude for mathematics attracted attention, and as land surveying was then a profitable and genteel pursuit in the colonies, he expressed a wish to engage in it. He was presently sent out by Lord Fairfax into the Shenandoah valley, and his surveys and reports gave such satisfaction that he was continuously employed by his titled patron for upwards of three years. All the notes of surveys that can be found or that are now known to exist, are gathered into this volume. They have been copied with literal exactness, and the accompanying journal is printed just as it was recorded by the hand of its author. This literalness is wisely adhered to in the interest of truth and for the benefit of earnest students of history unable to consult personally the originals. Washington needs no apology for the marks of hasty composition, as it was written for himself alone. But boy as he was it will be observed that he wrote clearly and that his observations were always apt and instructive. The volume is edited with notes which add immensely to its value. Washington writes, March 16, "We set out early and finished about one o'clock and then traveled up to Frederick Town where our baggage came to us . . . where we had a good dinner prepared for us, wine and rum punch in plenty and a good feather bed, with clean sheets, which was a very agreeable regale." The scholarly editor, Dr. Toner, adds a note here on "feather beds" which were a great luxury in early times. In another place he describes the position of the razor in colonial days—it being the essential part of a gentleman's toilet outfit. The volume is accompanied by an excellent index, and altogether is a most welcome contribution to Washingtonia.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE WAR OF THE REBELLION. Addresses delivered before the New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion of the United States, 1883-1891. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON

and TITUS MUNSON COAN, M.D. New York: published by the Commandery.

Such is the indifference of certain Americans to certain other Americans and their belongings that we are quite safe in assuming that to a vast majority of readers the title of "Loyal Legion" is meaningless. We use the term *readers* in a general sense, for those who read the *Magazine of American History* may be supposed to be somewhat better informed in such matters than is the public at large. Still we venture to predict that a very large proportion of those who read this paragraph know more about the French Legion of Honor than they do about this honorable military order of their native land. The inconspicuous little tri-colored rosette that one may now and then see worn in the button-hole of an elderly gentleman means that its wearer has, in his day, looked into the muzzles of rebel rifles when they meant business, and has borne himself honorably through whatever perils he may have been called upon to face. The Loyal Legion looks very carefully into a candidate's service record before it admits him to fellowship. No stigma of "pension grabbing" can be laid to its charge, though possibly it may have individual "grabbers" among its members, nor has the baneful influence of politics crept in to disturb the harmony of its proceedings. The Loyal Legion is made up of commissioned officers of the Army or Navy who served honorably in the Civil War. It was founded in Philadelphia just after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln in 1865, and has now "commanderies" in nearly all the principal cities of the North, and a total membership of about seven thousand. It was modeled after the Society of the Cincinnati, and in like manner perpetuates itself by heredity. For many years the New York commandery has held five yearly meetings, at each of which, the tables being cleared, some papers have been read or some address delivered, which are now collected in a handsome volume, bearing the imprint of the commandery, with its insignia stamped on cover and title page. The contents include twenty-seven papers, all of them personal experiences bearing upon some event of historical importance. Read by men who themselves took part in the episodes described, and in the presence of others who were at the time similarly engaged, these essays are all instinct with a local color that can hardly be looked for in type. Nevertheless they are highly creditable in literary form, and speak well for the attainments of the men who wrote them. The edition of this very handsome volume is limited to one thousand

copies, and as it has not been stereotyped this number cannot be increased. For a frontispiece the editors have secured, through the courtesy of the Messrs Appleton, an excellent steel engraved portrait of Admiral Farragut, and it is, perhaps, worthy of remark that one of the most entertaining papers of the series is by the son of that gallant officer, Lieut. Loyall Farragut, late of the United States Army. The volume is the first published by the New York commandery, and will no doubt be followed by others.

THE FAITH DOCTOR, A STORY OF NEW YORK. By EDWARD EGGLESTON. 12mo, pp. 427. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

This may be called one of the best novels produced by a New York writer within a decade at least. It is vigorously written, while its purpose, to counteract the harm done by the mind-cure believers and the Christian Scientists, gives a certain vitality to its pages that is exceptional in modern works of fiction. Dr. Eggleston says his book was not written to depreciate anybody's valued delusions, but to make a study of human nature under certain conditions. He reminds us of the religious fervor of the Millerites, who were looking for the end of the world within the memory of most of us, and how curative mesmerism gave way to spirit-rappings and clairvoyant medical treatment. Now that spiritism in all its forms is passing into decay, the field is free to mind-doctors, and faith-healers. His heroine, Phillida Callender, is a charming character, who inherits the missionary spirit from her father, and who is deluded by her own earnestness into manifold blunders. The hero is also interesting, and Dr. Eggleston's satirical showing of how he made himself a fine gentleman, is admirably off-set by his manly character and conduct throughout the story. "His various accomplishments represented many hours of toil, but it was toil of which his associates never heard. He treated himself as a work of art, of which the beholder must judge only of the result, with no knowledge of the foregoing effort." There is much that is amusing and much that is instructive in this story. The pictures of life on the east side of New York are perhaps the most skillfully portrayed scenes in the book. Dr. Eggleston has no patience with shams, and deals severely with Mrs. Frankland, who thinks she has a gift for expounding Scripture, and who gives Bible readings in the mansions of the rich, and reaps therefrom a golden harvest. She is a woman who believes in her own sincerity of purpose and considers the rousing and awakening the emotionally religious to be the noblest work on earth.

LETTERS OF CHARLES DICKENS TO WILKIE COLLINS. Edited by LAURENCE HUTTON. 16mo. pp. 171. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Hutton could very probably make an interesting book out of far more slender material than letters between two great English novelists of the time. Epistolary correspondence is a delicate matter to handle, and calls for a true editorial judgment and a genuine literary instinct in arranging for publication. In these respects nothing is lacking in the pages before us, which comprise not only characteristic letters from both these great men, but facsimile reproductions of handwriting, of playbills and the like which are extremely valuable and entertaining. Dickens and Collins first met in 1851, and although the latter was much the younger man, they presently became warm friends, and their intercourse, personally and by correspondence, continued up to the time of Dickens's death twenty years ago. The letters cannot be otherwise than entertaining to everyone who takes an intelligent interest in the literature of our time.

IN BISCAYNE BAY. By CAROLINE WASHBURN ROCKWOOD. Illustrated. 12mo. pp. 286. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Floridian literature at the present rate of increase bids fair to fill a considerable space in the annual book list, and if the standard set by the present volume is maintained the state will ere long be most sumptuously represented. Biscayne Bay is as yet known only to a few hundred favored individuals. It lies near the extremity of the great peninsula, two hundred miles and more beyond continuous rail connection with the North, and seventy miles from the nearest coastwise steamboat line. It is therefore beyond the reach as it is beyond the desire of the average tourist, but it is one of the fairest spots in all Florida, and deserves all that can reasonably be said in its praise. Mr. Thomas Avery Hine of this city, a veteran yachtsman, and one of the most successful of amateur photographers has contributed to the book before us many of what he aptly terms "photographic sketches," showing the bay and its shores, the "glades," and some of the surviving Seminoles in their most picturesque aspects. The context is a clever love story, interwoven with sketches of winter life in that heavenly clime, and introducing so many actual names that the reader remembers the fate of "Cape Cod Folks" and trembles for the result. All lovers of Florida will find the volume full of entertaining pictures, literary as well as artistic.

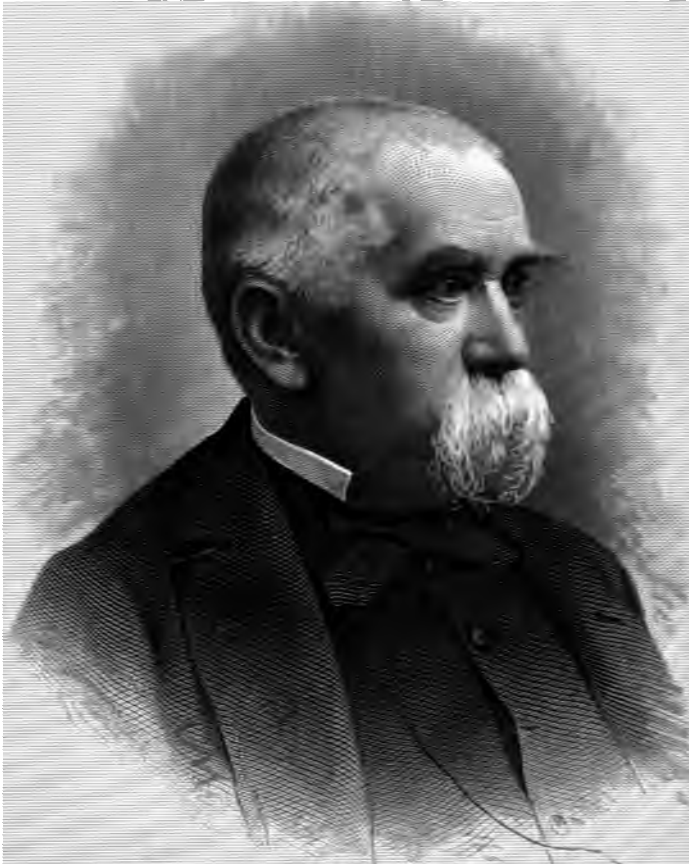
AN UTTER FAILURE. A novel. By MIRIAM COLES HARRIS. 16mo, pp. 334. New York : D. Appleton & Co.

Mrs. Harris made a brilliant advent before the novel reading world long ago as the author of "Rutledge"—a novel which was one of the mysteries of its day, the author long maintaining her *incognito*. While we cannot safely predict either comparative success, or comparative want thereof for the present tale, it will certainly command an interested audience for associations' sake. It is charmingly written, and presents certain aspects of life, love, and law, in a light that will be new and fascinating to a large majority of readers. The scene is for the most part laid in Florence, with an enthusiastic appreciation of the beauties of that famous city.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF GENERAL THOMAS J. JACKSON (STONEWALL JACKSON). By his wife, MARY ANNA JACKSON. With an introduction by Henry M. Field, D.D. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, pp. 479. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1892.

This story of the life of a remarkable man presents many features of the deepest interest. Dr. Henry M. Field, who writes an introduction to it, says : "Stonewall Jackson was the most picturesque figure in the war. Not so high in command as General Lee on the one side, or General Grant on the other, neither had a personality so unique. In Jackson there were two men in one: he united qualities that are not only alien to each other, but that seem almost incom-

patible—military genius of the highest order with a religious fervor that bordered on fanaticism ; a union of the soldier and the saint for which we must go back to the time of Cromwell. A thunderbolt in war, he was in society so modest and unassuming as to appear even shy and timid. A character in which such contradictions are combined is one of the most fascinating studies in American history." This book does not aim to chronicle the military career of the great general. "That," says Dr. Field, "has long since been done by military critics at home and abroad, who have made a study of his campaigns, following his rapid marches, in which he was not surpassed by Napoleon in his first campaigns in Italy ; and finding in his peculiar strategy enough to give him a place among the great captains of the age. But with Jackson, as with others who have acted a great part in public affairs, there was another side to the man—an inner life, known but to few, and fully known only to her who was united to him in the closest of all human relations, and to whom this man of iron was the gentlest and tenderest of human beings." Mrs. Jackson presents the history of Stonewall Jackson's family with many incidents of his boyhood and school life. He was four years at West Point, 1842-1846, and in the Mexican War from 1846 to 1848. In 1851 he became a professor in the Virginia Military Institute, in which he remained until 1861. One of the most interesting features of the work is his domestic correspondence during the Civil War, judicious selections from which may be found in this volume. Mrs. Jackson has given the reading public a most interesting work, prepared with ability and in the best of taste.



H. J. Walters



"THE RARE VASE."

[From an etching of the painting by Fortuny, owned by Mr. Walters.]

"Grand Canal in Venice," the best work of that master in America, commands attention and admiration ere we proceed. Of a different character and conspicuously at home among the masterpieces, as if long accustomed to their society, hangs the "Rare Vase," by Fortuny, in which brilliant color effect is combined with the utmost refinement of drawing and a mastery of the deeper subtleties of art. There are five Fortunys in the collection, but we have chosen this exquisite gem for illustration ; although in the "Hindoo Snake Charmers" there are certain effects which no other painter has probably ever placed upon canvas, and which are marvels of accomplishment.

The place of honor on the wall, at the side of the gallery near the Turner, is assigned to the "Edict of Charles V.," by Baron Leys, one of the finest historical paintings in modern times, which was awarded one of the eight grand medals of honor at the Paris Exhibition of 1867. It shows a crowd of people in the market place of an old Netherland city, probably Antwerp, listening to the fatal decree of the emperor in 1550, that all persons convicted of heresy should be burned alive, buried alive, or beheaded. These terrible penalties were also incurred by those who should deal in heretical books, or in any way defend the doctrines of the Reformation. The dramatic unity of the assemblage, with the quaint Dutch town in the background of the picture, shows that the painter sought to reproduce the actual life of the period, and that he was master of the rarest and most precious quality in historical composition and painting. The portraiture is excellent, and he has not omitted to place a bookseller's shop in the foreground, to emphasize the tyranny in relation to printers. It will be remembered by our readers that this edict was renewed by ordinance of Philip II., in 1556, whose outrageous cruelties caused the revolt of the Netherlands, and the subsequent growth of the Dutch Republic into a great power, taking a notable part in the settlement of America. This masterpiece was painted for a nobleman, Count Liederkirke, and has never been copied. A beautiful picture in water colors, resting upon an easel, by the French master Louis Gallait, entitled "Counts Egmont and Horn," relates to the same exciting period of persecution. It represents the Duke of Alva, the emissary of Philip II. in the Netherlands, contemplating the two beheaded counts, who had suffered death by order of the Spanish king.

There are six examples of the work of Alma-Tadema, the clever pupil of Baron Leys, in the collection, of which "Sappho" is perhaps the most characteristic and widely appreciated. "Claudius" displays the great tragic power of the artist, but in the fine rendering of apt and animated

attitudes and expressions "Sappho" has no superior among his paintings; and we have in it a political as well as poetical flirtation between two of the greatest lyric poets of antiquity. Tadema displays exceptional versatility. There is a pretty story connected with his "Xantha and Phaon," in water color. He wrote to Mr. Walters from London in 1884 concerning it, and of his little picture which suggested the charming idyl of "The Question" by George Ebers, saying: "It has now come to this: I painted a picture, Ebers wrote a novel upon my picture, and I have now painted a picture upon his novel. The title of the new picture is therefore the names of the hero and heroine of the book, 'Xantha and Phaon,' . . . I do hope you may be satisfied, as that is the only wish that made me work hard; and could it be otherwise? as you must always look at this picture as a result of your last visit to my studio, at which I felt truly gratified." The history of Tadema's picture of the "Triumph of Titus" is equally interesting; the subject was suggested by Mr. Walters, who was fully aware that it would involve classical studies, and furnish broader scope to the genius of the master. The canvas is small, but alive with graceful figures, revealing a fine sense of color, and rare skill in composition and vigor of expression, as well as historical accuracy in costume and detail.

At one end of the gallery hangs the famous "Hemicycle" by Delaroche, and at the other end, Corot's celebrated religious picture, "The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian." The "Hemicycle" depicts a group of seventy-five distinguished painters, sculptors, and architects of the world, from the time of Pericles to that of Louis XIV., an enormous assemblage—where none lose their distinction, none are awkward, and none depreciated—met together on the occasion of the distribution of prizes for successful talent. It is a work of great historic interest, every figure being a portrait in accordance with the best known authorities, and because of having been the original study painted for the semicircle wall of the amphitheatre of the School of Fine Arts in Paris, and rescued by the pupils during the reign of the Commune in that city. It lay for a long time at Marseilles before it could be shipped with safety to Baltimore. If Mr. Walters should ever care to relinquish it to the French he could fix his own price, for the only copy of it that exists in Paris was made by a pupil, not by the master. Théophile Gautier says it is finer by far than the larger picture which Delaroche painted on the wall of the Beaux-Arts. The "St. Sebastian" is a masterpiece of quite another sort. It is eight feet high by four wide—the largest picture in the collection. It recalls somewhat in its composition the "Peter Martyr" of Titian. It is sober in tone, yet rich in coloring and acces-

sories. Corot was several years painting it. He wrote to a friend in 1851: "I am at this moment working upon a historical landscape, embellished with a St. Sebastian succored by some holy women, and with care and work I hope, under the guidance of Heaven, to make a lovely picture." In the language of a well-known connoisseur, "This country may rejoice in having in the 'St. Sebastian' one of the most important and admirable existing examples of French landscape." It is Corot's finest work, and a masterful revelation of his ability to express on canvas the most elusive and abstract ideas.

There are seven Millets in the gallery, and it is a source of honest pride that Americans were the first to recognize the genius of this accomplished artist, one of the pupils of Delaroche. "The Sheepfold by Moonlight" was among the one hundred masterpieces in the memorable Paris exhibition of 1883. In it the sheep are huddled together at a fence while a little beyond is the shepherd wrapped in his cloak and with his gaunt dog standing out in the flooding moon radiance which seems to transform commonplace objects into spectral images. Albert Wolff remarks: "Poetry penetrates and solitude invades the fancy so completely that we think not of the size of the picture. It becomes immense, like nature." "The Potato Harvest" is also poetic and powerful—an exquisite little picture representing a genuine phase of country life; while the "Summer Landscape" is like a note of joy struck from a usually sad lyre. The scene is in a harvest field, with reapers and binders among the yellow sheaves. In the foreground a young peasant, who has thrown his rake and blouse on a golden swathe, is seated in the hot, shadeless path, sharpening the blade of his scythe. The simplicity of the handling, the delicate gradations of the perspective, and the mingling of the objects into one harmonious symphony of light and air are all exquisite.

The two greatest landscapes of Rousseau are here, and in such contrast that every one should examine them critically. The "Early Summer Afternoon" is marvelous in its expression of light, distance, and warmth. "Le Givre—Winter Solitude" represents a frosty scene on the lonely hillsides of Valmondois in shivering November. The composition is weird but simple. Small hillocks heaped in the foreground are covered with half-melted snow, and the sun with a strange red glare in the midst of a leaden sky appears like an angry threat among the heavy clouds. It is a serious picture, grand and prophetic; the wonder is that professional connoisseurs failed for many years to comprehend its value.

Jules Dupré, another eminent French landscape painter, is seen to great advantage in "The Old Oak," a fine specimen of brilliant coloring;



"SYRIA—THE NIGHT WATCH."

[From the painting by Briton Riviere, owned by Mr. Walters.]

and in "A Bright Day," which is a breezy, charming, sunshiny scene. The landscapes and cattle pieces of Troyon and Van Marcke are instinct with the poetry of nature and pastoral life. Troyon's "Repose" and "Cattle Drinking" are both masterly paintings and in touch with the spirit of truth and tender feeling. The latter was executed in 1851, and appeared among the one hundred masterpieces in 1883. The sun breaking through storm-clouds pervades the scene with mellow and electrifying effect. Everything animate and inanimate seems to feel the inspiration of light and warmth and joy, while the glare of the foreground softens in the moist atmosphere into immeasurable distance along the brook. The sunshine meanwhile dances upon the coats of the moving cattle, and bathes the landscape and the laughing waters with sparkling light. There are five Van Marckes, of which the "Approach of the Storm" is on a very large canvas and occupies a place of honor above the "Hemicycle" at the end of the gallery. It presents a striking group of cattle standing out from the luminous background of green foliage varied by a changing play of lights and shades, soft and harmonious in tone. Another Van Marcke is the study of a cow rubbing its head upon a fence which runs along a flowery hillside, and he has also a masterly painting of a white cow in full sunlight—both of which are among the best examples of his style.

"Syria—the Night Watch," by Briton Riviere, is a painting with an

idea, which once seen can never be forgotten. Syria is a country, including Palestine, of great historic and sacred interest. In ancient times merchants of every nation met and traded in her rich marts. Damascus, its capital, is confessedly the oldest city of the world, and Antioch was the third city of the Roman empire. The ruins of Syria in their massive proportions and architectural splendor are among the finest on the globe; the picture represents lions prowling about, alert, with stealthy feline tread among these moonlit relics of ancient temples. The beautiful masterpiece of Meissonier, "1814," is here, the painting that separated itself from the rest of his works and assumed a position apart as his greatest creation—with all his technical excellences—when Meissonier's works were gathered together for an exhibition of his power. It is a small canvas representing Napoleon upon his favorite white horse, surveying from the top of a hillock the battle-field of the morrow. The drawing of the horse and of the figure and of all the accessories leaves nothing unexpressed. It is a real Napoleon, with all his possibilities as well as his actualities.

The exquisite studies of child-life by Édouard Frère, of which we find here no less than half a dozen, are replete with tender sentiment and generous sympathy with little people. "The Little Dressmaker," "Going to School," "Preparing Dinner," "The Cold Day," "Helping Herself," and "The Little Housekeeper" are true subjects for such a painter, and are sure to interest children of all ages. Near the entrance hangs that delicious representation of infantile mischief by Knaus, "Mud Pies," and a larger and more recent work by the same artist, "The Truant," is the most popular of the late additions to the gallery. In the "Mud Pies" the village children are at work at pottery; one little girl has her fat hand half buried in the earth by the stream, another is running with mud to the log, which is the work-shop, but the interest and humor of the painting are concentrated in a little tow-headed urchin who stands near by wholly absorbed in his novel employment. In "The Truant" an aged teacher is leading the naked "runaway" from the swimming pool, where other boys are dancing and shouting at the discomfiture of their luckless companion. One may turn easily from these examples to "The Hopeless Case" by Rotta, a dainty bit of humor, in which an old shoemaker is passing a final verdict on a worn-out shoe which a young girl has brought to be mended.

One of the largest dramatic pictures in the collection, and one of the finest military paintings extant, is "The Attack at Dawn," the surprise of a French outpost by the Germans, by De Neuville. The yellow rays of a street lamp fall upon a snow-covered street over which the combatants are



"MUD PIES."

[From a photograph of the masterpiece by Professor L. Knaus, owned by Mr. Walters.]

scattered—some in the act of firing, others fleeing, a few lying wounded or dead in the snow. From the half-open door of an inn through which a light streams, half-wakened soldiers are emerging, pulling on their coats as they run. In the distance the enemy are seen advancing in compact mass, with steady tread, their superior force and calm assurance of manner indicating that the result is already a foregone conclusion. The action is marvelously strong and the handling of lights inimitable. The examples of Gérôme differ widely in their subjects. "The Duel after the Masquerade"—too well known through engravings to require any special mention; "On the Desert"—a gem of artistic workmanship, executed with a free hand; "Diogenes" creeping out of his tub, formerly in the Belmont collection; and the more recent production "The Christian Martyrs—the Last Prayer," constitute the four Gérômes. This last painting was upon the artist's easel from 1863 to 1883, and was repainted three times. It represents a group of Christians kneeling in the amphitheatre awaiting their death. The artist has seized the moment of intensest expectation, just as the half-famished lions are bounding into the arena, and portrays not the carnage but the sublimity of martyrdom.

Among the American artists represented are Durand with a poetic composition, a glen in the Catskills with water tumbling down the rocks and the peaks of the mountains showing in the distance, Darley, Hart, Eastman Johnson, Elliott who has furnished the finest examples of portrait painting in the collection, Church with his "Morning in the Tropics," Woodville, Gilbert Stuart, Baker, Hunt, W. O. Stone whose contribution is the portrait of W. W. Corcoran, and Palmer and Rinehart who are represented with statuary. Rinehart was a sculptor whose brief career, so full of achievement and promise, owed its spring to Mr. Walters's appreciation. There is a full-length portrait of Mr. Walters, by Léon Bonnat, which is a superb piece of technique, and while the subject is not idealized it is an exceptionally fine piece of work. There is an example by the distinguished Vibert in the collection, "Toreadors before entering the Arena," and two by Rosa Bonheur, "The Andalusian Bulls" and "The Conversation." Millais is represented by "News from Home," a young soldier in the uniform of a Highland regiment reading a letter in the trenches before Sebastopol. Gallait, one of the greatest of the romanticists, has five pictures on these walls, of which "The Power of Music" is the masterpiece. Two young musicians, a brother and sister, orphans, have stopped after a weary day's travel to rest near an ancient tomb. The girl reclines upon the knees of her brother, and the tones of his violin are lulling her to sleep. Among the pictures that belong to the

history of art is the "Lost Illusions" by Gleyre, the galley floating away into twilight—a visionary bark charged with angelic forms, the illusions of youth and hope, drifting into the land of dreams, the twilight of memory—a pathetic picture quite remote from the realism of present art.

Munkacsy, who is best known to the world by his "Christ before Pilate," is represented in this collection by "The Story of the Battle," a new rendering of his famous "War Times" exhibited at Vienna in 1873. A young soldier has returned to his native village and is recounting to a group of attentive listeners the dangers through which he has passed. The picture is less tragic than its predecessor, but none the less interesting, and even better in color. "Orpheus and the Muses," by Jalabert, is a poetical landscape of woods and rocks, with the Muses clad in floating drapery and grouped in various graceful attitudes, entranced by the strains of Orpheus, whose figure is dimly outlined in the background. The widely known religious picture, "The Christian Martyr," which was commenced by Delaroche and finished by Jalabert, is here. It represents a beautiful young girl with her hands tied, floating down the current of the stream in which she has been drowned. The reader will understand the value of examples of Delaroche in a collection like this when it is remembered that such artists as Jalabert, Millet, Gérôme, Hebert, Yvon, and Daubigny were his pupils. Yvon has a portrait head of Napoleon. The four examples of Daubigny are all delightful, because characteristic of his style of subject and delicacy of expression. The three Delacroix, "Christ on the Cross," the "Combat," and "Jesus on the Sea of Galilee," form a remarkable group in which the great colorist is seen at his best as a painter, unhampered by the necessity for expounding a literary idea which characterized the French romanticists. "A Cold Day," by Schreyer, is a notable painting. One of the simplest but most powerful dramatic pictures in the gallery is the "Suicide" by Décamps. An artist on the verge of starvation has shot himself in his miserable garret. The "Accident," an affecting page from rural life, by Dagnan-Bouveret, represents a surgeon binding up the hand of a manly little lad. Any work of this artist is bound to attract the most earnest attention, for he has a charm of touch which brings it instantly out from its surroundings. One of the most remarkable exhibitions of technical skill and splendor of color is the "Slipper Merchant of Cairo" by Villegas. Two fine examples of Rico illumine the wall—one a picture of "Venice," the other "Gathering Oranges, Toledo." Of Jules Breton a beautiful little treasure, "The Close of Day," shows the artist in his happiest vein. There is one stirring picture in the collection by Horace Vernet, who was a power in his time, "Italian

Brigands surprised by Papal Troops." "The Forest of Fontainebleau," by Diaz, is noted for vividness and freshness of coloring and for skillful treatment of the sky. Zamacois, the Spanish master, has a fine interior depicting an incident of the French occupation of Spain in 1812. Ziem's bright sketches of "Venice," all aglow with warmth and color, attract much admiration. Müller furnishes some interesting features of Egyptian life and scenery. The heroine of Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," Hester Prynne, with little Pearl in her arms, was painted by Merle, to whom Mr. Walters had sent the novel asking for the picture. When Hawthorne saw it he said it realized his idea of the character he wished to portray, and gave it his unqualified approval. The beautiful young woman is represented in "the attire which seemed to express the attitude of her spirit, the desperate recklessness of her mood, by its wild and picturesque peculiarity." She has just been conducted from the prison by the town-beadle—"a personage who prefigured and represented in his aspect the whole dismal severity of the Puritanic code of law, which it was his business to administer in its final and closest application to the offender"—to the platform of the pillory. This was a penal machine that stood nearly beneath the eaves of Boston's earliest church, and appeared to be a fixture. Above the scaffold was a frame-work of torture so fashioned as to confine the human head in its tight grasp, and thus hold it up to public gaze. Hawthorne says, "The very ideal of ignominy was embodied and made manifest in this contrivance of wood and iron. In Hester Prynne's instance the sentence was that she should stand a certain time upon the platform, but without undergoing the gripe about the neck, . . . the most devilish characteristic of this ugly engine."

In marshaling this brilliant procession of art treasures rapidly before the reader there is no thought of making the specification exhaustive, but rather to give a general idea of what is implied when this collection is called one of masterpieces, and of its mission as an illustration of the art history of the century. It has obviously been founded, cherished, and developed by one mind, with the exercise of critical acumen and the scrupulous observance of consummate method in selection and arrangement. Its comprehensive and diversified character is the secret of its national and international fame. It would be difficult to suggest a greater service to any country than the gathering thus together of works typical of the various decades and schools of art to which they belong, as standards for reference and study.

Mr. Walters early recognized the educational importance of beautiful examples of porcelain and Japanese art-objects, and his extraordinary



"THE SCARLET LETTER."

[From a photograph of the painting by Merle, owned by Mr. Walters.]

"Under the leaden infliction which it was her doom to endure, she felt, at moments, as if she must needs shriek out with the full power of her lungs, and cast herself from the scaffold down upon the ground, or else go mad at once."—HAWTHORNE.

accumulations since his attention was thus directed would read like a fairy story if it was among the possibilities to translate the inexpressible—beauties and statistics—into prosaic lines and chapters. As it is, we must be content to catch the spirit of the superb collection, irrespective of details.

The front and rear parlors are separated by two handsome fluted columns in black and gold, and the visitor is impressed at the first glance with the simplicity and harmonious richness of their appointments. The ceiling is frescoed in Pompeian style, the woodwork ebony relieved with gold, the furniture of Louis XVI. fashion, covered with Persian silk embroidered in unique designs and colors in the most delicate needlework—every object, indeed, even to the carpet, has distinct artistic significance. A carved table in the front parlor, of great beauty, from the Trianon, is doubly interesting from its association with Marie Antoinette, and a curious old mahogany sideboard dating back a hundred years, once in possession of the English bishop of Westminster, graces the rear parlor. Three historic cabinets occupy central positions, one of which is decorated with paintings by Angelica Kauffman in the time of Sir Joshua Reynolds, another exhibits the most exquisite metal-work of the Louis XVI. period, while the third dates back to Louis XV. Upon the walls hang family portraits by the celebrated American portrait painters Elliott and Baker, and fine portrait busts of Mr. Walters and his wife and daughter, by Rinehart the sculptor, hold places of honor.

Of the museum of art-gems gathered from all periods in ancient and modern times, and from all the principal nations of the earth—in silver and gold and porcelain and glass and precious stones—we can say less than we could if it occupied only one shelf. Its very magnitude, filling every receptacle and scrap of space, renders even an adequate outline of it on paper unattainable. We find examples of Venetian gold and enameled work with Byzantine mountings of precious stones, curious spoons showing the early handicraft of such countries as Russia, Sweden, and Norway, articles in crystals and malachites handsomely mounted in gold, and articles in pearl and onyx and Egyptian jasper, also mounted in gold. A famous “horn of plenty,” in crystal, is the ornament of one of the cabinets, decorated with three bands, upon each of which is a procession of exquisitely enameled figures in vivid colors on a dark ground.

The collection of Viennese porcelain is very beautiful and complete. Many of the plates are decorated with copies of the old masters, others with flowers in captivating effects. All the periods of European porcelain are represented. There is a superb tureen of old English work not

now in use, and an exceedingly rare exhibit of soft paste porcelain made in France before the art of making modern porcelain was discovered, which was produced under the superintendence of the sovereign in a complex way, the decoration sinking into the ware and becoming a part of it. The work of Solon is perhaps the most dainty and beautiful of any to be seen here; he first brought into esteem the unique decoration of *pâte sur pâte*, in which the decoration is made of the same material as the ware and is most wonderfully wrought. Every one should notice these Solon vases upon which are delicate figures of women in flowing drapery—white on a soft gray ground. Solon was in the factory of Sèvres, and married the daughter of Haviland. Some fine pieces of Chinese porcelain in turquois color, that were brought by the Dutch from the east and mounted by Marie Antoinette's goldsmith in the most artistic manner, are of great rarity; also celadon green lotus-leaf bowls upheld by wrought gold dolphins; and some deep red vases, changed by their gold mountings into ewers with antique handles and beaks. The Sèvres and Dresden examples are of marvelous beauty. Some of the Sèvres plates bear decorations by Van Marcke. Among the finest large specimens of modern Sèvres are two dark blue vases that were presented to the wife of Louis Philippe, decorated with admirably finished portraits of the king and queen. These are believed to represent the fullest development of the purely artistic influence which has dominated in the European manufacture of porcelain in contrast to the decorations of the best period of Oriental art. The vase of the French empress made at Sèvres is seen here, of beautiful antique pattern, the body-color a brownish black, with a broad circumference of white on which is painted a group of figures in profile. It was sold to Mr. Walters by permission of the empress. The attempts of the Sèvres manufactory to reproduce the solid colors of the Chinese are also shown. The dark blue glaze can be seen in several dainty cups, some of which are elegant examples of the jeweled Sèvres in imitation of rubies, emeralds, and turquoises. The Dresden ware includes many lavishly decorated pieces, a dainty little cup for instance bearing a copy of Holbein's Madonna.

Famous European jewelers are represented, as Castellani, who was also a distinguished collector and archæologist; he refused at one time to make a watch-chain after a Greek pattern because the ancients never wore watches. Another Roman jeweler exhibits in a stone cameo brooch, set in diamonds, exquisite delicacy of workmanship from a design by Rinehart—a full-length but tiny figure of a miniature Flora, or Spring, scattering roses. In silverware the ages seem to have contributed all their

wonders—articles in Damascus silver wrought in the highest style of ancient art, studded with gems—real turquois; Italian of two hundred and fifty years ago; Irish of 1674; English of many periods; and Dutch and French examples of antique workmanship. These articles are of every size and for every conceivable use. From Boucheron, the famous French silversmith, is a large pitcher of dull gray silver that has the effect of burnished steel; from Meurice—probably the most famous living silversmith at the time he made Mr. Walters's handsome private table service—a charming conceit in gold and silver, representing two little boys attempting to pry open a huge pearl oyster, which is supported by two gilt mermaids, and sprigs of seaweed in gold are seen lying in the polished interior surface of the shell. American skill and taste in silver-work are represented by Moore, who made his fame on the celebrated silver vase of William Cullen Bryant; and by Tiffany, who has here an elaborately decorated pitcher in *répoussé*, and many others.

We have loitered so long that opportunity to speak of the numerous busts in marble, and the beautiful specimens of Moorish and Venetian and antique cut glass, has escaped. Between the parlors hangs a magnificent Moorish vase with enameled patterns on colored glass. In the dining-room are many art objects of the first interest and importance, such as a wonderful clock; Persian flagons in metal work; a magnificent Sèvres vase some four feet high, decorated by the eminent artist André with a landscape painting of the forest of Fontainebleau; and a great Hizen plaque, among many other plaques on the walls, perhaps sixteen inches in diameter, and profusely ornamented with enamels—a plaque which has made the tour of the world and been admired by almost every nation in existence. It was purchased in Constantinople. The general effect in this room, of the decoration, carpet, and furniture covering, is that of exceptional elegance combined with the severest simplicity in the blending of delicate colors. We cannot quite close our eyes in passing through the entrance hall where Rinehart's marble statue, "The Woman of Samaria," occupies the place of honor near the door. Specimens of Florentine and Roman mosaic in several tables are notable examples of that art: one in Florentine mosaic is of Irish marble, against the black surface of which the inlay, a spray of orange-blossoms, is thrown into strong relief; and one in Roman mosaic where the inlay—bits of prepared glass—produces a fine miniature view of St. Peter's at Rome. There are among the many historic objects some very rare and beautiful specimens of different marbles from the palace of the Cæsars; and the walls are lined with beautiful and suggestive plaques and pictures, each one a study.

In the Dutch and the Marie Antoinette bed-chambers on third floor, everything is made to conform with scrupulous accuracy to the taste prevailing in the periods represented. The Marie Antoinette room is a reproduction of the queen's sleeping apartment in the "Little Trianon" at Versailles. Hangings of blue silk, stamped with the royal *fleur-de-lis* in silver, conceal the doors, and a canopy of the same material lined with delicate lace hangs above and at one side of the bedstead. The wall is lined with Chinese silk in blue and crimson, wall-paper not having then been invented. In the Dutch chamber Mr. Walters had paper made to imitate the leather wall decorations of the Dutch in the particular period he aimed to reproduce. The massive furniture in this room displays old Dutch wood-carving art to great advantage, and old Dutch paintings look down from the quaint walls.

One room is devoted to the water-colors—several scores of them—of Léon Bonvin, a French artist very little known outside of Mr. Walters' collection, but whose artistic gifts found expression in sketches of flowers, weeds, fruits, vegetables, and landscapes, more perfectly original and exquisitely beautiful than anything of the kind ever known. When Mr. Walters discovered this artist, whose history was one of romantic interest, he bought his pictures one by one, and the connoisseur has only to look at and study them to recognize their intrinsic worth.

Another room is set apart for the works in bronze of the famous French sculptor Barye, who gave the best years of his life to the study of animals; and its walls are hung with designs in water-colors of his great artistic masterpieces. This man engaged himself in a branch of sculpture that was despised by the amateurs and art-critics of the time, and all his early efforts were hampered with vast obstructions. He had to live and learn the distasteful lessons which always come to the unappreciated. But when a half century had rolled on, the world unexpectedly awoke to the fact that the entire period had produced but this one sculptor of animals who showed great genius. In the year 1833 Barye first sent a number of his works to the Salon, including a vigorous statuette of "A Stag borne down by two Hounds," and of a "Lion crushing a Serpent." "These called forth a general cry of astonishment," wrote Gustav Planche: "the model of the lion was purchased by government, and the bronze cast with rare skill by Goussier and placed in the Tuileries, when a well-known artist exclaimed with angry sneer, 'Since when has the Tuileries been a menagerie?'" This "Lion crushing the Serpent" has continued to stand in the Tuileries gardens, while one party after another has arisen to call itself the lion and brand its opposition with the name of serpent, and

at the Universal Exposition of 1889 in Paris, a cast of it was given a very conspicuous place.

Attention was drawn by this work to the young sculptor's varied powers, and orders came to him from high places. The Duke of Orleans wanted a set of dining-table ornaments, and asked Barye for nine pieces, each to be an elaborate group in bronze; and these were all duly executed by him. The largest of the nine contained three animals and three men, the smallest contained two animals. "The Tiger Hunt" was the centrepiece, and at the ends of the table stood "The Bear Hunt" and "The Hunt of the Elk;" on the sides of the table were the "Lion Hunt" and "Wild Bull Hunt;" the four duels—combats each between two animals—occupied pedestals at the four corners of the centrepiece. This table-service was sold by the Duchéss of Orleans in 1853, and is now in the Walters collection.

Barye wrought his modern ideas into classical shapes, and pursuing his studies with intensity his works multiplied with marvelous rapidity. He received many orders which did not evoke his finest efforts, but as he became equipped at all points he was able to cover a wide field. His preference was for animals, yet he revealed great skill in modeling the human figure. He was in his sixty-eighth year when a piece of silver was needed for the Grand Prix at the Longchamps races, and he was asked to put into solid silver his "Walking Lion," one of his notable creations, "that august beast which shows in its gait as well as in its face an anger colossal, yet as cold as befits a sovereign without ruth accustomed to destroy whatever comes in his path." Barye accepted and received a certain quantity of silver for the purpose, but on weighing the lion after casting he found less silver by weight in the object than he had received. He in his excessive honesty immediately cast some silver in flat bars and screwed them to the bottom of the stand, without saying a word to any one, which brought the weight to the desired amount. This beautiful work was won by Comte de la Grange with the racing mare Fille de l'Air, and is now owned by Mr. Walters, and on exhibition in this gallery, which it is well known contains the best collection of Barye's works on the globe.

We must not overlook a magnificent assortment of tapestries and historic embroideries. Those of the early Chinese embrace some beautiful examples made for the old emperors. The Japanese exhibits display genuine art, and some hand-cut velvets are here which are rarely if ever found in this country. The Persian embroideries, both those that cover the entire surface of the linen with their silken stitches, and those wrought upon a silken ground with metal threads of silver and gold, and beautiful silken



THE WALKING LION, IN SOLID SILVER.
[From the original, owned by Mr. Walters.]

rugs, are almost beyond price. Moorish embroideries on fine linen, with patterns mostly geometric, are also of great beauty. From these it is but a step to the intelligent collector's books of original designs and drawings, including those of very many of the best French artists and of Chinese artists.

As we return to the principal galleries at the rear of the house on main floor, we tarry among the Oriental objects in the gallery between the entrance hall and the great picture gallery. There are twenty-four large cabinets surrounding it next the walls, and ten long cabinets in the central part of this gallery, each with distinctly differing specimens therein. The collection here exhibited, containing bronzes, porcelain, jades, and crystals, has no parallel anywhere. Apart from its beauty and its excellence in art and design, its immense importance as a historic collection of the oldest art known in the world cannot be overestimated. It is in itself a perpetual surprise and delight. It begins with Chinese dishes made by her earliest monarchs, and follows down, period after period, of celebrated dynasties. It commences in same manner with the earliest efforts at art industry in Japan and Corea. It follows the Japanese through their artistic centuries, and as a culminating point gives us an entire cabinet of porcelain made for the successive rulers of Japan when at the height of its culture and power. These costly pieces were never for sale, but held for presents such as one prince might give another. The cabinet of jades is of special interest. This precious stone stands next to the diamond in hardness; it is found only in Tartary and wrought only by the Chinese, who value it above all other gems. It can only be cut by drilling with diamond-pointed needles in lines, and then cracking off the piece when it is so drilled. It is polished with diamond dust, and the labor of preparing a piece of cut jade is a matter of years. When the work on a piece is started relays of workmen labor on it night and day until it is finished—and even then it takes years to finish a single piece. There are two of these examples here which are famous for having been the property of the Chinese emperor, captured by the rebels in the Tae Ping rebellion and sold to the Dutch who at that time controlled all commerce with the east. One of these is the largest known polished piece of jade and is mounted on silver; the other is mounted on gold studded with turquois. There is also an exquisite specimen known as jewelry jade, the color and the size of which excite the emulation of all collectors.

In the same cabinet are some magnificent Japanese crystals—a ball, for instance, which reflects everything in the room, giving it the effect of a kaleidoscope; also a tea crystal in the shape of a sugar bowl, an eastern



A BOUQUET OF PINKS.

[From a sketch by Léon Bontin, owned by Mr. Walters.]

sceptre of jade of marvelous beauty, and a wonderful specimen of flexible silver-work in the form of a serpent. In the cabinet containing enamels and lacquers we find the French transparent enamel made by Tismar, first

known to the American world through the specimen sent to Mr. Walters in grateful recognition of his assistance to a needy discoverer, for Tismar rediscovered the art known only to Benvenuto Cellini, and which died with him.* Near by hangs the Russian transparent enamel, which was greatly admired at the last Paris exposition, but which is manifestly inferior to the French discoverer's work. In this same cabinet are three gorgeous vases of Tsin Shin lacquer, vermillion in color and entirely covered with an intricate pattern carved by hand; also a set of shells of Japanese lacquer, the worth of which far exceeds its weight in gold, on which are specimens of the finest Chinese egg-shell porcelain, and dishes of carved ivory and metal. There are, too, some incense burners of hand-wrought silver that have served as the inspiring thought to modern silversmiths in both England and America. The great bronze object in the middle of the room, which was the grandest ornament of the sacred temple, dedicated in 1700, at Uyeno, Tokio, Japan, is about twelve feet high. The huge sea dragon upholds an immense bronze incense vase, the lid of which is surmounted by the god of the sea, bearing the insignia of his rank on his head—a wonderful design, the sea dragon at the base with the sea god at the top.

Chinese bronzes occupy one side of the gallery, and Japanese bronzes the other. The Chinese are very unique in character, as their hammered surfaces are mottled with gold and silver well beaten in. But rarer still is a Chinese vase whose surface is enriched with a sprinkling of malachite, the art of which is entirely unknown. There are some examples in vases of the famous Chinese solid colors, *sang de bœuf*, coral, and still deeper red. Another Chinese vase, nearly three feet high, bears date of the eleventh century. In the corner is a matchless imperial yellow vase that was rifled from the emperor's palace in China in the rebellion; its wondrous quality is apparent to the least informed visitor who watches the beautiful iridescent glaze that distinguishes the imperial dragon with its five claws. There is one small cabinet containing subjects known to the non-expert as peach-blows; the quality of this ware has never been approached, and the origin and art of the work is still a mystery, it having been lost, and possibly never known to more than two or three persons. There are vases fashioned under the famous Ming dynasty, 1368–1649, others of the early

* "This was first made of a network of pure gold, as silver or copper could not stand the strong firing and would melt; afterward the different compartments are filled up with enamel, and have to be filled and go to the fire about ten times, till they are in bevel; many pieces are ruined before obtaining perfection—it is certainly one of the finest things ever done in the way of enameling." Tismar worked diligently more than eight months, from the description in the book of memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, and after many trials reproduced successfully the wonderful bowl of King Francis I.

eighteenth century, showing in their decorations the effect of European influences. The Chinese and Japanese exhibits in this collection cover a period of over eight hundred years. There is one case of genuine Satsuma, whose creamy yellow and pale chocolate hues and delicate crackle are now known chiefly through imitations. The finest Satsuma was made between the years 1775 and 1820. It was about the year 1595 that the Prince of Satsuma, having invaded Corea, brought home a number of potters with their families and established factories, keeping these people isolated for more than two and a half centuries, so that their work could not be imitated. Beneath the cases which display so much of bygone luxury are drawers containing not less than one hundred and fifty swords with their attachments and appliances. Swords were objects of much honor in Japan, and the richness and variety of their ornamentation strikes one with amazement. The names of the famous sword-makers are engraved upon their work, and thus handed along. One man wrought a blade so keen that when held upright in a stream it would cut a sheet of paper that floated against it by the current. The lacquer work of Japan dates one hundred and eighty years before the Christian era. Five hundred or more of the choicest lacquers are arranged in glass cases in the centre of the main picture gallery, and they illustrate forcibly the artistic magnificence attained by the old artists in lacquer. Beneath these cases are drawers filled with a striking collection of Inros and Netsukes—the Inros being a small medicine chest, and the Netsukes a little carved ivory ornament attached to the silken cords by which the Inros, or tobacco-pouches, depended from the girdle—and many of them are wonderful in their representation of life and action, and humor and grotesque caricature and satire.

The small gallery of water-colors opens from the Oriental gallery on the side; thus the arrangement is such that all visitors may pass through both on their way to the grand picture gallery. For studying the several thousand specimens of artistic excellence in these varied lines of production Mr. Walters has taken care to have them placed in chronological order, and he has furthermore prepared a small illustrated handbook on the beginnings and history of ceramic art, for the general good. He has long been in the practice of giving the fullest opportunity to students in the art-schools and to specialists and serious-minded people to examine the collection in all its details and characteristics. Occasionally he has sent out invitations to a general reception of the most learned and famous of America's connoisseurs in art and literature, and the acceptances have been so prompt and universal that guests have journeyed from all parts

of the Union to be present. During three months of every year Mr. Walters allows the Poor Association of Baltimore to sell tickets of admission at fifty cents each, and throws open his doors to the public. A worthy charity is thus enriched, and an opportunity given to thousands of art lovers to visit the galleries. There is no art collection, public or private, accessible to the people of this country where so many real treasures may be enjoyed, and no private art collection in any quarter of the world of such munificent proportions and genuine value. It is veritably a connoisseur's collection, or rather, as we have seen, it is a connoisseur's collection of collections—a masterly triumph in the art of collecting. The brilliant gallery of paintings, serenely interpreting the principles of the best modern art, where nothing mediocre ever finds a place, and high standards of excellence continually appeal to every element of culture, is but one feature of the uplifting and truly intellectual achievement which from modest beginnings less than fifty years ago has become of such priceless character and educational significance. On every side are evidences of life-long study, acute discrimination, and critical taste, which the trained scholar delights to chronicle, and which can never be otherwise than generously appreciated. Each year public interest in this varied collection increases, and more and more travelers come from afar to taste of its never-failing springs of pleasure, inspiration, and instruction.



LOYALTY TO OUR COUNTRY, PAST AND FUTURE

"YOUR OLD MEN SHALL DREAM DREAMS, YOUR YOUNG MEN SHALL SEE VISIONS."—JOEL ii. 28 *

In these words the prophet has happily noted the diversity in the tendency of thought, in the earlier and latter days of life—visions in youth, dreams when the evening closes around. It is as touching as it is true, that the young man's ideals are always beyond his reach; they recede as he pursues. But the time spent in that pursuit is not lost; the experiences of life are an education for spirit and soul; knowledge grows; facts fill the gaps left by flitting fancy; and the past has a reality about it more helpful than the promise of the unrealized future. In our dream we live life over again; we are with those whom we knew and revered; their spirits commune with ours; something settled and assured is there; acts, achievements; things done; rewards attained; fame which fears no loss; honor which shall shine in undimmed lustre from age to age. There, no disappointment is to be dreaded, such as that which might come of the morrow's change; last year is safe, though the next be uncertain. Dreams are suggested, as it seems, by the occurrences of the preceding hours or days; one thing after another comes back to thought; the maze may be intricate and involved, but it is made up of what was once, of what did actually happen, and so there is in our dreams a basis of truth and fact. But visions—save such as God may send—appear to be the projection of one's own desire and wish upon a plane surface in front; the shaping of a passion, the bodying of soul hunger or thirst, and all without sure promise of coming to pass. A dream has some substance; a vision may be as thin as the spectre on the Brocken, as impalpable as drifting mist. And so the young men see visions and the old men dream dreams, because in youth it is natural to press forward impetuously to we know not what, while it is the way of age to rest, and reflect, less confident in self, and willing to surrender all to God.

I speak to you to-day, men and brethren, as the "Sons of the Revolution." It seems to me that, in this friendly bond, you stand where you

* The sermon delivered at St. Thomas's Church, New York City, before the "Sons of the Revolution" and their invited guests, "The Colonial Dames of America," in connection with the celebration of Washington's Birthday.

must take notice of a past and a future, with the consciousness of an obligation to reflect on each with seriousness, and to make much of that which they alternately disclose and suggest. The American Revolution is a past event. The men of that day, our honored and beloved ancestors, are long since gone back to God, their work accomplished, their career complete. To keep them in memory; to study their work; to draw lessons for our guidance from their experience; these are, of course, the things first proposed. We lay firm hold on that thrilling past, lest the recollection thereof should slip away from a treacherous memory and a soul absorbed in its own concerns: the study of the past of our country, in characters, events, principles asserted, results attained, is a primary design in associations such as this. But our society is not solely dedicated to such study; it is not exclusively devoted to antiquarian research; it is a living organism, it has aims which direct it towards the future also. It seeks in reverent devotion to the past, a courage, a force, a wisdom applicable to present trials, and conflicts yet to come. It has a mission; it is forereaching and forecasting; it has ambitions and a career. It has its old men and its young men. The young will soon grow old, the old will be here no more; but our children are coming up, and we expect them to take our places and carry on our work. And so we stand between a venerable past and a hopeful and radiant future, and there is ample material for the dreams in one direction and the visions in the other. We dream a dream of noble men and noble deeds, whereof we reap good store of fruit; we also see a vision of good things to come, let me say of better things, whereunto, if God will, we would contribute in our turn, so that they who come after may rise up and thank us. Such seems to me the ethical meaning of your alliance as Sons of the Revolution, and this is the justification of the society's existence.

And now let this be said, and with frankness: that there was sore need of the recent revival of the American spirit among us, and that we cannot be too thankful for what has been done on that line, and for whatever helps forward that salutary movement. Three stars of the first magnitude shine on the darkness of this world; they are the Fear of God, Love of Home, and Loyalty to Country and Fatherland. Where these shine brightly, the night is clear; where these are obscured, the people walk uncertainly. And, not to speak particularly of the former two (the Fear of God and the Love of Home), let me refer to the latter, and congratulate you on the efforts earnestly made of late and now in making, to revive the love of country in the hearts of the men of this day. It was high time. In the rapid growth of our population by accession from abroad, we have

felt sometimes like men dazed and overpowered. Deluged by immigration from the other side of the seas on either hand; overslaughed by a mass of foreign detritus, Americans seemed almost elbowed out by these new-comers; in danger of losing their identity, their traditions, their principles, their honor and their name. As Ireland, and Germany, and France, and Italy encamp round about our habitation, we have been brought in peril of general loss, of forgetting our national history, of losing our rightful influence in civil and municipal affairs, of collapse under an invasion which seemed likely to end in the removal of the old landmarks, the upset of sacred memorials, the overturn of the system of American liberty and American institutions. That danger is not past, it is diminished; and chiefly by the revival of the spirit of patriotism and love of country, by the assertion of loyalty to our own ideas, principles, and spirit. And herein lies the first duty of this society: to help on the movement by keeping before the people what the Revolution meant, and what it accomplished.

That Revolution in which our fathers were the actors, was no wild outbreak of popular rage and lawless excitement; no "red fool-fury of the Seine;" no affair of burning down public buildings, and setting up guillotines, and cutting off heads; no war against law and order, no movement in quest of the impracticable and the impossible. It was a sober, grave, and earnest declaration of the right of every man to enjoy life, liberty, and goods under the protection of just and impartial statutes. It was the assertion of the principles of the Common Law of England, and the security of freemen in their personal and political right. It was a demand for exemption from arbitrary and capricious government, which kind of rule, being arbitrary and capricious, is therefore tyrannical; for the tyrant is not he who duly administers the law, but one who tries his hand at ruling without regard to law, as he thinks proper. The principles asserted in the American Revolution were the right to be governed by laws made by an intelligent and honest people; to see the law strictly executed so long as it stands on the statute book, and to change it peacefully and deliberately if it works wrong; the right to security in person and property against all aggressive and violent characters, fanatics, cranks, assassins; the right to work and labor without interference, and to enjoy the fruits of one's labor in quiet and peace; immunity from petty, finikin meddlesomeness in government; from inquisition into our private and personal concerns; from unjust taxation and intolerable burdens; from oppression, civil or religious; the right to worship God according to the light of a pure conscience, without molestation or persecution. The movement was con-

servative, and not destructive; our fathers tried to build up rather than to pull down. It was no socialistic scheme, aiming to upset existing conditions; no communistic assault on God, man, property, marriage, family, home, and whatever makes for stability and security and domestic and personal happiness. Those horrid shapes loom, now, like spectres, through the stormy air of the day on which we are fallen; we go back to the revolutionary era for help, for guidance, for inspirations, for instruction in the wise and sound principles by which moral, mental and social dynamite may be rendered harmless, and its agents dealt with as they ought to be.

And there, as we direct our eyes toward the past, we see them standing, in their manly height and with their benignant faces towards ours; our fathers, whom we reverently salute, exponents of the system and the principles to which they pledged their life, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. How calmly they regard us, from the far horizon on which they move! From him, the father of his country, whose name is honored all the world round, down to the humblest in the line of those servants of the republic, those makers of the nation, how profitable the study of their lives! how inspiring the thought of them in their honesty, their hardy manhood, their patience in fulfilling their task! They were noted—those men of the past—if for anything else, for these things also, for reverence towards God, for devotion to home, for loyalty to native land. If you have read and studied, you know how the recognition of God runs all through their records; how the sacred name appears in official documents, in journals, in private letters; how public actions were blessed by the invocation of the God of Nations, Jehovah of Hosts. Read the story of the ancient navigations; each ship has its chaplain; religious services are held on Verrazano's ship, the *Dolphin*, while she rides at anchor, in 1524, in our own bay; Ayllon's priest gives him the "ousel," the consecrated wafer, in the hour of death on the Carolina coast in 1528; Albert de Prato, a canon of St. Paul's cathedral, comes out with sturdy Iden Rut; Frobisher has his minister, Master Wollfall, on his voyage in 1578; with Martin Penig comes Robert Salterne. Why speak of Jamestown, of Plymouth Rock, of New Amsterdam? Look where you will; you see men who believe in God and look to Him, with the prayer that their works may be begun, continued and ended in Him. Why speak of that solemn scene at the opening of the first continental congress; of Washington, taught religion and reverence at his mother's knee, communing in our old St. Paul's chapel in this city, praying with heavy heart but dauntless spirit, for his poor suffering men at Valley Forge? Why remind you that one of the first acts of the congress of the United States was to order

the printing of an edition of the Holy Bible, which came out under the order of the senate and representatives and the official seal of the secretary of state? And then look at our fathers in their home life; how true to each other, how faithful to duty, how appreciative of the sanctity of marriage and the responsibilities of domestic life! It has always seemed to me that few stories were more affecting than that of Richard and Janet Montgomery, in their love and their sorrow and that devotion that defied death.

Married in 1773, she bade farewell, two short years after, to her soldier whom she was to see no more; and on the morning of December 31, 1775, the brave Montgomery was lying dead under the walls of Quebec. Forty-three years afterward his body is brought home from Canada to be buried in St. Paul's chapel. It is to pass poor Janet Livingstone's house on the Hudson; she asks to be left alone; she sees from her window the boat which carries her husband's body; and when they go to seek her they find her stretched insensible upon the floor. This after fifty years of faithful waiting for reunion with the lost. Is not this an instance of devotion and loyalty to touch our hearts? Where be the fribbles of our gay society? Where be they who say there can be no happiness in married life? Where be the fashionable women, who must have men to dally with in the absence of their husbands, and who, in the hour of marriage, reflect with pleasure that if things do not turn out to their mind, divorce will soon and easily set them free? Let these come and look at the pictures of Richard Montgomery and Janet Livingstone; and if they have tears of repentance to shed, let those tears flow. Nor is this a single instance. As you enter Trinity churchyard by the southernmost gate, you see on your left, a monument, with cannon, and balls, and chains about it. There rest the bones of James Lawrence, who fought the *Chesapeake* till he fell, and died crying, "Don't give up the ship."

He, too, died young; but thirty-one years of age. And beside him lies the body of his wife, Julia Montandever, who, faithful to her dead, had her own grave prepared by his, and rested in it at the age of seventy-seven—fifty-two years after the brave gentleman's death. Ah, no; it is a slander and a lie, that there is no real devotion within the sacred tie of wedded life; that men and women cannot find lasting happiness in loyalty to plighted word, in faithful love. The fault is in themselves, where it is not so; it marks the decadence of good living, and the corruption of mind, motive and heart.

To illustrate the value of study of the past, one might do well to take some Kodak views of the present, and set the pictures side by side. The

skepticism and indifference of the day ; the neglect of divine worship ; the popular admiration for everything that is radical and subversive of existing faiths and traditions ; the pleasure taken by people in having their names, their acts, and all they do made public through a sensational press ; the intense selfishness of the rich ; the tyrannical and overbearing conduct of labor unions ; the voluntary expatriation of Americans, their incessant flights abroad, ending in protracted residence in foreign capitals ; the apish imitation of the manners, dress, and habits of other races ; the deterioration of the womanly ideal ; the passionate addiction of our people to pleasure, so that to amuse one's self becomes the business of life ; the palliation of laxity in morals, the growth of divorce, the breaking up of homes, and the dying out of domestic life ; take your camera, and go the rounds, and see what a startling collection of photographs you can, with no great effort, bring back. But I would not sadden you with these reflections ; let me end with some brief words on a more hopeful theme. Let us refresh ourselves with that vision of the future which develops from the dreamland of the past, and at which the heart takes courage again. Come, young man, in thy strength, high resolve, and clear conscience ; come, maiden, earnest and good, nor yet sullied and profaned by the world ; come, take the tiller and steer us where we elders can see the brightness in the skies, the shining of the years that are to follow.

It is a vision full of hope. Under beneficent influences, under the never-failing providence of God, the world moves, advances, grows better. We must help it forward. Sons of the Revolution, your country has a future such as no nation ever had to this day. Woe be to us if we blight its promise ! The spirit of the fathers must animate the children ; in us they must live again. There are certain directions on which good work may be done ; certain aims to keep ever before us ; and the love of our country, and an affectionate concern for those who are to come after us, give the inspiration needed for success. First of all, let there be excluded from this organization that narrow party spirit which is the bane and curse of America ; it must never become an instrument for advancing personal interests or aiding partisan schemes. Think of the conditions under which alone we can continue to enjoy our liberty and security ; how they may be endangered by neglect and indifference, by reluctance to give them attention while pursuing our selfish plans or luxuriating in easy idleness and comfort. Popular education ; sound religious teaching and gospel influence ; a pure ballot ; disinterested statesmanship ; the spirit of charity, that only power which can break down the barriers between the rich and poor ; no fantastic idea of social equality, but a common and

mutual respect and regard, so that the rich shall no longer grind the face of the poor, nor the poor hate the rich and desire to blow up their houses and hang them to lamp-posts; protection for overworked and half-starved laborers, and repression of tyrannical and arbitrary societies which keep boys from learning useful trades, and keep men from working who are willing and ready to work. Here are topics for study; things to be aimed at by those who desire the permanence of our own political system, and the future of a wise, understanding and Christian people. Young men, who have your life before you, to you let the vision come. See that ye spend your time not in chambering and wantonness, not in dawdling and ease; but in the active service of God and the nation; as men who will not be thrust back by the demagogue and the low politician, but intend to assert and make good their right to a voice in the conduct of public affairs; as men who will not be satisfied with idling in the club, or wasting force on speculative theories, but will have a hand in delivering the nation from the foes who grow fat on public plunder, and suck the life blood from the veins of the industrious. There is not a field in which good men and true are more needed to-day than that of public affairs, nor one in which a brave, high spirited and patriotic youth could do better service; a youth well grounded in the principles of political science, familiar with history, and endued with common sense. To such as these let it come: the vision of a land, where the name of Almighty God is duly honored and His pure worship kept up; where the home, the foundation of social order and strength, is guarded from attack, and restored to that old beauty and goodness which makes it the dearest place in the world; where the love of the country in which we lead our honest life, secure and at rest, may burn in every patriotic heart. Let us go hence with a new and awakened devotion to the duties devolving on us, each in that vocation to which God has called him; animated by dear and precious memories, thoughtful in the sense of the responsibility of to-day; cheerful and buoyant in our faith in the value of those principles which made us a nation, and, if maintained, shall keep us where we stand, in the front rank of the great powers of this earth.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Maudie", written over a horizontal line.

THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

The celebrations of historical events oftentimes seem to be but empty pageants; and rather the occasion of supplying the present generation with an opportunity to exploit itself, than to have any real bearing upon that which they are intended to commemorate. But while the celebrations are commonly without any very obvious fitness to their end, they yet revive interest in the event, and become the means of reawakening reflection upon the influence exerted by it. We are this year largely absorbed by the celebration of that great performance which called American history into being. But there are other notable events which have for their natal year the same symbols—92—and one, which is to be celebrated on June 1st of this year, was the signal of a scarcely less important development as far as our national history is concerned. This was the admission of Kentucky to the Union.

While Kentucky was not the first state admitted to the Union, it was in a very real sense the first-born of the nation. The act which provided for its admission was passed by congress and became a law on February 14, 1791, fourteen days prior to a similar act for the admission of Vermont. This act was an epoch-making event. It is easy to say that it only embodied the manifest destiny of the Union, and was really the first step in the inevitable evolution of the great west. And yet it was an act which had been long delayed, much clamored for, and which even at that time was regarded by not a few as of doubtful expediency. When we consider the arguments which were advanced by those who opposed the admission of Kentucky to the Union, we are introduced at once to a totally different school of political thought from any which could be imagined to-day. The eighteenth century rises before us in a way in which mere facts have no power to conjure up the dead past. After all, it is not so much events as motives, it is not so much deeds as thought, which separate one age from another; and yet the views of the politicians of the first decade of our national life were conditioned by the situation of their times, and we shall see, even upon very superficial inquiry, that the conditions of the life of our Revolutionary period circumscribed, in what is to us a remarkable degree, the political outlook of the founders of the republic.

The great Virginians, especially Washington and Henry, and perhaps

Jefferson should also be added to these foresighted statesmen, early grasped the two not necessarily inseparable ideas of the importance of the western country to the United States, and the development at no distant day of this rich and wide domain. The first of these propositions was sufficiently obvious, because it simply meant that England on the northwest and Spain on the southwest must be kept at arm's length. This view was held by those who were content to regard the position of this section as merely providing a barrier of mountain and wilderness against the encroachments of a foe. But the Virginians, with practical foresight, precipitated George Rogers Clark with his gallant western levies upon the British posts of the Illinois territory, and by his brilliant, almost unparalleled campaign, secured to the continental congress the military possession of what was afterwards to be the Northwest Territory. The correspondence between Clark and Governor Henry indicates their appreciation of the ultimate value of the great west in both of the aspects which have been mentioned. But the Revolution was scarcely over before the great difficulty in the minds of those who were skeptical as to the development of the west, took shape in the very practical form of distrust and opposition on the part of the western settlers to the governments in the east. The district of Kentucky, as that part of Virginia's territory beyond the mountains and south of the Ohio river was early called, began to complain of the lack of consideration on the part of the mother state. What was merely murmuring in Kentucky became open rebellion in the western district of North Carolina, and the future territory of Tennessee gave birth to the first rebellion against the new republic in the attempt of the settlers to establish the free state of Franklin. The discontent in both of these sections was fomented by the emissaries of the Spanish government at New Orleans, and for a time it looked as if there were serious probability, if not of an overt attempt to sever the ties with the seaboard states, at least of a dangerous conspiracy with this object in view.

The national government at once had before it a problem which involved a general principle. Virginia with commendable moderation accepted the situation, and readily consented to a division of her territory, provided that congress would admit the dissevered territory as an independent state, and so presented the problem to the national government. But this was not an isolated case. Almost from its beginning congress had had upon its hands a somewhat similar problem. What was the status of Vermont was a difficult, and yet not exactly a dangerous, problem. Vermont, in a sense, stood alone. Her citizens had refused so peremptorily to listen to British suggestions of treason to the cause which

they had so spontaneously accepted that there could be no fear lest she should become an enemy. She was obviously rather annoying as a bone of contention than dangerous as the entering wedge of an enemy. Still, the problem of Vermont was one which the congress was never courageous enough to solve; and from 1776, when she first sought admission as one of the confederate colonies, throughout the whole period of the old confederation she remained practically an independent republic. With Vermont knocking for admission from the north, with Virginia demanding the right to subdivide her territory and have the separated section admitted to equality in statehood, the problem plainly was, whether the fabric of the Union should be extended or whether the strait limits imposed by the Appalachian mountains should be permanently recognized as the measure of the territory of the nation. It seems to us to-day incredible that there should have been any doubt as to the manifest destiny of this great republic. But while the doctrinaires, even in that sober, wise, and well-informed convention which drafted the constitution solemnly discussed and generally acquiesced in the view that republics are unstable, and large republics inevitably of short duration, the practical pioneers, at first, drove the question home by the obvious needs of local self-government; and then, nearly proved the position of the opponents of expansion to be correct, by illustrating the difficulties of such a development.

The logic of thought plays but a small part in problems of practical politics. The logic of events here rules with unquestioned sway. Loyalty must oftentimes yield to so prosaic a plea as an empty stomach, and the want of supplies and the impossibility of prompt and efficient commercial intercourse with the seaboard well-nigh ruined the prospects of a budding republic. Those statesmen who, putting aside all questions of sentiment, decided that the destiny of the eastern half of North America was plainly a division into three distinct governments, had all the logic of thought on their side. The St. Lawrence and its tributaries, including the territory of the great lakes, obviously formed one commercial system, the seaboard states of the new Union another, while the Gulf and the territory tributary to it upon the waters of the father of rivers was quite as obviously destined to be a distinct governmental unity. From the summit of their lofty philosophic point of view they waved a regretful but resigned farewell to the prairies of the northwest and to the fair valleys of Kentucky and Tennessee. But there is a tie which will sometimes conquer the temporary loss even of the necessities of life. The Kentuckians and Tennesseans clung to their connection to the Union, and firmly believed that if they were given political autonomy they would be able to adjust the com-

mercial difficulties of their situation to their necessities. In view of this belief, temptations to disloyalty were not lacking. General James Wilkinson brought them face to face with a commercial proposition from the Spanish intendant which offered them an assured solution of the difficulties of their situation.

Among the chief products of the infant state of Kentucky tobacco was first. Tobacco was worth only two dollars and a half per hundred in an average season in Kentucky, while the transportation to Virginia could only be effected at a cost of from four to five dollars, making it hopeless to compete with the average price in the Virginia market of four and a half per hundred. Wilkinson successfully demonstrated that with the admission of tobacco to the Spanish market it could be sold in Kentucky at the rate of seven dollars per hundred, which would realize an enormous profit for the Kentucky producer; but this bait was resisted. Then came the question of the production of cereals. Neither wheat nor corn could be transported beyond the mountains at a price which would not exceed the market price of the grains in the eastern cities. In other words, commercial relations between the new and the old states rested upon the same circumstances which had ruined colonial trade before the Revolution. England had then by means of its legislation required the colonists to exist for her commercial benefit. A hard fate now required that the western country should buy its supplies of every sort in the east without being able to return anything but money in payment for them; or, to state the problem in economic language, the west was forced to pay the transportation in both directions. This became an intolerable burden, and it might well be doubted whether it could ever be relieved.

But the first congress at its second session boldly dealt with the difficulties which had been relegated to it by its predecessors, and in February, 1791, passed acts admitting the two states then clamoring for admission, and so made its expansion a part of the permanent policy of the Union. In so doing it did not solve the problem; but, on the old theory that that which is well begun is half done, the conditions of the problem were never afterwards in doubt. At no distant day Tennessee was received, and Ohio followed early in the present century, completing the advance guard and establishing the general principle of alternate admission of northern and southern states. It was not long before the western part of Pennsylvania precipitated the natural question as to the subordination of the economic necessities of the trans-Appalachian country to the general policy of the Union. The whisky rebellion turned on the simple economic question of cost of transportation. Corn could not be carried to market at a profit over

the mountains by the bad roads then existing. But when the corn was distilled it could be carried in the form of whisky to profitable markets, provided it was untaxed. The result established, to the general satisfaction of the great bulk of the people, the superiority of a general national policy to the particular needs of a section. This principle, though questioned not infrequently, notably by South Carolina in 1829-31, and by the seceding states in 1861, has remained a principle of our national policy.

But these new states which clamored for admission based their demands upon the necessity of geographical situation. It was obvious, from discussions which preceded their admission, if they were to be subordinated to the general principle of the best policy for the nation, that the nation was to consider not merely the advantage of a majority, but to act upon the principle that the well-being of any whole made up of unhomogeneous elements must always be determined by the individual well-being of the separate components. Thus it was recognized at the outset, and stoutly urged, that the navigation of the Mississippi river was inevitably associated with the admission of Kentucky to statehood. This proposition met with opposition and with qualification, but scarcely with denial; and it is somewhat remarkable to trace the permanent stability of this principle of the well-being of the whole through the well-being of the sections, as illustrated in our national expansion. The contradictions to this position so early assumed have been rather superficial and specious than real. Of course, the extension of slavery was eventually to condition the question of the expansion of the states, and the question as to the best limitation of this national curse was always dealt with from the point of view, first, of local necessity, and, secondly, of national welfare. The local necessity for it, sometimes judged of by others than those dwelling in the locality, was nevertheless treated from a just and equitable standpoint in the great majority of cases, and the eventual decision of the case was certainly in favor of the best good of the various localities which recognized this "peculiar institution."

As we look back across the hundred years which we bridge to-day, it is impossible not to be struck with the peculiarly typical character of the example chosen to first illustrate the permanent problems connected with national expansion. Kentucky has been one of the most individualized of all the new states, and yet it has been a state with a history so typical of the various movements which have perplexed the nation that its history involves the discussion of almost every problem which the nation has had to deal with. It brought into the national councils at once the

great problem of the free navigation of the Mississippi; by a continuation of the Spanish cabal it brought the question of national loyalty prominently before the people at the very outset of its career, and carried this same question to a higher pitch when it accepted in 1796 the four emissaries of citizen Genet, the French ambassador, and permitted George Rogers Clark, whose splendid powers had suffered the eclipse of approaching dotage, to accept a revolutionary commission for the purpose of levying war against Spain, as "lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the revolutionary armies of France in the United States." Iron-handed old Isaac Shelby no doubt thought that this harmless foible could safely be pardoned in the hero of Vincennes. In 1798, under the leadership of John Breckinridge, Kentucky threw down her gage in her famous resolutions of 1798, formulating and promulgating the unfortunate doctrine of state's rights, and bitterly reproaching the administration for endeavoring to precipitate a war with France. With equal confidence she pressed, through Clay, for a war with England, and when it was finally declared in 1812, she called her revolutionary soldier and first governor once more to the head of affairs, and supplied the greater part of the soldiery for the war in the northwest. Following the lead of her great commoner she pressed the claims of the development of America in every possible way during the next period of national history, clamoring for internal improvements, supporting the tariff, condemning South Carolina nullification, and struggling bravely, but in vain, against the horrid incubus of slavery. When at last Clay gave way to another less worthy, but no less loved, she was well-nigh swept over the brink of the chasm of secession. It was only a temporary aberration, and, successfully stemming the current, she became the battle ground of opposing forces, and sent her full quota of soldiers into the Union army, even while a nearly equal number, deserting her standard and that of the Union, rallied to the standards of secession and slavery. Torn with the strife of hostile factions, distracted by the difficulties of the reconstruction period, harassed by the inevitable conflict of the two irreconcilable elements in her population, she has yet maintained the most conspicuous regularity in her own government, and the highest prominence in national affairs.

Throughout this whole century of struggle Kentucky has produced men in every decade who have filled posts of honor and distinction, and has occupied upon the national theatre at all times a notable place. While no President has ever been elected who was, at the time of his election, a citizen of the state, Taylor and Lincoln were both born within her borders. Richard N. Johnson and John C. Breckinridge have repre-

sented her in the Vice-Presidency, while men like Clay, the four Breckinridges, Crittenden, Carlisle, and many others have been among the leading spirits in the senate and house of representatives. She has had her fair share, and more, of representation upon the supreme bench, and at foreign capitals. In the pulpit and at the bar she has occupied a conspicuous position. And this despite the unfortunate division of the state into two almost hostile sections, growing out of the inevitable difference in the population of the barren mountains, whose rich mineral wealth is just now being developed, and that of her fertile valleys. Her school system has long been upon the best basis, both financial and educational, south of Mason and Dixon's line, and throughout her history she has inspired all of those who claim her name as their birthright with peculiar devotion. Some have said that, like the great bulk of the southern states, the higher virtues of duty, obligation to law, self-sacrifice, and similar lofty motives have been subordinated to those principles of conduct such as generosity, hospitality, and love of personal honor, which are in themselves but second-class virtues and rather the fruitage of feudalism than of christianity. It may be true in part that the gentler claims of life have been preferred to the more rugged which find a natural home upon the bleak coast of New England. It may even be true that the heart has in her citizens taken the place of the head; it may be true that they have loved eloquence more than they have honored logic, and that they have been more careful to inquire what men are rather than what they have done. But there is a beauty and sweetness and a satisfaction about the life which her citizens have lived amid the rolling limestone hills of the blue-grass country which is in a sense a true reflection of the best of the old-fashioned life of the English country gentleman. The men have aimed too much to be strong, brave, and accomplished; the women have valued beauty and the amenities of life beyond their due; the libraries have been filled with old books rather than with new, and they have been learned rather than read. But there is a flavor, though it be only a flavor of the soil, in this quasi-civilization, which has something of a charm even in this latest age of the republic.

In tracing these particular qualities of this first recognized commonwealth, do we not seem to be still following the line of expansion out beyond the prairies of the Mississippi valley, over the uplands of the central west, and beyond the loftiest summits of the Rocky mountains even to the Golden Gate of the great western ocean? In all the somewhat varied wanderings of the spirit of civilization, here or there is still to be found in this little commonwealth the lingering spirit of the backwoodsman, but

ever in close juxtaposition with the finest fruitage of the expanding nation. As Arthur's horn is said still to echo through the valleys of Cornwall, so the crack of the rifle of Daniel Boone may be heard among the rugged mountains of Kentucky. Among the foothills of these mountains there is a little stream known as Lulbegrud creek, and the story is told in an old pioneer's diary of how a little band of pioneers camped one day upon this stream and in the evening gathered round the camp fire, when old Daniel Boone took out of his pocket a little book, which was *The Travels of one Gulliver*, and read to them about the town of Lulbegrud, and they gave this name to the stream upon whose banks they had lighted their camp fire. That old copy of *Gulliver* is to-day, with its much-worn and dog-leaved pages, in the possession of a friend of mine in the beautiful city of Louisville, in a house possessing all the beauty and convenience of the present day, being one of the principal ornaments of one of the richest collections of Americana in existence. Its owner is a Kentuckian of the Kentuckians, representing many things which Kentuckians love and honor, and representing also the catholicity of its people, born in the state but educated in the extreme north, loving the country as a whole, loving Kentucky better than all else; courteous, learned, wise, but content in the borders of his native commonwealth, and publishing important memoirs of her history in sumptuous form for circulation among the favored few of his immediate neighborhood.

Catholicity is always a virtue. It may be somewhat doubted whether cosmopolitanism is so great a virtue as we have been led to believe. The catholic mind passes readily into the patriotic; the cosmopolitan is more apt to degenerate into the cosmopolite. And it will be a misfortune when it really becomes true, as it is often said to be, that the typical American will prefer to direct his ambition toward an ideal life beyond the eastern sea rather than to a life of generous struggle beyond the western mountains. The expansion of America should bring with it the deepening of Americanism, and in this point of view the provincialism which is yet the pride of the average Kentuckian rises out of the category of a vice to be something better than a foible; to be, if not a virtue, at least the inducement to the highest of all virtues in a citizen—love of country.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Estlinbrook A. Marfield". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTHWEST

BEGINNINGS AND VICISSITUDES OF AN INDIANA LIBRARY

The year 1787 inaugurated an era in the progress of civilization in America, and in the world.

In that year was produced the Constitution of the United States, which marked the birth of, and gave to the maps of the world a new nation, one founded on the rights of man, and to be sustained only upon the theory of his intelligence and ability to govern himself.

Nation building upon such a foundation was but an experiment. The wilds of North America furnished no data upon which the success of the experiment might with safety be predicted. The few denizens of the old world who read of the explorations into the western wilderness, did so, much as we now read of explorations into the heart of the "Dark Continent," and with no greater facility for guessing the future of America than we have of foreseeing the development of Africa.

In the flood of emigration which the last century saw thrown upon the shores of the new world, not all were seekers of a refuge from the yoke of kings.

There were those who sought the gains of conquest, and the power which accompanies conquest. There were those who sought wealth, and looked to the sands expecting to find them golden. There were adventurers of every sort. Vicious classes, drawn from lazar-house and prison, stood side by side with the Puritan and seeker for freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience.

Colonies were planted which had little in common one with the other, and rivalries grew almost into hostility. What could bring together, in fraternal bonds, in national unity, the Puritan of Massachusetts Bay, the Quaker of Rhode Island, the Protestant Dutch of New York, the Swede of New Jersey, the Catholic of Maryland, the High Churchman of Virginia, and the stern followers of John Knox, who pervaded all the colonies? These colonies naturally, and from force of habit, yielded obedience to that European power from which they sprang. Even when galled by oppression, few were the minds so broad or the hearts so patriotic as to harbor the thought of building a great nation by consolidating these discordant elements into one homogeneous whole.

But the time came when a common oppression linked them together, and the fires of war fused the links until they became inseparable. The "league of friendship" they entered into in the beginning, for the common welfare and mutual defense, grew into the Articles of Confederation which were the groundwork of the Constitution, which in due time followed, and was in itself the epitome of the best thoughts of liberty-loving rebels against the tyrannies of monarchical governments, crystallized under the heat of wrong and oppression into that great fundamental law which well deserves the encomium once passed upon it by Gladstone, as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

One of the necessities of nation building upon such a plan was the education of the masses of the people in a manner to best fit them for self-government, and the problem how to accomplish this result was one of the most important and vexatious which confronted the founders of the republic. It was the lesson of stern necessity which welded the colonies together, and by the same law the confederation of 1776 was fused into the nation of 1787. It was compelled by a power beyond the will of man.

All human cabals, political dogmas, and partisan aspirations were obliged to submit to the law of necessity, and to that law we owe the conception and birth of the Union secured by the Constitution of 1787. In the shadow of great events, lesser ones, no matter how important in themselves, are often dwarfed and sometimes lost sight of.

There was another instrument contemporary with the Constitution, conceived from the same ideas and fraught with elements calculated to produce the most important results to the people of the whole country, whose far-reaching importance is much too often lost sight of. This was the "Ordinance of 1787," which established "the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio," covering what now comprises the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi, embracing some fourteen counties.* This broad domain was claimed by Virginia as one of its counties—the county of Illinois; but England, France, and Spain were each asserting claims to its ownership, and a generation was yet to pass away before these conflicting claims were to be extinguished, and the title of the United States confirmed.

At that period the vast country west of the Alleghanies was almost a trackless wilderness, inhabited by roving tribes of savages, containing but

* The counties of Anoka, Aitken, Benton, Chicago, Carlton, Crow Wing, Isanti, Kannabee, Lake, Mille Lac, Morrison, Pine, Sherbourne, St. Louis, and Washington.

a few scattered settlements of whites and a few semi-military trading posts. Civilization had only sent out its "avant-couriers" into this unknown region, as it sends them to-day into the heart of Africa; and there was no form of constitution or of law in that portion of the continent until the promulgation of the Ordinance of 1787.

When the first census of the United States was taken, in 1790, this territory had no place in its returns. The total population of the thirteen United States was 3,929,214, less than five per cent. of which was west of the Alleghanies.

In the winter of 1795-96, Governor Arthur St. Clair, who with Judge Turner had visited the scattered settlements, estimated the white population at 15,000. The Indian was estimated at 65,000. By the census of 1800 its white population was found to be 51,000. In the nine decades which have since followed, that population has swelled to more than 13,500,000 souls; and to-day, two of the states carved from it have each nearly as great a population as had the nation in the first year of this, the nineteenth century.*

A question of no minor importance was that presented to the congressmen of the day: How should this great domain be opened to settlement, and the settlers protected by some form of government? The law of necessity again exerted its controlling influence, and to the necessities of the hour, combined with the inflexible laws of trade, we owe more than we do to sentiment for the beneficent results which have flowed from the happy settlement of that great question. It was unsafe for individual settlers to invade a wilderness claimed as their hunting grounds by 65,000 savages, out of whose composition the quality of mercy had been successfully strained, and something was necessary to induce them to band together and colonize in numbers, else the government could not sell its lands to speculators, and speculators would be compelled to deal largely in "futures."

There was no lack of material for empire building, and that of the best, for the veterans of the revolution were experiencing what their descendants, the disbanded veterans of 1865, were also to experience. They found their places filled by those who had staid at home, and their eyes were cast toward the land of promise which lay over the mountains, toward the setting sun. Fortunately, too, the New England idea was predominant in this movement. The Puritan and the presbyter took the lead in the struggle for education for the people.

* The states in 1890 have population 13,471,840; the Minnesota counties, 151,572; total, 13,623,412.

A brief study of this struggle reveals the fact that we do not owe to Jefferson, as has been so strenuously claimed for him, the educational provisions embodied in that great ordinance. Great as Jefferson was, he was not great enough or thoughtful enough to see the wonderful advantages to be derived from such a system. Perhaps it was because he was not born and bred in a moral atmosphere where every respiration is free and every aspiration high. To Colonel Timothy Pickering, Rev. Manasseh Cutter, General Rufus Putnam, of New England, and to their associates, must the credit be given for that grand system of free common schools, and state universities, which we are now enjoying, and of whose fruits we are so proud.

As early as 1783, Colonel Pickering wrote to Mr. Hodgdon in regard to propositions made to congress for forming a new state, northwest of the Ohio, by such officers and soldiers of the federal army as should associate themselves for that purpose, and one of the propositions he urged was, "that all the surplus lands shall be the property of the state, and disposed of for the common good; as for laying out roads, building bridges, erecting public buildings, *establishing schools and academies.*"

In a letter to Washington, dated June 16, 1783, General Putnam urged him to assist in furthering the objects of the association, and suggested the division of the lands into townships, six miles square, with reservations for *schools and the ministry*. The subject was referred by congress to a committee consisting of Jefferson of Virginia, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island; and on the 1st of March, 1784, Jefferson reported to congress an ordinance for the government of the western territory. In it there was no reference to education and no provisions for school reservations, but it provided that the territory should be divided into ten subdivisions, to be called, respectively: Sylvania, Michigania, Cheronesus, Assenissipia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia. Is it not true that the wisdom of one age is the folly of the next?

This ordinance became the law of the land, and so remained until 1787, but Colonel Pickering, on the 8th day of March, 1784, attacked it in a letter to Rufus King, a member of the congressional committee then in charge of the matter, and complained that there was "no provision made for ministers of the gospel, nor even for *schools and academies,*" and said "the latter, at least, might have been brought into view."

About the 12th of April, 1785, the committee reported a new ordinance, apparently supplemental to that of 1784, which contained this clause: "There shall be reserved the central section of every township for the

maintenance of public schools, and the section immediately adjoining for the support of religion." Mr. Grayson, a member of this committee, in a letter to Washington written after the report was submitted, says: "The idea of a township with the temptation of a support for religion and education holds forth an inducement for neighborhoods of the same religious sentiments to confederate for the purpose of purchasing and settling together."

After vigorous debate, the clause relating to religion was stricken out, and on the 20th of May, 1785, the ordinance, after numerous amendments had been made, was adopted. The clause relating to education finally stood: "There shall be reserved from sale the Lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of *public schools* within the said township."

This ordinance proved to be but temporary, as it failed to meet the expectations and demands of the association, which reorganized in 1786 under the name of the Ohio Company, and in March, 1787, chose as its directors Samuel Holden Parsons, Manasseh Cutler, and Rufus Putnam. In May they presented to congress a memorial, which was at once referred to a committee, consisting of Mr. Johnson of Connecticut, Pinckney of South Carolina, Smith of New York, Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, and Henry of Maryland. This committee almost immediately reported a new ordinance, which on the 10th of May was ordered to a third reading, but, proving still unsatisfactory, it was on the 9th of July referred back to the committee, then consisting of Carrington of Virginia, Dane of Massachusetts, Lee of Virginia, Keen of South Carolina, and Smith of New York. This committee added the "bill of rights" and the provisions for education, and on the 11th reported it back to the house. It was read a second time on the 12th, when Mr. Dane offered the amendment forever forbidding slavery within the territory, which was adopted.

On the 13th day of July, 1787, this famous and ever-memorable ordinance for the government of the Northwest territory was read a third time, and unanimously adopted by the eight states then represented in congress.* Ten days later, in deference to the wishes of the Ohio Company, which was still dissatisfied, congress passed an act which gave section 16 in each township for the use of *public schools*, section 20 to the purposes of religion, and "not more than two complete townships to be given perpetually for the purposes of a university." This was reported

* Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, not present.

to the directors a month later by Dr. Cutler, and fully ratified and approved.

Soon after, a pamphlet explanatory of, and calling attention to the character and advantages of the Northwest territory was published by Dr. Cutler, in which he says: "The provision that is made for schools and the endowment of a university looks with a most favorable aspect upon the settlement, and furnishes the presentiment that, by a proper attention to the subject of education, under these advantages, the field of science may be greatly enlarged, and the acquisition of useful knowledge placed upon a more respectable footing here than in any other part of the world. Besides the opportunity of opening a new and unexplored region for the range of natural history, botany, and the medical science, there will be one advantage no other part of the earth can boast, and which will probably never again occur—that in order to begin right, there will be no wrong habits to combat, and no inveterate systems to overturn, there is no rubbish to remove before you can lay the foundation."

So much for human wisdom and foresight. Little did the learned and reverend gentleman think, when he penned that paragraph, that a century later we should be combating wrong habits, overturning inveterate systems, and removing vast rubbish heaps in order to begin right to lay foundations anew. Think you, will our successors a hundred years hence have so much of our rubbish to remove?

This great ordinance was the keystone to the whole fabric of our common schools, and the stepping-stone to a system of higher education.

The statesman of that day was the friend of education, not only in the common branches, but in what pertains to the highest grades in science and literature, and we even find in Washington's address to congress, in 1790, the suggestion of a national university. The act of congress of March 26, 1804, establishing land offices at Vincennes, Detroit, and Kaskaskia, reserved a section in each township for the support of schools, and an entire township in each district for the use of a seminary of learning; and another township for the same purpose was provided in the Enabling Act of 1816 for the admission of Indiana as a state.

So far, we have only traced the action of the general government. It now remains to be seen in what manner the new state beyond the mountains supplemented the work so well begun, and how the designs of the founders have been carried out. The legislature of the Northwest territory, by act approved January 9, 1802, established a university in the town of Athens, under the name and style of "the American Western University," later the Ohio University. In the same year Ohio became a state, and

Indiana territory was organized. The former at once established another, under the name of the "Miami University," and the latter provided for a university at Vincennes for the education of the aborigines as well as the settlers.

Strangely enough, it provided for procuring a library and philosophical apparatus by means of a lottery, something that is to-day a statutory offense in both our state and nation, and under the ban in nearly every state of the Union, and in all classes of society except church fairs and progressive euchre parties. Thus do the virtues of one age become the vices of another.

In passing, it is of interest to note that the first agricultural college was established in Indiana territory, a fact seemingly overlooked by all who have written upon the subject of education. At the beginning of the century, on the request of Little Turtle, principal chief of the Miamis, agricultural implements had been furnished by the society of Friends, in the vain hope of educating the Indians as tillers of the soil. In 1804 the Baltimore conference of Friends sent a delegation to Fort Wayne, and a general council of the Indian tribes was called to meet them on the 10th of April, the subject of the means of teaching agricultural arts to the Indians being the principal theme of discussion. Little Turtle expressed his regret that his people had not accepted the idea of cultivating their lands, much as he had tried to convince them of the necessity of so doing, and his hope that the words of the Friends might turn their minds. He was evidently far from sanguine that the experiment would prove successful.

Phillip Dennis, one of the Friends, offered to remain and become their teacher in practical farming. In accepting his services, Little Turtle explained that the other chiefs and himself had agreed that he should not locate in any of their villages, "lest," as he said, "our younger brothers should be jealous of our taking him to ourselves;" adding, "we have determined to place him on the Wabash, where some of our families will follow him, where, I hope, our young men will follow them, and where he will be able to instruct them as he wishes." The point thus selected was "the Boatyard," so called because General Wilkinson had there built flat-boats to transport his baggage and stores down the river. Dennis found by experience that the chief's misgivings in regard to the industrious and studious qualities of his young men were but too well founded.

He reports that, after inclosing the farm, only one or at most two of the red men showed any disposition to labor. They would sit on the fence, or in the trees near by, and watch him plow and hoe, but without evincing any desire to lend a helping hand. He left in the fall, discouraged, and so

ended the first attempt to teach the "gentle savage" the arts of peace and the delights of rural felicity on a farm. The first agricultural college closed without even an essay on the potato-bug. It was a failure.

When Indiana became a state, in 1816, it adopted a constitution greater in conception, broader in scope, and richer in patriotic thought and progressive sentiment than the one which displaced it in 1852. It declared it to be "the duty of the general assembly, as soon as circumstances would permit, to provide by law for a general system of *education*, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all."

Circumstances seem not to have permitted the general assembly to take any action in regard to its thus declared duty until January 20, 1820, when the act establishing the state seminary at Bloomington was approved, and from that, through the "college" established in 1828, came the university of ten years later—the university of to-day. It may be said that, while the state has made it no munificent donations, it has generally responded with fairness to the demands for its necessities, and of late years those demands have been met by the lawmakers of the state in an ever-increasing spirit of liberality which we may hope will increase as the benefits it confers on the state become more and more apparent and more fully appreciated. The first seekers for knowledge whose steps were turned toward the Indiana seminary were doubtless clad in buckskin or the coarsest homespun, and their homes were the log-cabins which have almost become a part of the prehistoric age, but they were of the American nobility, and, judging by their works, would seem the peers of their successors of to-day.

From those humble cabins of the scattered groups of pioneers came the youth who were to be the builders of the state; and who can doubt, when we survey the structure for which they laid the foundation, that they made the most of their opportunities, and deserve that their share in state building shall be remembered, and recorded by a grateful posterity?

No elegant college buildings were theirs; no wealth of philosophical apparatus, and no large libraries in which to delve. But the man of culture was there to teach, and the youth with brains and good organs for the digestion of mental as well as physical food was there to receive. Note well the results, and ask yourselves, whence comes, and where is to be found except in better appliances, our educational superiority over the student of the beginning of the century? As a college library is one of its most important adjuncts, it is of interest to know from what books the pioneer students of Indiana University drew their stores of knowledge, and

it would be interesting to trace, step by step, the history of such a library, were it possible, in view of the destruction of books and records in two disastrous fires, leaving but the record of the university from its organization in 1838 for a period of a score of years.

From the ashes some interesting items have been gleaned; as, for instance, that the library of 1829 consisted of two hundred and thirty-five volumes, estimated, in a report made to the legislature in 1830, to be of the value of six hundred dollars, and it is boastingly added that "it has not cost the state a solitary cent," being donated by generous people, among whom is named Arthur Tappan, of New York, as a donor to the amount of one hundred dollars. The list of titles is extant, and candor compels the expression of an opinion that more than half of the volumes would be accounted of little or no value to the student of to-day.

The first library committee appointed on the organization of the university in 1838 was a notable one. It consisted of Robert Dale Owen, philosopher, statesman, and scientist; Richard M. Thompson, statesman and silver tongued orator; and James Blair. This committee reported that, "while they were pleased to find in the library many interesting and useful, and some rare and curious works, they regretted to perceive that many others of a standard character, and some especially useful to us as American citizens, were still deficient." In 1840 the library was estimated at two thousand five hundred dollars in value, and in the address of the trustees to the people of Indiana, published in that year, it is said: "The university library has been recently augmented by a purchase of about two thousand dollars' worth of books, some of them rare and valuable." In scanning the old catalogue of these books, a bibliophile would shed tears over the rare first editions and folios lost to posterity, but the literary iconoclast would raise his hands to heaven and devoutly thank God that He sometimes sends conflagrations. The only volume then listed which now survives to adorn the library shelves was saved from two successive holocausts which destroyed all its companions, by being borrowed by a reverend gentleman, who was an excellent bookkeeper, for he kept the volume for some thirty years, and thus saved it to the world. It has this title: "*Georgii Washingtonii, Americae Septentrionalis Civitatem, fœderatum Præsidis prima Vita. Francisco Gloss A.M. Ohioensi, literas Latinas conscripta.* New York, 1835," which, being somewhat freely rendered, may read that Francis Gloss made a litter of his Latin in writing a life of Washington, which no one will ever read.

In 1853 the library committee was worried because the books were exposed to damage from the rains, and asked for a larger and safer room;

but in April following the books were saved from damage by rain by being totally destroyed by fire in the conflagration of that date. When the board met in December, 1855, the generous offer of H. W. Derby, the Cincinnati publisher, to donate books to be selected from his catalogue to the amount of two thousand dollars, was gratefully accepted. The faculty had already thanked the donor, caused his letter to be read in chapel, and now asked the board to provide an alcove in the library for them, over which, as a perpetual memorial of the generosity of the donor, there should be inscribed the words: "The gift of Henry W. Derby, Esquire, of Cincinnati." In 1857 the library was removed to the new building, where it remained, and had a slow growth until again totally destroyed by fire in 1883. From the time of its removal to that building we have no information concerning its accretions, the records and catalogue being consumed with the books; but in 1876 it was reported to have six thousand volumes, seven hundred of which pertained to the law department. In the fire of 1883, some twelve thousand volumes were consumed.

The new year of 1891 saw this library replaced by some thirteen thousand volumes carefully selected from the best productions in every department of thought, and inclosed in a beautiful fireproof structure, which it is hoped will become a centre of attraction for searchers after knowledge and book lovers of centuries unborn, a veritable literary shrine adorned with the radiant gems of thought of all the ages, and in which shall rest, not as in a darksome tomb but in a chamber of light the beautified bodies of prose and poetry, wedded in death as in life and from which shall ceaselessly emanate old thoughts reborn, the glorified fruit of an ever-recurring resurrection morning.

P. S. Robertson,

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA.

THE LONDON TIMES

A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE

"Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them." In my own case I certainly did not inherit any claims to the honorable distinction of a newspaper correspondent, and it is equally certain that on the one and only occasion when I attempted to fulfil the duties of that position—as I shall show—I "achieved" a lamentable failure. I did not seek the appointment; it was "thrust" upon me.

Soon after the inauguration of President Lincoln, I was visited one day by a friend in New York—a gentleman distinguished for his legal and literary abilities, and who in subsequent years has occupied high judicial and diplomatic posts under the government—who made what appeared to me a very singular request. It was that I would succeed him as the American correspondent of the *London Times*. He explained that he had filled that post for some time past, but that now, owing to ill health he was compelled to go abroad, and had sent in his resignation. The manager of the *Times* had requested him to appoint his own successor. Would I, he asked, accept the position?

I respectfully declined the honor. In the first place, I did not desire the post. In the second place, I had had no experience of the kind and felt myself inadequate to discharge the duties of a position which requires unusual investigation and special ability. It was true that I occasionally contributed anonymous articles to the newspapers on public events—some of which my friend had read—but I had never written for pay, or "under orders," preferring to preserve my independence of judgment.

Notwithstanding these cogent reasons, my friend pressed me to accept, at least for a time, as a personal favor to himself. I had but to try the experiment, he thought, to like the occupation, and a weekly letter, surely, might be scratched off by me without any great inconvenience. I reminded him that the existing state of political affairs—the civil war was on the eve of breaking out—would require more than an ordinary correspondent's letter. Was he aware that the *London Times* was already showing signs of friendly recognition of the secessionists, and that any observations in my letters distinctly favorable to Union sentiments would in all probability be distasteful to that journal, and perhaps rejected?

In one point of view, namely, to assist the direction of public opinion in England toward a correct estimate of the political position, it would be to me a most gratifying task, and I would gladly undertake it, but I doubted whether they would print *all* I should feel myself compelled to express.

My friend was clearly of opinion that these scruples were baseless; that anything I wrote would be accepted, and that what I probably would write would be "just what was wanted" to correct the misapprehensions in England as to the causes of the rebellion, and the purposes contemplated by the slave-holding states. Under these persuasive arguments I yielded, and a few days after the interview I sent to the editor of *The Times* my letter number one. I endeavored to make it a calm, clear, and unprejudiced statement of the then position of affairs, and in that letter, as in subsequent ones, I expressed the unequivocal opinion that, be the war long or short, or however disastrous in life and treasure, the *Union sentiment* throughout the north and west would not be affected by party considerations. Upon this the English public might depend, as recent manifestations made it next to certain that aid from the western states would not be realized.

Having dispatched this letter, I proceeded to put myself into communication with such individuals of both parties as I considered to be in positions to afford reliable information upon the state of public opinion, from time to time, as affected by the occurrence of events. At Washington, among others, I conferred with Secretary Seward, Secretary Stanton, General Dix, and others, not to echo their opinions, but to obtain early information of such facts and movements as they might be disposed to afford for publication in England by the time my letters would arrive. Neither of the two secretaries appeared to respect the opinion of *The Times* upon passing events in the United States, but they agreed that it was important to avert the distortion or misrepresentation of facts, and promised the fullest information practicable.

I soon discovered that an occupation which I had undertaken as a diversion, as well as from a sense of duty, was not a bed of roses. As I had anticipated, the famous leader and exponent of public opinion in England did not find it convenient to publish the views of a correspondent which were diametrically opposed to those expressed in the editorial columns. At all events, neither the first nor succeeding letters were published, but certain extracts from them relating to the decline in values of public securities in the United States, *et cetera*, were inserted.

I soon received a courteous letter from the manager of *The Times* suggesting that "a less partisan spirit" in my communications would make them more acceptable. I should have sat down at once to resign

the unwelcome task, had I not received by the same post a letter from my predecessor—who chanced to be in London at the time—dated from the office of *The Times*. He wrote that the manager had shown him my rejected letters and he had carefully read them. He entirely approved of the sentiments expressed therein, and begged that I would continue to write and forward letters—even if they were not published—until formally requested by the manager to discontinue them. Recognizing the point he had in view, I complied with the request, taking no notice whatever of the manager's caution. But the latter were not printed.

At last, and to my great relief, for I was growing tired of wasting time, labor, pen and ink, the expected communication from the manager arrived. It was as courteously expressed as the first, thanked me warmly for my services, and stated that the managers of *The Times* had come to the opinion that "no man owning allegiance to the federal government" was, under existing circumstances, in a position to afford a dispassionate opinion upon American public affairs. The managers had therefore decided to send out an Englishman as their general correspondent—Dr. W. H. Russell, their special war correspondent, being already in the field.

My successor, if a person who did not succeed may be said to have a successor, was Dr. Charles Mackay, the well-known popular writer and the author of several patriotic songs much in vogue in his day. For a while, this gentleman's contributions to *The Times* seemed fully to justify his appointment, for they went far enough to satisfy the most ardent advocates of secession. Perhaps they went too far to establish that perfect confidence in dispassionate opinions which the chiefs in London seemed so anxious to obtain. What the management expected from a correspondent with English blood in his veins, who must form or at least express opinions as events transpired, it is difficult to say. Dr. Mackay went to the length of his tether, and ought to have satisfied the requirements of his masters; but he did not, and the eminent man was recalled. After these unfortunate experiments "the powers" in London appeared to think that neither an American nor an English brain could meet the requirements of the position, and that the *blood* must be changed. They accordingly appointed an Italian, one Signor Antonio Gallenga, a gentleman I had subsequently the pleasure of knowing personally in Europe, and of discussing with him, over the cheerful cigar, our respective failures, for he too was recalled, or recalled himself, after a few months of servitude in behalf of the great London journal. Gallenga was a man of high talents and had been for many years on the staff of *The Times*. His field of operations, however, had been chiefly in Italy, where he had achieved con-

siderable notoriety as an ardent patriot during the Italian struggle for independence. Certainly, his efforts in that noble cause were not calculated, one would suppose, to render him a dispassionate observer of a rebellion against an established government, not for freedom, but for the perpetuation and extension of human slavery. One would have also supposed that such a man, who had struggled for the unity of his own country, would have sympathized with the efforts of the federal government to restore and preserve the unity of the United States—not, like Italy, threatened by foreign invaders, but by a section clamorous for the destruction of their own commonwealth. Alas! that newspaper correspondents should feel compelled to change their principles with change of locality. Gallenga maintained that the greatness and the unity of Italy were its glory, but he thought greatness and unity of the United States a menace to the world.

Let him speak for himself. In a volume of *Personal Reminiscences* published after his retirement from *The Times*, he thus discourses of his predecessor and of his own difficulties when writing under orders: "On my arrival in New York I found Dr. Mackay almost exclusively surrounded by 'copperheads,' as northern sympathizers with the south were styled, and I went with them as a supporter through thick and thin. I, myself, wished that peace should be made on the terms of a friendly but enduring separation of the contending parties, and, in so far, I was an out and out secessionist. *The Yankees, as a nation, had become a danger to Europe.*" Notwithstanding this avowal of disunion sentiments, he claimed to be "a clear and impartial exponent of the condition and prospects of affairs," and he thought it rather hard that he could not obtain a pass to the headquarters of the federal army, although the Italian minister at Washington and Lord Lyons pleaded for him. "No man from Printing House Square shall ever come within sight of the stars and stripes banner on the battle field," were the words of Secretary Seward, according to Gallenga, and so the poor man returned to Printing House Square, "with the bitter conviction that his American mission was a failure."

Before Gallenga returned to England he satisfied his mind fully upon public opinion in the free states, and honestly declared in print that, "having visited all the great cities of the west—the north and the west were stanch Unionists, and that Mackay's belief in the success of secession, with which he had managed to inoculate the London journal, and with it public opinion, was a fallacy."

Who succeeded Mr. Gallenga I do not know, for I never inquired. Let us hope that the result of the war justified his opinions, and that, whatever

was his nationality, he did credit to the eminent journal he represented. As to that journal, I felt no ill-will at the rejection of my own correspondence. Its title indicates its character, which naturally veers about with the—sometimes incomprehensible—phases of public opinion. When "*The Times* is out of joint," it generally manages to regain its normal condition with a specious plausibility which it has ever at command. But even when wrong in its conclusions, it is often a correct exponent of the then popular ideas. As such, *The Times* was right when it alluded in irony to the "Dis-United States," willfully forgetful of the old taunts flung at the republic for boasting of free institutions while holding four millions of negroes in servitude; and in joining in the cry of, "let the wayward sisters go," "separate in peace," and so on. It was right in declaring that John Bright's independent and eloquent appeal in behalf of the American Union was "a voice without an echo" in England. It was right, so far as popular ideas there went, in the prophecy that, should the north succeed in crushing the rebellion, the United States would thenceforth be a "military despotism;" and it was right, when the "Lost Cause" brought clearer notions and juster conclusions to England, in thundering its applause at the spectacle of a people who could be voluntary soldiers for successive years in defense of their institutions, and yet silently dissolve and return to their respective avocations when the end was accomplished.

Where *The Times* was signally wrong was in permitting and fostering the idea, in very large and very honest-minded circles in England, that, so far as the federal government was concerned, it was fighting, not slavery, but disunion. "If," said the voice of these classes, "the freedom of the slave was the purpose of the war we should be heart and hand with you; but as your government distinctly avows that the war is waged for the preservation of the Union—slavery or no slavery—we cannot sympathize with it. The southern states want to be independent, and as the new confederacy proposes to establish free-trade principles, to the immense commercial advantage of England and her manufactures, we consult our own interests in wishing for the success of the secessionists."

Had *The Times*, and other journals in England which profess to be independent and honest exponents of facts, frankly avowed, or permitted their correspondents to avow the real state of the case, the delusion with respect to slavery would have been removed and right-minded Englishmen would have perceived that "the war for the Union" distinctly involved the question of the perpetuation or the extinction of slavery in the states. The uninformed classes had only to be told that the federal government possessed no constitutional right to wage war against a recognized

domestic institution in a state or states. The southern states attempted to secede from the Union for the purpose of maintaining slavery, then dangerously threatened by adverse public opinion in the free states. In a social point of view the slave-holders maintained that slavery, inherited from their forefathers and ingrafted in their institutions, was a blessing to the slave and a necessity to the master. Morally, they quoted the Old Testament to justify the system. They brought forward no tangible charge against the union of the states, beyond this, worthy of serious consideration. Jefferson Davis himself recognized the existing political condition when, during the canvass before the presidential election, he "took the stump" in the northern states for the purpose of advocating his own claims as the *national* candidate for that office. Under these circumstances, every word uttered by the English press in support of the secessionists; every "hurrah" at their victories in the field; every vessel dispatched from an English port to injure American commerce or to run the blockade—carrying supplies to the southern states—were so many additional rivets in the bonds of the slave.

The Englishman *now* says: "We did not understand all this at the time of the civil war, and dissociated slavery with the contest." Why did he not understand it? Had he not his English newspaper, that "guide and index of the times," to enlighten him? If the public journals hoodwinked and played upon his credulity, surely there is scarcely a term strong enough in condemnation of those oracles of the press who had it in their power to hold up before their readers the mirror of unvarnished facts.

But there were men of discernment, scattered here and there among the upper classes in England, who, unhampered by pecuniary considerations or the greed for popularity, denounced the prophecies of *The Times* with regard to the rebellion. Such men, for instance, as the late Lord Vere Hobart, who wrote, September 26, 1863: "I thought *The Times* would have veered round on American affairs, but instead of that they write more lies and more abuse of the north than ever. . . . They will see the matter in a different light in a few months when the south won't have a leg to stand upon." Ten months after this prophecy, which was laughed at when made as the vaporings of an enthusiast, Hobart wrote again: "*The Times* has really done all it can to gull the nation as to American affairs."

Trop de zèle is as injurious in journalism as in diplomacy, and the eagerness, amounting to malignity, with which *The Times*, at periods of political controversy, pursues its opponent, often serves to awaken in the public mind strong doubts as to the purity and patriotism of its invective. A notable instance, in recent years, is its studied attacks upon Mr. Gladstone, who,

whatever may be the opinion of partisans upon his political views, certainly deserves, as the oldest and most famous of living English politicians and whose record is one of high and lifelong statesmanship, the most respectful and decorous treatment on the part of his political adversaries. Unwittingly, the neglect of this principle by the great London journal has won for the "grand old man" an acknowledgment, in quarters least expected, that this political *sobriquet* is not so wholly undeserved. Who shall say that, if Mr. Gladstone's life and work are continued for a few years longer, *The Times* will not be brought again into as humiliating an attitude with respect to the leader of the liberal party as it was in the case of the civil war in the United States, and in the more recent instance of the celebrated Pigott case? This last humiliation was the more significant, from the fact that *The Times* went out of its way and exhibited a photographic copy of the letter attributed to Mr. Parnell—subsequently proved to be a forgery—enlarged to a half-page of that journal!

Since these notable signs of editorial fallibility, *The Times* has not attracted that attention or produced that awe upon the public mind which was formerly the case. Other and more largely circulated journals, conducted on less dogmatical and more generous principles, are obtaining an increased share of public confidence among English readers. Nevertheless, for "the classes," in distinction to "the masses," that journal will always claim the most respectful consideration for the ability of its admirable corps of "trained wordsmen" and its generally high toned exposition of public affairs. To the uninitiated reader it is simply marvelous that, as is often the case, men can sit down in the small hours of the morning and from a telegram, that moment received, announcing a public event totally unexpected and unprepared for, write off with the velocity of thought a newspaper leader for that particular day's journal, admirable in condensation, comment, and phraseology, which in those respects could not be improved had hours instead of minutes been devoted to the task.

In such achievements and in its freedom from sensationalism and buffoonery, maintaining respectability without dullness, and a high intellectual tone without, as a rule, arrogant assumption, *The Times* stands as a model for the habitual journalist, however much its readers may disagree with the political sentiments expressed in its columns.

Charles H. Tuckerman.

FLORENCE, ITALY.

OLD TRINITY CHIMES

Up above the dust and roar
Hang the holy bells on high.
O'er the city evermore,
Hour by hour, their voices cry ;
Teaching how to live and die,
While the ages onward roll.
List the hymn, O passer-by !
Jesus, lover of my soul.

When the hands are tired of toil,
When the weary feet would rest,
When the strife and mad turmoil
Make existence seem a jest :
Welcome, music, heavenly guest !
Wafting down from out the sky
Cadence of that sweet request—
Let me to thy bosom fly.

Sound the footsteps fast and loud
Where the throng for riches lust,
While they trample—foolish crowd—
Golden moments into dust !
Shall we let them fade and rust,
Quickly loosed from our control ?
Give us first a patient trust,
While the billows round me roll.

Hang the holy bells on high,
Far above the dust and heat ;
Though we pass them, heedless, by,
Faithfully they still repeat
Many an admonition sweet
From their station near the sky,
Chanting of a rest complete
While the tempest still is high.

C. H. Crandall

THE TERRITORY WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

The most interesting history of the country west of the Mississippi river, is that of its discovery and occupation by the Spaniards and French, as well as of the treaties, grants and concessions made by them in regard to it. The first to penetrate the vast region lying west of the great river, all at one time known as Louisiana, were the Spaniards from opposite points Florida and Mexico.

Juan Ponce de Leon, a native of Leon, in Spain, and a companion to Columbus on his second voyage of discovery, had risen by perilous and successful adventures to the governorship of Porto Rico, an island near Hayti. Having accumulated considerable wealth from the mines of the island, beguiled by the stories of natives of a fabulous country away to the north, teeming with gold and delights, and having in its boundaries a river, or fountain, whose waters restored the strength, vigor and beauty of youth, he fitted out three ships, and on November 3, 1512, sailed northward to discover as he believed, a third world richer and more beautiful than either of those known, "a paradise of boundless wealth and perennial youth."

He landed at 30° 8' latitude, April 2, where an attempt to penetrate the heavy forests to the interior was met by the resistance of hostile and determined savages and an inhospitable climate. The country being covered with masses of verdure and flowers exceeding anything the Spaniards had ever beheld, they appropriately named it Florida; perpetuated in the name of our beautiful peninsular state. Discouraged by the fierce opposition of the Indians, and failure to discover gold, the expedition returned in June, 1512, to Porto Rico, having discovered the Dry Tortugas, and other islands. The fountain of youth, regarding which the Indians aroused the curiosity of the Spanish governor, was, no doubt, the Hot Springs of Arkansas.

Florida was visited by the Spaniards several times in 1520, 1523, 1524, and in 1528. Narvaez attempted with a strong force to reach the interior but was lost by shipwreck and only ten of his company ever reached Spain again; although it is claimed that five white men, and one negro (probably the first of that race on this continent), of his unfortunate expedition, after five or six years of wandering, and being passed from tribe to tribe of Indians, reached Mexico and told stories of the wondrous Indian city of Quivira whose streets and buildings, they claimed, glittered with gold and

were adorned with precious stones, but none of them possessed a sufficient education to give an intelligent account of their travels. These men must have crossed the Mississippi river, and were undoubtedly its first white discoverers, but left no record which could be the foundation for a claim.

In 1539, Ferdinand de Soto, a companion of Pizarro in Peru, landed a force of six hundred men in Florida, and, traveling in a northwesterly course, reached the Mississippi near Memphis, crossed it and followed up the west bank to the St. Francis river and up the latter across the Ozark mountains to Newton county, Missouri, where he passed the winter of 1540-1541 in smelting lead, which he and his followers had mistaken for silver. While there they hunted game upon what is now called the "Cherokee Strip," only recently ceded by the Indians to the United States, and will be perhaps a part of the last territory admitted, although one of the first west of the Mississippi visited by white men. Disappointed in the discovery that they had not found precious metals; De Soto, and his companions, in the spring of 1541, went south across the Boston mountains, visited the Hot Springs, now in Arkansas, passed on south-east and across the Mississippi river, near Natchez, where De Soto died and was buried in 1542, it is said, with the pomp of chivalry and the honors of war, in the bosom of the great river below Natchez. His successor in command, Louis de Mascoso, returned north, recrossed the Ozark mountains, and traveled west to the great plains.

We recognize in their account of the Indians they met the Osage, Kansas and Pawnee tribes. The same year, 1542, a gallant Spanish knight, Coronado, entering from Old Mexico, in search of the kingdom of Quivira,* a gorgeous description of which he had received from the remnants of Narvaez's expedition, must have come near meeting the band under Mascoso on the great prairies, like two ships in mid ocean; but neither party heard of the other, although both parties met the same roving bands of Indians, until after their return to Europe. In 1540, Coronado left Mexico and passed through Sonoro to the Little Colorado river, and came upon the cities of Cibola, where he found large four story buildings erected without lime or cement, with ladders for stairs. There were seven cities called the kingdom of Cibola, but no gold or precious stones were found. These ruins are on the Colorado river.

From here, Coronado turned eastward, still in search of Quivira, and reaching the great plains traveled according to his account "through many days of buffalo country," and as the buffaloes were never known to

* Quivira—A Suggestion. By Dr. Cyrus Thomas, in *Magazine of American History* of December, 1883 [x. 490-496].

range west of the Raton mountains, or but little west of the eastern boundary of New Mexico, these many days of travel must have been between the points named and the Missouri river. His account says he traveled three hundred leagues east from the "great river"; meaning the Rio Grande, never going north to the fourth parallel—the line between Kansas and Nebraska; these three hundred leagues must have brought him to the Missouri river near Fort Leavenworth, or at the mouth of the Kansas river where Kansas city now stands. The latter point is the more probable, as he likely reached the Kansas river where Topeka now stands, and followed it to the confluence with the Missouri. He may even have stood on the bluffs at Kansas city and have been the first white European who ever viewed the turbulent waves of the majestic Missouri, as they coursed, sixteen hundred leagues, from the summit of the Rocky mountains to the gulf in latitude forty-six degrees.

Coronado failed to find Quivira, as located by De Vaca and others, and finally concluded it must have been the cities of the Pueblos that were visited by De Vaca, and the ruins of some of which were visited by General Doniphan, during his campaign in the Navajo's country, in November and December 1846.* One of the ruins is thus described by General Doniphan: "On the head waters of the Piscas, and high up in the mountains, we came to the ruins of an ancient Pueblan city. Tradition said it had been built centuries before, and for more than a century had been deserted on account of earthquakes. It was built entirely of stone. Near the ruins was an immense bed of vitreous deposit and blackened sconia, presenting, in the valleys, the appearance of great molten lakes and other volcanic remains, with chasms opening down through the

* The Doniphans are descended from an officer in the Moorish wars under Philip II., Don Alphonse Iphan, a Spaniard, one of whose sons came with John Smith to Jamestown in 1607. After some years in the new world he returned to Scotland, where his family had been left, and brought them to Virginia in 1645. One of his sons married a Scottish lady, named Mott, whose family had been driven from Scotland on account of their loyalty to Charles I., and to whom Charles II., his son, granted a large body of land in Northern Virginia, now a part of Farquier county. Here the family name was Americanized to "Doniphan" and has so remained. "Extra" Billy Smith, twice governor of Virginia, was of same family, his mother being a Doniphan, and did much to collect and preserve the family history. Joseph Doniphan, the father of General A. W. Doniphan, of Mexican war fame, and the grandfather of Colonel John Doniphan, of St. Joseph, Missouri, was born and reared upon the old land grant in Virginia: he was of the same age and a class mate of Chief Justice John Marshall, under whose captainship he served as a soldier in the Revolutionary war. The author is indebted for much of the material for this paper to Colonel John Doniphan, who has made the history of the country west of the Mississippi, a life study, and who has for reference a large quantity of unpublished manuscripts, some of which were written by General A. W. Doniphan.

strata of lava to unknown depths. The figure of the city was an exact square, setting north and south and encircled by double stone walls fourteen feet apart. The walls were three stories high, two entire stories being above ground; the other partly above and partly below the surface. The space between these walls was divided into rooms about fourteen feet wide, and all the openings were into the interior. The remainder of the city seemed to have been built along streets parallel to these walls. In the centre was a large square, or plaza, used, perhaps, for parade grounds and for corraling stock at night. In this room were large quantities of red cedar wood, of convenient length for fire-places, in a state of entire preservation which had doubtless been stored there for more than a century. They used it, probably, to make their camp-fires." Later explorations of the Spaniards fix the city of Quivira a long distance to the north-west, and, probably, on the Big Platte river.

In 1581, Santa Fé was founded. In 1599 a Spanish adventurer named Onaté, started with a company of soldiers in search of the fabulous city, Quivira. They traveled seven or eight hundred miles to a populous Indian city, several leagues in extent. The sight of its size and the savage character of its inhabitants aroused the terror of the soldiers to such an extent as to cause a retreat without gaining any valuable information. The obscurity of the account is such as to prevent any reasonable conjectures as to his route, or where he found the city, but as the details speak of prairies, lakes and rivers, it is probable he reached a Pawnee village on the Republican or Platte river. There are vague accounts of two other expeditions of priests and Jesuits, one of which is supposed to have reached the Indians of Dakota, but, as the details are almost exclusively confined to the religious exercises, nothing can be determined as to the geographical aspect of the country or route pursued.

The recent discovery of a manuscript, at Madrid, written by Father Nicolas Freyas, recounts that Don Deigo, Count of Penalosa, born at Lima, in Peru, in 1624, had settled in Mexico, where he was raised to the position of governor of the province of Santa Fé. In 1662, he started in search of Quivira, with a thousand Indians, armed with bows and arrows; eighty Spanish knights in complete mail; thirty-six wagons, and six cannon; eight hundred horses, and three hundred mules. For three months he led his forces northeastwardly through a prairie so pleasant that Father Freyas says: "Not in the Indies, in Peru, in New Spain, nor in Europe, has such another land been seen, so delightful and pleasant." After traveling in a northeasterly direction for nearly three hundred leagues, crossing many beautiful streams and passing through luxurious

forests, they reached a rapid river, which, though more than a mile in breadth, could be forded. Here they met three thousand Indians named Escanzaques from the south, who were on a war expedition against the cities of Quivira, but left the Penalosa party unmolested. They forded the river some distance until they reached a point where another river emptied in from the north. A city was situated on both banks of this river, which the Spaniards believed to be one of the cities of Quivira. For two leagues it extended along the river and contained thousands of wooden houses, two, three, and four stories in height, with thatched roofs. They were met by seventy chiefs, splendidly attired in furs, who made them presents of pumpkins, beans, bread, wild game, etc. The story of Spanish cruelty was repeated, as the Indian allies, assisted, probably, by the troops of Penalosa, crossed the river at night, murdered the inhabitants, and burned much of the fair city. All who survived the outrages fled. The Count of Penalosa disclaimed responsibility for the treachery and cruelty displayed here by his allies and followers.

Finding no gold or precious stones, Penalosa, with little honor, and less wealth, retired to Santa Fé. The late Judge James W. Savage of Omaha, a distinguished antiquarian and learned historian, advanced the theory that this city was on the south bank of the Big Platte, and supported his position with most plausible reasons drawn from descriptions of the surrounding country. A few years later this grand Count of Penalosa fell a victim to the Inquisition, and died in Paris.

On the 17th of June, 1763, Joliet and Marquette entered the Mississippi river from the Wisconsin and passed down to the mouth of the Arkansas. In 1680, La Salle and Hennepin visited the Falls of St. Anthony. In 1682, La Salle descended the great river to its mouth, naming it St. Louis; the Missouri he named St. Philip; and the tributary country Louisiana. In 1685, the first French settlement in Louisiana was made at Montagorda bay, one hundred and twenty miles west of the mouth of the river. This settlement was abandoned by La Salle, who, while on his return to Canada, was murdered on the lower Mississippi by his friends, his own brother, the abbé, if not participating in it at least conniving with those who did. In 1697 several colonies formed along the Mississippi. Thus, by the right of discovery and occupation, the French claimed title to all the country watered by the great river. The wars of Louis XIV. with Spain, England and Germany, rendered these possessions precarious, so that in 1712, he made a grant to Anthony Cruzat of the entire country watered by the Mississippi. For five years Cruzat held the grant and expended large sums of money in the settlement of colonies

and expeditions in search of gold, when he gave it up. Soon after the surrender of the grant to the crown, it was regranted to "The John Lewis Mississippi Company." New Orleans was founded in 1717, and Lamatte in 1720 commenced mining lead on the Meramec. In this year, 1720, a Spanish expedition was fitted out at Santa Fé to capture the valley and dispossess the French. They reached the Missouri, near the Osage river, where they fell into an ambush of the Missouri Indians, allies of the French, and were all massacred, save one man who was a priest.

John Lewis surrendered his claim in 1732, and all subjects of France were permitted to settle in the province of Louisiana. Indigo, silk, cotton and rice had been cultivated and the mines worked to a considerable extent when, in 1762, all the country west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain by France. On the 15th of February, 1764, St. Louis was founded by Lindquist Laclede and Augusta Choteau, his lieutenant. The cession to Spain was to prevent the conquest of Louisiana by the English, but such was the prejudice of the French against the transfer that possession was not obtained by the Spanish until 1789, and then by violent means of a force under Count O'Reilly. The Spanish governed the country during the remainder of the century.

October 1, 1800, by the treaty of Saint Ildefonso, Spain retroceded Louisiana to France. This was a secret clause of the treaty, and not until November 30, 1802, was the Spanish flag lowered and the French lilies hoisted. But few Spaniards had settled there; the inhabitants were mostly French. In 1803, Napoleon sold the territory to President Jefferson, for sixty million francs, and the payment of French claims, to prevent its falling into the hands of the English. It is rather curious that the French twice parted with this magnificent domain to keep it from falling into English hands. A wise providence shaped these events so this grand empire might become "the land of the free and the home of the brave." This purchase is the most important event in the history of the Union.

In 1804, Congress passed an act dividing the territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana, or upper Louisiana, which extended from the southern boundary of Missouri to the Pacific Ocean west, and an indefinite distance north, and in March, 1804, it was placed under the jurisdiction of General William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana, and the grandfather of President Benjamin Harrison. John Cohen of Kentucky was appointed the first federal judge, but of his history little is known. By the French the boundaries were indefinite, being just as obtained from Spain in 1762. The province of Texas was in dispute, being claimed by Spain, from several settlements made and abandoned by the

Jesuit fathers, as well as by discovery; and by the French by the settlements of La Salle, in 1685. By a military arrangement made in 1806, by the commanders of the Spanish troops, and the United States officers, in the field, the Saline river was agreed upon as the boundary and so remained until 1845, when we acquired Texas by annexation.

The treaty of peace of 1783, at the end of the Revolutionary war, had fixed the northern boundary of the United States at a line drawn from the north-western part of the Lake of the Woods, west to the Mississippi, so it was agreed by the treaty of 1794 to survey a line and regulate it according to justice and convenience; thus the northern boundary was left indefinite until the Ashburton treaty, made by Daniel Webster, as secretary of state, under President Tyler, and ratified in 1844, at 45°, after a most exciting debate in the senate in which discussion was heard the famous declaration "Fifty Four Forty, or fight." The good sense of the majority of the senators decided that a war with England if successful would cost more than the territory to be gained. The wisdom of this was seen within two years, for had the treaty failed, England instead of the United States would have occupied and owned California, in 1846.

In 1670, King Charles II. granted the Hudson Bay Company the sole right to trade in and around Hudson Bay and northern Canada. Under this charter it extended its forts and trappers into Oregon, Montana and Idaho, and retained possession of the forts therein until within the last fifty years. Fort Hall, in southern Idaho, floated both the Union Jack and the flag of the Hudson Bay Company until 1849.

Neither the treaties of 1794 nor of 1815 attracted the attention as to boundary, and it is suggestive that the Hudson Bay Company's possessions of forts and large establishments, for many years exercising all the attributes of local sovereignty for six or eight degrees of latitude, south of our admitted line of territory, had much to do with the British negotiations. Thus matters stood until the first American emigrants reached Oregon in the early forties and found the Hudson Bay Company in full possession. Their protests and the sending of Governor Gilpin to Washington, as the delegate from a public meeting, in Oregon, aroused a fury of patriotic utterances in congress, nearly producing bloodshed and disaster.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, reading "William A. Hood". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

KINGSTON, MISSOURI.

THE UNITED STATES IN PARAGRAPHS

I. ALABAMA.



One of the "Gulf States." Area, 51,540 square miles. Latitude, $30^{\circ} 10'$ — 35° N.; longitude, $84^{\circ} 53'$ — $88^{\circ} 30'$ W. Population in 1890, 1,513,017. The name was borne by a warlike Indian tribe resident along the Alabama river in 1540. Its alleged English meaning is "Here we rest," the state motto. Nickname, "The Cotton State" or "The Cotton Plantation State."

Prior to 1540 the history of this section is from vague Indian tradition pointing to settlement by warlike tribes from Mexico who exterminated the earlier inhabitants.

1540, July 2. Hernando de Soto, with about 600 Spanish cavaliers and soldiers, arrives at Costa, an Indian town near the headwaters of the Coosa river in what is now Cherokee county. His line of march to this point had been through Florida and Georgia.

July 9. Soto leaves Costa, marches down the east bank of the Coosa river, and enters the rich native province along its shores.

July 26. Soto arrives at Coosa, the native capital, a town of 500 houses situated on the east bank of the river near the mouth of Talladega creek, and is cordially received by the youthful chief.

August 20. Taking the friendly chief with him as a hostage, Soto marches to Ytana, probably on the Talasehatchee river, and camps for six days.

September 18. He reaches Talisse, a large fortified native town, probably on the Tallapoosa river above its junction with the Coosa. Here he remains twenty days.

October 18. Soto reaches Mauvila, a walled town on the Alabama not far from its junction with the Tombigbee, and is nearly defeated by the natives under their chief Tuskaloosa—Black Warrior. In this engagement eighty-two Spaniards and forty-five horses were slain. The invaders lost nearly all their stores, and it was a month before they were able to move forward. The Indians were utterly defeated and several thousand of them killed, according to the Spanish narrative.

November 18. Marching to the north and west Soto crosses with difficulty two large rivers, probably the Black Warrior and Tombigbee, the natives gallantly contesting his passage, and passes be-

yond the western boundary of the state before going into winter quarters at Chicaca (Chickasaw), within the boundaries of Mississippi. He had thus crossed the state east to west, carrying fire and sword in the name of Christ into native tribes that were well-nigh half civilized. On April 25, 1541, he resumed his march, discovered the Mississippi, and perished with all but three of his men.

1541 to about 1620. The Alabama Indians slowly recover from the Spanish conquest, but are finally driven out and scattered by their traditional foes the Muscogees.

1607. Narrative of three survivors of Soto's expedition. By Inca Garcilasso de la Vega. Lisbon.

1609. Hakluyt's English translation of the foregoing. London.

1620-1668. The Muscogees push their conquests to the south and east, forming alliances with local tribes and at length merging into the powerful Creek nation.

1669, January 31. Pierre LeMoynes d'Iberville anchors in Mobile bay with a fleet of four vessels. No permanent settlement made.

1682, April 9. Robert Cavelier La Salle, commissioned by Louis XIV., descends the Mississippi from Canada (New France) and takes formal possession of territory, including the present state, naming it Louisiana in honor of the king.

1702, January 16. Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Bienville establishes Fort St. Louis de la Mobile, "Spanish Fort," near the mouth of Dog river. Its ruins were seen by Bartram in 1777 (see 1865).

1703-4, December 22 to January 11. Bienville makes war against the Alabama

Indians, defeats them, and captures a supply of corn. About this time Perdido river, the present boundary of Alabama and Florida, is recognized as the dividing line between the French and Spanish possessions.

1704. "His majesty, Louis XV. of France, sends twenty-three" industrious girls, "who have received a pious and virtuous education," to be married to the colonists. Twenty-three weddings took place within a few days.

1706. Revolt of the French women against Indian corn as an article of diet—known as "the petticoat insurrection."

1711, March. For security against floods, Bienville removes the colony to the site of the present city of Mobile.

1712, September 14. Antoine Crozat, a rich Parisian merchant, receives a royal grant of Louisiana (including Alabama), pledging himself to promote colonization. The population at this time numbered 324 souls, in six settlements, three of which—Mobile, Fort St. Louis, and Dauphin Island—were within the present boundaries.

1713, May 17. Lamotte Cadillac, Crozat's new governor, succeeds Bienville, bringing with him a staff of officers.

1714, June 22. English incursions from the Carolinas lead Bienville, under Cadillac's orders, to establish Fort Toulouse, about four miles above the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers.

1717, March 9. M. de L'Epinay with fifty colonists arrives in three of Crozat's ships, assumes the governorship, and makes his headquarters in or near Mobile.

September 6. Charter of the Western Company (Compagnie d'Occident), giving

over the control of Louisiana for a period of twenty-five years from January 1, 1818.

October. Crozat surrenders his charter, and Bienville is reinstated as governor. Population about 700.

May 14. Bienville takes Pensacola with its Spanish garrison.

1719, August 17-26. The Spaniards having retaken Pensacola make a descent upon Dauphin Island and Mobile, but are driven off.

September 2. Three French ships of the line under Champsmélin reach Dauphin Island.

September 17. Bienville and Champsmélin capture Pensacola and the whole Spanish squadron. About this time 1,000 African slaves are brought to the colony, and their labor inaugurates an era of agricultural prosperity.

1720. Estimated population about 8,000.

June 8. News reaches the colony that peace has been concluded with Spain.

1721, September 27. Louisiana is divided into nine provinces, of which Alabama is one, approximately on its present lines.

1722, August. Mutiny of the garrison at Fort Toulouse (see 1714) instigated by British traders. Two officers escape, and collecting a force of Indians slay nearly all the mutineers near the present Macon county line.

1723. Seat of general government removed to New Orleans. In ecclesiastical matters Alabama is given in charge to the order of Barefooted Carmelites.

January 1. Pensacola restored to Spain under orders from France.

1724. Bienville promulgates the "Black Code" (Code Noir), banishing Jews, prescribing the Roman Catholic faith, and defining many laws regarding negro slavery. Its influence is still found in existing codes of the Gulf States.

February 16. Bienville is recalled to France and deprived of the governorship, through the machinations of his enemies, after twenty-five years of service in the wilderness.

1726, August 9. M. de Perrière appointed governor *vice* Bienville recalled.

1726-1732. Wars with the Natchez Indians of Mississippi, involving the Alabama settlements. The French under Perrier terminate the struggle by a conclusive victory at Black River, 20th January, 1732.

1733, March. Bienville reinstated at Mobile as governor of Louisiana.

1735. Lachlan McGillivray, a Scottish lad from Dummaglas, begins operations as a trader under English auspices, marries Sehoy Marchand, a beautiful French-Indian maiden, and founds one of the influential families of the time.

1735, July 16. An English smuggler anchors in Mobile bay, and the French attempt her capture. They are beaten off with a loss of seventeen men.

1736, April 1. Bienville ascends Mobile river with a large flotilla to invade the Chickasaw country, expecting to be reinforced by Diron d'Artagnette with a detachment from the French posts on the Ohio.

May 4-22. Bienville marches from Fort Tombeche (now Jones Bluff) to

Ackia, the enemy's stronghold in Mississippi near Columbus.

May 20. Artagnette marching to join Bienville is annihilated by the Chickasaws and their English allies who display the British flag.

May 26. Battle of Ackia. The French and their Choctaw allies suffer a disastrous repulse, and retreat leaving a garrison in Fort Tombeche, and arriving at Mobile early in June.

1736-1739. As a result of the defeat at Ackia, the Chickasaws and the English traders became more aggressive.

1739, August 1. Governor Oglethorpe, representing the English crown in Georgia and the Carolinas, opens negotiations with the Creeks at Coweta in what is now Russell county. The treaty bears date August 21, and defines the boundaries of the Creek nation.

1740, March. Under orders from Bienville Capitaine de Céleron advances against the Chickasaws, and through good luck and audacity frightens them into expelling the English traders.

1742, March 26. Bienville in a dignified letter admitting his recent failures asks to be recalled.

1743, May 10. The Marquis de Vaudreuil becomes governor, and Bienville returns to France (see 1768).

1743-1752. Owing largely to Bienville's wise administration, seconded by that of Vaudreuil, peace and prosperity prevail until the Anglo-French war of

1752, when renewed hostilities break out in the Chickasaw country.

1752. Vaudreuil ascends the Mobile river and attempts to storm the Chickasaw strongholds as had Bienville before him, but is beaten by those invincible warriors, and retreats to Mobile with the remnant of his army.

Louis Billouart de Kerlérec becomes governor *vice* the Marquis de Vaudreuil transferred to New France (Canada).

1757. Mutiny of a detachment of Swiss mercenaries on Cat Island. They kill their tyrannical commander, and many of them escape to the English colonies. Four mutineers with their guides are executed with unspeakable brutality at Mobile.

1759, April. Captain Bossu, of the Marines, leads an expedition to Fort Toulouse (see 1768).

1763, February 18. War ended by the treaty of Paris; France surrendering to Great Britain nearly all her North American possessions east of the Mississippi.

October 20. Mobile delivered to Major Robert Farmer, commissary of his Britannic majesty and first English governor of Alabama.

November 23. Fort Tombeche delivered to Captain Thomas Ford. About the same time, no British officers having appeared, the Chevalier Lavnoue, commanding Toulouse, spikes his guns, dismantles his post, and leaves it to its fate.

Chas. Ledyard Norton.

(To be continued)

MINOR TOPICS

DESCRIPTION OF MONTICELLO

When Pickering and his companions were about to begin their journey eastward, from one triumphant reception to another, Jefferson mounted his horse and made his way through snow and sleet to his beloved Monticello. Of all the houses yet built by man none surely was so much a part of its owner. What the shell is to the tortoise, all that was Monticello to Jefferson. The structure had grown with his growth, and bore all over it the marks of his individuality and curious inventive genius. The plan, the strange mixture of styles and orders, the bricks that formed the walls, the nails that held down the floors, much of the furniture, was the work of his own brain, or the manufacture of his own slaves. It was in the fittings and furnishings of his home, however, that the mechanical bent of his mind found free play, and carried him close to the bounds of eccentricity. On the top of the house was a weather-vane, which marked the direction of the wind on a dial placed beneath the roof of the porch. Over the main doorway hung a great clock, with one face for the porch and another for the hall. Cannon-balls were its weights, and one of them, as it passed down the wall, turned over each morning a metal plate inscribed with the day of the week. Not a sleeping-room contained a bedstead. Deep alcoves in the walls, with wooden frames for the mattresses, did duty instead. His own apartment was separated from that of his wife by two partitions, wide apart. Through these was cut an archway, taken up with the frame which supported the bed. One side of the bed was thus in the room of Mrs. Jefferson, and the other in the room of her husband. Above this archway was a closet, where in winter were stored the summer clothes and in summer the winter clothes of the entire family. In this library were his "whirligig chair," his tables with revolving tops, and one with extension legs, to be used for writing in any position, sitting or standing.

JOHN BACH McMASTER,

Extract from *History of the People of the United States*. Vol. III.

COMMODORE MACDONOUGH AND THE GOLD BOX

In the excellent volume recently published by the New York Historical Society, the following account of the presentation of the freedom of the city in 1815, appears :

"At a Common Council held the 6th day of January, 1815. The Honorable De Witt Clinton, Mayor, president. His Honor the Mayor stated that having received information that Commodore Macdonough had arrived in this city, and was to take immediate departure for Lake Champlain, he had presumed it would be agreeable to the Common Council to avail themselves of this opportunity of the Commodore's presence in the city to confer upon him those municipal honors which had been voted to him, and he had therefore summoned them together.

The Common Council having been informed that Commodore Macdonough was in waiting, a committee consisting of Alderman Napes and Mr. Brown were appointed to introduce him to the Common Council. Upon the Commodore's being presented to the Mayor he addressed him as follows :

'When our northern frontier was invaded by a powerful army—when the heroes who have immortalized themselves on the Niagara were pressed by a superior force, when the capital of the United States was overrun by hostile bands—when the most important city of the South was attacked by the enemy, and when he threatened to lay waste our maritime towns with fire and sword—at a period so inauspicious and gloomy, when all but those who fully understood and duly appreciate the firmness and resources of the American character, began to despair of the republic, you were the first who changed the fortune of our arms and who dispelled the dark cloud that hung over our country. With a force greatly inferior you met the enemy vaunting of his superior strength and confident of victory, you crushed his proud expectations—you conquered him ; and the embattled hosts, which were ready to penetrate into the heart of our country, fled in dismay and confusion. In discharging the great duties which you owed to America, you did not forget in that trying hour, the source of all power and all good ; you appealed to that Being, in whose hands are the issues of life and the fate of nations, and you complete the glory of the patriot by exhibiting the Christian hero. As long as illustrious events shall be embodied in history, so long will the victory on Lake Champlain, obtained under your auspices, command the respect of mankind ; and when you and all who hear me shall be numbered among the dead, those who succeed us to the most extended line of remote posterity will cherish with exaltation those great achievements which are indissolubly connected with the prosperity and glory of America.'

The Mayor then administered to him the freeman's oath, and presented the certificate of freedom, elegantly ornamented with suitable devices, and a golden box with an appropriate inscription engraved upon it. The Commodore replied as follows :

'Sir, with mingled feelings of gratitude and pleasure I received the honors you have been pleased to confer on me. The title of a freeman of this city distinguished as much for its high national character as for its commercial eminence will be borne with peculiar pride and satisfaction.'

The Commodore then withdrew."

USE OF THE IMAGINATION IN HISTORY

A seed looks very little like a beautiful rose-bush burning with a hundred crimson blossoms, yet the bush with its wealth of bloom is in the seed. It is so with historical facts. You tell me that the battle of Bunker Hill was fought on the 17th of June, 1775. Very well, but give me the details. My imagination cannot "make bricks without straw." What did the eyes see? Fifteen hundred Americans entrenched upon the hill. Colonel Prescott, General Putnam, and General Warren are in command. But how are these Americans dressed and equipped? Like what do these entrenchments appear? What is the expression on the faces of commanders and soldiers? Show me portraits of Prescott and Putnam and Warren. Show me the Pine-tree banner that fluttered fearlessly in the smoke of battle? Show me the three thousand red-coats. I must see General Howe's portrait. I must note the waving of banners. Show me those three assaults, those repulses, the clouds of smoke, the desperate fight with the butts of muskets, the hill-side red with the fallen foe. Come, painter, how looked Boston and burning Charlestown, the waters between, the war-ships, the blue New England sky?

What was heard? The roar of artillery, the rattle of musketry, the "heavy tread of the grenadiers," the words of command, "Don't fire till you see the white of their eyes," the shrieks and groans of the dying and the wounded, the crackling flames of burning Charlestown. Tell me, philosopher, what you make of all these facts? Merely facts, some will say. But what is the use of facts except so far as you develop and verify them by the spirit of the poet and the wisdom of the philosopher? The imagination of the earnest student aided by the painter, the sculptor, the architect, the historian, the poet, the musician, the philosopher, will bring the glorious rose-bush from the plain seed, and will keep leaves and blossoms forever beautiful and young.

FREDERIC ALLISON TUPPER

SHELburnE FALLS, MASSACHUSETTS.

EUROPEAN IDEAS CONCERNING NEW ORLEANS IN 1761

EXTRACT FROM THE "UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE," LONDON, OF FEBRUARY, 1761

The French settlement on the Mississippi remains still untouched from the ravages of the present war: What an immense, extensive trade will New Orleans have! which is the sea-port to all that extensive country, capable of producing every thing, sugar, wine, &c., if civilized, cultivated and peopled, as it may probably be in a few centuries.

The Crown of England has a right, by discovery and taking possession, to all

this country ; and King Charles II. granted it to the ancestors of the late Doctor Cox ; but they neglected to settle and people it ; and Sir Francis Drake took possession on the west side of it, as far north as latitude 42, and a great way south of that, for Queen Elizabeth ; but, the English neglecting to settle it, the French came and built the city of New Orleans, fifty leagues up the river, and a fort or two about sixty miles below that city. This city, and the forts, might have been easily taken the last winter, or this, as the winter is the best time to take them in, by reason of the warmth of the weather. If we had sent 2 or 3000 men down the river, Ohio, into the Mississippi, and thither, in large boats, as there is timber enough on its banks to build them with, the English might have been in possession of all North America, except Cape Florida and the north part of Mexico, which belongs to Spain ; and our King would then have been in possession of both the north and south passages to all that fine country, and to Canada also : and no way left for the French to come at either of them. The French, there, now are, and ever will be, enemies to the English ; and have lately stirred up the Cherokees, and other Indian nations, to fall upon the remote western parts of Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, and commit many barbarous and cruel murders.

This country is of much greater importance to England, than Canada is. Canada is of much greater importance to the French than to us, and, consequently, the loss will be greater to them, because it supplies them with masts, yards, and other timber for building ships, which they cannot get elsewhere, but at a great expence. But either Mississippi or Canada is of much greater importance to England, than both Martinico and Guadaloupe, and all the neutral islands.

Guadaloupe, except its being ready cultivated, is not of so much value as the three neutral islands, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent ; which are now, and have been, contrary to treaties, possessed by the French. The first is near as large and as good an island as Barbadoes, and they have built forts, and have now near 4000 inhabitants in the first ; and forts, and near 2000 inhabitants, in the second ; and some in St. Vincent, but the Indians will not permit them to build any forts. The French had begun to settle in Tobago also, which is indisputably a British island ; but Governor Grenville sent two men of war, and carried all the French inhabitants out of it, at the conclusion of the last war.

Three thousand men sent down the Ohio, and two good ships to the mouth of the Mississippi, will take New Orleans and all that country. Guadaloupe is not of that importance or value our news-papers would make it : It may be exchanged at a piece for some other place, which may then be in the hands of the French ; and, if we can get the neutral islands also ceded to us, those three islands and Tobago, when cultivated, will produce more than twice as much sugar as Guadaloupe can : And North America, when New Orleans and Mississippi are all taken, will be little enough to indemnify England for this expensive war, which was begun by the unjust incroachments and depredations made by the French and their Indians, whom they instigated to it.

NOTES

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS IN IOWA— It is rarely the good fortune of any one sovereign state to have within its borders such an important collection of manuscripts as that of the Aldrich collection in the state library of Iowa, and since it has been so largely a gift to the people of that young and enterprising state, it is a pleasure to note the movement for establishing a permanent fund for its fostering care and increase. There is a bill in the Iowa legislature, introduced by Senator Gatch, and warmly approved by every lover of his native land, "to promote historical collections in the capital of Iowa," its main feature being "to appoint a curator" at the expense of the state, who shall "proceed to collect and arrange books, maps, charts, public documents, manuscripts, and other papers and materials illustrative of the history of Iowa and of the west generally." This is a noble example for all the other states to follow.

PROFAIN SWAIRING AND ITS PENALTY IN 1765—"At a justice's court held in Lyme in New London county this 24th day of June A. D. 1765, President Samuel Seldon a justice of the peace for said New London county, an action upon complaint given in by Seth Ely one of his Majesty's grand jury men for the county of New London, against Hannah Renolds of Lyme in N. L. C. for the breach of peace, and for Profain Swairing as per complaint dated the 8th day of June A. D. 1765, on file may fuller appear. And now the said Hannah Renolds ap-

peared in this court and pleaded guilty of the matters and facts complained of. This court gives judgement that the said Hannah Renolds pay a fine for Profain Swairing of six shillings lawful money, to the treasurer of the town of Lyme, or sit in the stocks two hours; and pay the costs and stand committed till said judgment be settled, and also that the said Hannah Renolds pay a fine of four shillings lawful money for breach of peace, and for want of whereof to satisfy said judgment to be confined in prison, and to stand committed till the judgment be satisfied and pay the costs, taxed at one shilling lawful money.

Lyme. spt 28 A. D. 1765

Dec 17th A. D. 1767. paid deacon Zachariah Marvin, town treasurer, 10 shillings in full of the above fine.

President Samuel Seldon Justice."

—*From Book of Records of Samuel Seldon.*

ORIGIN OF ENVELOPES—The institution of payment for the carriage of letters and envelopes dates, so far as can be gathered, from the reign of Louis XIV., says the *Bulletin de l'Imprimerie*, when a certain Sieur de Valfyer instituted a service of private post; with the royal consent he placed boxes at the corners of the streets for the reception of the letters. These letters were enclosed in envelopes bought at special offices therefor. In 1653, M. de Valfyer had also "note-forms," or *formules de billets*, for the despatch of ordinary business communications for the inhabitants of the larger towns. Among the

archives of the British empire there is a letter addressed May 16, 1696, to the secretary of state, the Right Honorable Sir William Trumball, by Sir James Ogilvie. This letter is $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ inches, almost the same as our modern envelopes. In the Egerton collection of manuscript at the British Museum there is an envelope resembling our present envelopes, which contains a letter from Mme. de Pompadour to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, in the year 1760. There is also a letter addressed by Frederick the Great to an English general in his service. It is dated Potsdam, July 28, 1776, and has for cover an envelope of coarse paper similar to those in use in England at the present time. The difference between the two is, that the one is open at both ends, while at the present time they are opened at the top.—*The American Book-seller*.

SOUTH CAROLINA COLONIAL RECORDS

—At the recent session of the General Assembly of South Carolina, an act was passed creating a commission, to obtain from the Public Record offices in England, transcripts of the documentary history of that colony, from the date of the first grant of Charles I., to Sir Robert Heath, August 4, 1631; to the end of the Royal government, when "Governor Campbell (on September 16, 1775) fled to the shelter of the *Tamer*, carrying with him the great seal of the province, and so ended the long line of proprietary and royal governors, who had resided in Charleston one hundred and five years."

There is a concurrence of opinion that this thoughtful action of the state govern-

ment of South Carolina will add to the history of the Union one of its brightest and most interesting chapters, and that the benefits will not be circumscribed to the limits of that state. We have previously referred to the intelligent and energetic action of the committee of the South Carolina Historical Society, which, in the latter half of last year, organized to arouse public attention to this great state work; the whole state was canvassed, and petitions in favor of it were presented to the legislature from thirty-two out of thirty-five counties, which resulted, in December, in an appropriation of four thousand dollars—to initiate the work. The committee referred to consisted of ex-Mayor Courtenay; ex-Attorney General C. R. Miles; Mr. I. L. Weber, author of the new school history of South Carolina; Messrs. T. D. Jervy, Jr., and W. G. Hinson, who despite public indifference and other disabilities, went steadily forward until success was secured. Governor Tillman has expressed his approval of the measure in a very significant way, *i.e.*, in the high character and fitness of the commissioners. By the terms of the bill, the secretary of state is *ex-officio* chairman of the commission. The appointments are: Chief Justice Henry McIver, of the Supreme Court; Hon. Wm. A. Courtenay; Professor R. Means Davis, of South Carolina college; and Mr. W. C. Benel. These public-spirited citizens have accepted the service and been commissioned, "until the completion of the work," which will take several years. They serve without compensation.

QUERIES

FAIR WOMEN—Will some of the readers of your magazine give us the names of some of the characters referred to in Tennyson's "Dream of Fair Women," as the poet did not introduce them by name, but by some leading event in the life of each?

THREE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

THE WRITER OF TÉLÉMAQUE—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: I desire information as to who wrote Télémaque, and what became of the author. Kindly answer me through your pages.

LEWIS MAYNARD

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.

REPLIES

HARRY CROSWELL'S LIBEL ON JEFFERSON [xxv, 320; xxvii, 234]—In reply to Mr. Horatio King's query, permit me to say that Croswell, the editor of the *Wasp*, indicted and convicted in 1803 for libeling Thomas Jefferson, made through his counsel, Alexander Hamilton, the usual motion in arrest of judgment. This motion was virtually an appeal to the Supreme Court *in banc*. The court *in banc* was equally divided, Justices Kent and Thompson being for a new trial, and Justice Livingston with the Chief Justice Lewis for a denial of the motion. This division entitled the attorney-general to move for judgment on the verdict of the jury. But in view of some technical reason no such motion was ever made.

ROBERT LUDLOW FOWLES

WHY STUDY GENEALOGY [xxvii, 147]—Max Muller in his Cambridge lecture, 1882, says: "Why do we want to know

history? . . . Simply because all of us and every one of us ought to know how we have come to be what we are, so that each generation need not start again from the same standpoint and toil over the same ground, but profiting by the experience of those who came before, may advance toward higher points and nobler aims. As a child when growing up might ask his father or grandfather who had built the house they lived in, or cleared the fields that yielded them their food, so we ask the historian whence we came and how we came into possession of what we call our own. History may tell us afterward many useful and amusing things, gossip such as a child might like to learn from his mother or grandmother; but what history has to teach us before all and everything is our own antecedents, our own ancestry, our own descent."

H. E. H.

WILKESBARRE, PENNSYLVANIA.

SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its stated meeting March 1st, the president Hon. John A. King, in the chair. The librarian announced a very valuable addition to the history of Colonial New York, consisting of a manuscript survey on vellum, of the Hudson river, eighty-two inches by twelve, drawn by William Bond, 1721. This is probably the earliest survey of the Hudson river. Mr. John A. Weekes, on behalf of the trustees of the "Durer Gallery Fund," presented to the gallery of the society an original portrait of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, painted by J. S. Duplessis, at Paris.

The paper of the evening, entitled "Historical Notes on Original Portraits of Benjamin Franklin," illustrated by stereopticon views, was read by Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph.D., in which some sixty-five portraits of the great patriot and philosopher were shown, and brief descriptions of the artists who painted them given, as well as the history of the paintings themselves. The paper embodied a vast amount of research and greatly interested an attentive audience.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY at its late March meeting, which was of unusual interest, was presented with the journals, and the scrap-books of local history, kept by Edwin Scranton from 1837 to 1879, together with a paper by his daughter, Mrs. Pool, giving a sketch of her father's life. "Henry Clay's first visit to Rochester" was amusingly told by Mr. J. L. Otis. "Reminiscences of Mary B. Allen King," in her ninety-

third year, and for many years the head of the Allen Seminary, added much to the interest of the meeting. The papers called out the reminiscences of many present; among them a good story by the president, Dr. Strong, of the visit Miss Allen paid to the "Fox girls" when their "knockings" were the sensation of Rochester. Katie Fox had been a pupil in Miss Allen's school. Miss Allen called up her grandmother, and asked her to spell scissors—"because she used to spell it in a way of her own." She would like to see what change had been wrought in the old lady's orthography. Katie called up the grandmother, who straightway began spelling the word—"s-i-s-o-r-s." "Ah!" said Miss Allen with a significant smile, "that's the very way Katie Fox *always* spelled it."

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its seventieth annual meeting on January 13, President Horatio Rogers in the chair. After the transaction of routine business the president delivered his annual address. During the past year three resident members have been removed by death, John Pitman, Mumford, Henry Lippitt, a former governor of the state, and John Larkin Lincoln, senior professor of Brown University. The treasurer's report showed the receipts for the past year to have been \$9,991.85; expenses, \$2,500.04. Treasurer Richmond P. Everett was presented with a certificate of life membership in recognition of his twenty-five

years of faithful service as treasurer of the society by the president, and the membership fee of \$50 was paid into the treasury by the members.

The librarian's report showed that 1,666 volumes had been received during the past year. John O. Austin, who has presented the society with three volumes of portraits, was allowed \$50 and given a life membership in the society. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Hon. Horatio Rogers; vice-presidents, E. Benjamin Andrews and Hon. George M. Carpenter; secretary, Hon. Amos Perry; treasurer, Richmond P. Everett; standing committee, Albert B. Jencks, James E. Cranston and Edward I. Nickerson; on lectures, Amos Perry, Amasa M. Eaton and Reuben A. Guild; on building and grounds, Royal C. Taft, I. C. Bates and Isaac Southwick; on library, William D. Ely, William B. Weeden and Howard W. Preston; on publication, E. Benjamin Andrews, W. F. B. Jackson and James G. Vose; on genealogical researches, Henry C. Turner, John O. Austin and George T. Hart; on finance, Robert H. I. Goddard, Charles H. Smith and Richmond P. Everett; auditing committee, Lewis J. Chase, Edwin Barrows and James Burdick.

A resolution asking the society to take into consideration the advisability of responding to a request for contributions to a historical collection to be made at the Columbian exposition in Chicago, was acted favorably upon, and a committee will be appointed at a future meeting.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held its usual monthly meeting on the 12th of February, at its room, No. 23 West 44th street. The secretary, Mr. Thomas Grier Evans, being absent, Mr. Philip Randall Voorhis acted as secretary *pro tem*. After the usual routine business, and the election of F. W. Vanderbilt and Eugene Lawrence as resident members, and Hon. T. F. Bayard an honorary member of the society, the president introduced the speaker of the evening, Hon. William Paterson of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, who delivered a very eloquent and interesting address upon the life and public services of his grandfather, William Paterson, governor of New Jersey and a justice of the supreme court of the United States. The address was listened to with great interest and at its conclusion the thanks of the audience were tendered to Mr. Paterson, and a copy was requested for publication in the "Genealogical and Biographical Record." At the meeting held March 11, Mr. Eugene Lawrence read a very interesting paper on "Governor Cosby of New York and the Freedom of the Press, 1730-1743." Mr. Lawrence gave short biographical sketches of many of the men who figured prominently in city and provincial affairs during Governor Cosby's administration, and closed with a brilliant description of the Zenger trial in which Andrew Hamilton, the great Philadelphia lawyer, did so much for the cause of American liberty.

BOOK NOTICES

THE BURGHERS OF NEW AMSTERDAM, AND THE FREEMEN OF NEW YORK, 1675-1886. Collections of the New York Historical Society, 1885. [Publication Fund series] 8vo, pp. 678. Published by the Society.

This volume is one of great value. It contains all the official Dutch and English records that exist in relation to its subject, arranged in four heads: first, "The Burgher Right;" second, "The Roll of Freemen;" third, "Appendix to the Roll of Freemen;" fourth, "Indentures of Apprenticeship, 1694-1708." In Holland and in Great Britain in former times the "freedom of a city" or other corporation was a most desirable and important privilege and monopoly. In Holland it was styled "burgher right," and was of two classes, great and small. When the English succeeded the Dutch in New York the English form was adopted. The documents and official papers of the burgomasters and schepens of Dutch New York, establishing the great and small burgher rights in the little city, with all their respective privileges, powers, and duties, may be found in the first thirty-five pages of the volume, and it is a most informing study. Then follows the "Roll of Freemen," under New York's English charters from 1675-1776, giving names, occupations, and employments, with the dates, and the mayoralties under which they were respectively made "freemen." It is veritably an authentic, authoritative, official directory of New York and New Yorkers during the century preceding the Revolution, and throws a strong, clear light upon the social and business standing of many whose descendants are among the citizens of New York at this day.

In the Appendix, under the third head, are printed in full the names of all persons, officials, and others, who were "voted the freedom of the city" for any reason, between the years 1675 and 1776. These names are also of the greatest interest to such readers as desire a correct understanding of New York history under colonial rule. This list commences with page 447, and ends with page 564. The honor was often accorded in acknowledgment of some particular services, and then again as a municipal compliment. We turn the page at random and find that under the mayoralty of Paul Richard, in 1735, it was ordered in Common Council that Andrew Hamilton, Esq., of Philadelphia, barrister at law, be presented with the freedom of this corporation. And that Alderman Bayard, Alderman Johnson and Alderman Fell, be a committee to bring in draught thereof, and a few days later the draught was adopted, with the further report that sundry members of the

corporation and gentlemen of the city had voluntarily contributed money for a gold box to enclose the same. This is only one of innumerable instances of similar character. From 1784 to 1816, when the creation of freemen under the charter ceased, without any formal action, the roll is continued as before. But from that date onward the elections of freemen were purely special and complimentary, and are inserted in this work on their respective dates, with the full proceedings in each case. The last one was that of President Andrew Johnson in 1866.

Closely connected with the freemen under the charter were their apprentices, and the system of binding them out then in vogue, as every apprentice upon duly attaining the end of his apprenticeship was entitled to, and did become a freeman, without the payment of any fees, and he was able to practice his trade or occupation in the city, and vote, and be eligible to any office therein. Registers of all such indentures were required by law to be kept; the only one of these which can be found is printed in this volume under the fourth head, covering the period from 1694 to 1708. The publication committee who have so ably prepared this incomparable record, after much painstaking and research, are Edward F. de Lancey, Dr. George H. Moore of the Lenox Library, and William Libbey. It is a volume of reference that will aid the genealogical student immensely, as well as all historical scholars and writers.

SKETCHES OF WAR HISTORY 1861-1865. Papers prepared for the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Edited by CAPTAIN ROBERT HUNTER. Published by the Commandery. 8vo, pp. 471. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co.

Unless we are mistaken it was the Ohio commandery that set the example of collecting in book form the personal reminiscences that have from time to time been read or simply "told" at the stated meetings of the order. If so, it is to this commandery that we owe the appropriate form in which the volumes are issued. The present is the third in the series. The New York commandery has followed suit in the handsome volume noticed in the March number of this Magazine, and before many years have passed there should be a very creditable library of these attractive blue and gold octavos with the insignia of the order emblazoned on the cover. It is eminently appropriate that these publications, issued as they are by different branches of one association, should be uniform

in color and binding. It is fitting, too, that these ranks of books should wear in effect the same uniform that their authors wore in the days when powder was burned in earnest.

The present volume contains an even score of papers, among whose authors we note the names of General J. Warren Keifer, Captain Frank H. Mason, Lieutenant Thomas Speed, General David S. Stanley, Major William H. Chamberlin, General William P. Carlin, General C. C. Doolittle, Colonel R. M. Kelly, General R. R. Dawes, Colonel William E. Merrill, General John Beatty and others. The titles are nearly all warlike and attractive in themselves, as "With the Sixth Wisconsin at Gettysburg," "A Brush with Pillow," "The Last Ditch," "The Defence of Decatur, Alabama," "The Battle of Sailor's Creek," "The Battle of Franklin," "The Cruise of the Black Terror," "Atlanta," "Bentonville," "Antietam," and many others, some of them illustrated, and all of living interest for those who remember the sustained excitement of those four disastrous years. The "recorder," for such is the commandery title of the officer upon whom devolves the editorial responsibility, must needs find himself in a state of perplexity almost equal to that endured by the editors of the *Century* during the publication of their famous war articles. He has been judicious in his selections, and the work in its completed form is well worthy of a place beside the other members of this martial group.

THE 159TH REGIMENT INFANTRY, NEW YORK STATE VOLUNTEERS, IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION. Compiled and published by Major WILLIAM F. TIERNAN. 8vo, pp. 188. Brooklyn, New York. 1891.

Major Tiernan, with excellent judgment, has held closely to his text. His book, handsomely bound and printed, is neither more nor less than it professes to be—a history of "Molineaux's Bears." Other regiments are mentioned only in passing when such mention seems necessary. This is quite as it should be, for a regimental historian should be very cautious about saying anything in praise or blame of any associate battalions. The regiment gained the sobriquet cited above from its colonel and a pet bear picked up somewhere in Louisiana, and carried through various arduous campaigns till he met an inglorious death in a fire at Savannah. The 159th affords a good example of a marching regiment. It was mustered in 1,027 strong in 1862, and mustered out 346 strong in 1865. It marched near 1,500 miles in Louisiana, Mississippi, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, and bore itself everywhere as a loyal volunteer regiment should. Its history forms a record of which every man, from the colonel

who became a general, down to the junior drummer boy, may well be proud.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. Designed as an aid in teaching, and in historical studies. By THEODORE DWIGHT WOOLSEY. 12mo, pp. 527. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

The present edition—the sixth—of Woolsey's *International Law*, is revised and enlarged by Theodore Salisbury Woolsey, a son of the late distinguished president of Yale. The fifth and last preceding edition was published in 1879. Since that time few noteworthy events of world-wide significance have occurred to affect the general principles of law, and the present edition is called for only because of the fervor with which the work has been received. It embraces a new bibliography and aims to supply certain omissions which experience has suggested as desirable in the changing relations of civil governments.

BUTLER'S BOOK. AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF MAJOR-GENERAL BENJAMIN F. BUTLER. A review of his legal, political and military career. By BENJAMIN F. BUTLER. Illustrated with 125 engravings, maps, photographs, etc. 8vo. pp. 1154. Boston: A. M. Thayer & Co.

There are many of the present generation whose ideas about General Butler are dependent upon the remarks of veterans in war and statesmanship or chance passages in newspapers, who, if asked to diagnose his reputation, would be at a complete loss for statistics. His autobiography, which has been long promised by the publishers, is now before the reader, and any analysis of it in this notice would fail to do it justice. It treats of everything in connection with the war and with the leading men of the period. It is overflowing with graphic descriptions and boldly expressed personalities and opinions. General Butler makes no secret of his dislikes, and his language is direct to the point in every instance. This book is a notable publication, and one that must be intelligently read to be comprehended. General Butler says that in speaking of events he has as far as possible put them in juxtaposition, and with such bearings upon each other that they shall consist of items of history to aid others in reaching the truth. But in regard to his personal opinions, which he has expressed as such, he frankly states that their correctness or propriety are open to the fullest criticism. He tells an incident about West Point

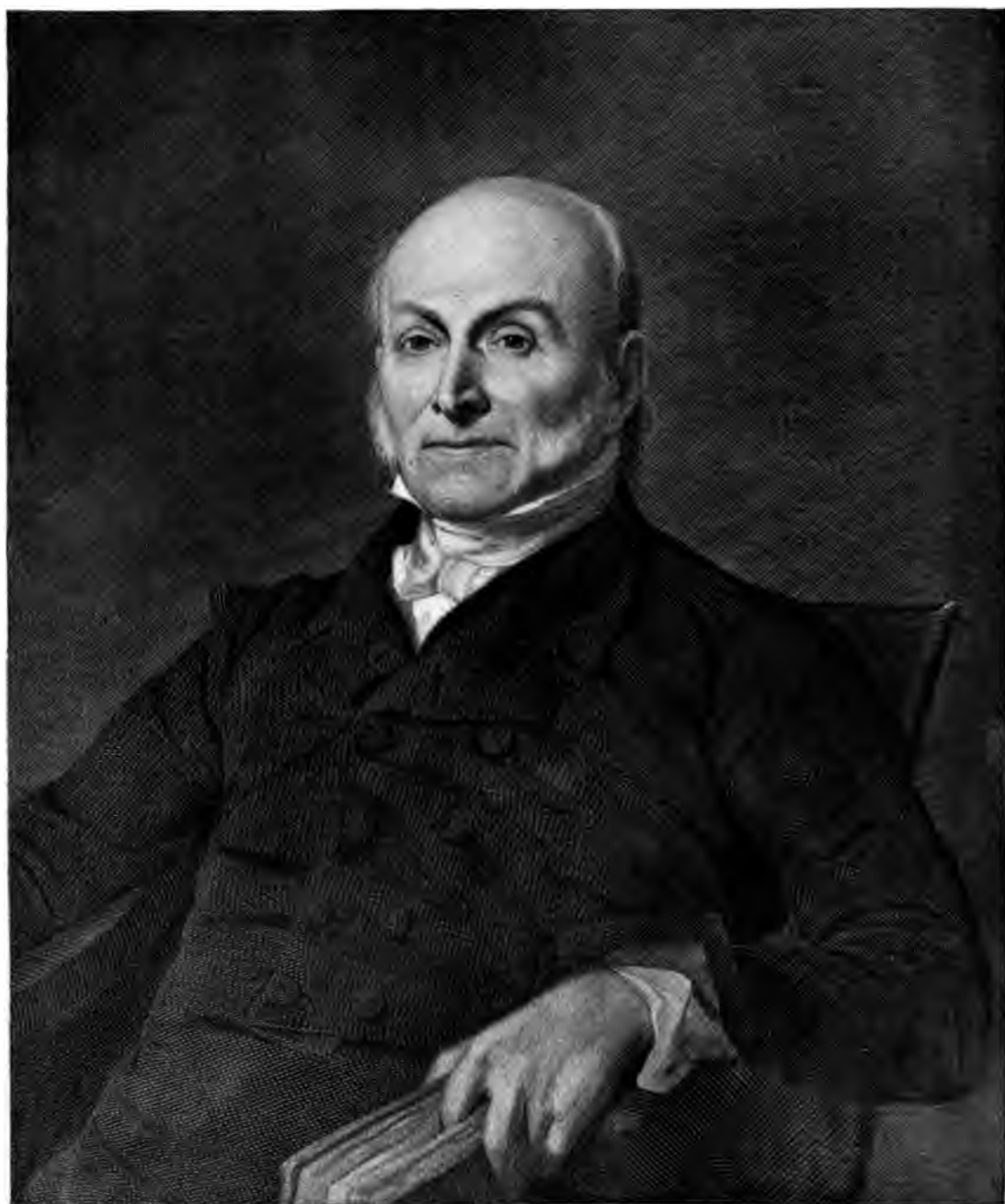
which is suggestive. "Sometimes it was discussed before me how superior all West Pointers were to volunteer officers. I thought I would put a stop to that, so I invited some of the officers to a dinner party at my headquarters with some of my personal staff who were volunteers. I believed that at that dinner party such discussion might be renewed, so I called Captain Haggerty, a very bright young lawyer, and told him to go to the library and read the descriptions of one or two of Napoleon's famous battles, naming Marengo, and to ascertain the pivotal point or movement upon which the battles turned so as to be able clearly to tell me what it was when I asked him. We all came to dinner in a very pleasant mood, but between one or two of the officers, regulars and volunteers, the discussion broke out and became quite animated, and I feared it would go so far that it might become necessary for the general to take notice of it. The claim was very loudly made that nobody could be fit to command troops who had not been to West Point. I said: 'You gentlemen of the regulars can doubtless give me, a volunteer general, some information by answering a question. Can any of you tell me the movement of Napoleon at the battle of Marengo, which was the one upon which he wholly relied for his success in that famous battle?' They looked one to the other and the other to the one, but nobody replied. I then turned to Captain Haggerty, who sat well down the table, and said: 'Captain, can you answer that question?' 'Yes, general, I think I can.' 'Then explain to us what that battle was.' Haggerty gave a very exact account of it and I said: 'I am very much obliged to you, captain. You see, gentlemen, it will be convenient during this war to have some volunteer officers along with us, so that if we get into a like predicament with Napoleon we shall have somebody who knows what was done under like circumstances.'" Speaking of Grant's career at West Point, Butler adds: "Grant evidently did not get enough of West Point into him to hurt him any; he was less like a West Point man than any officer I ever knew. The less West Point a man has the more successful he will be. We see how little Grant had. All of the very successful generals of our war stood at the lower end of their classes at West Point. As examples, take Grant, Sheridan and Sherman. All the graduates in the higher ranks in their classes never came to any thing as leaders of armies in the war. The whole thing puts me in mind of an advertisement I saw in a newspaper in my youth. It contained a recipe for making Graham bread out of coarse unbolted flour mixed with sawdust. The recipe ended as follows: 'N. B.—The less sawdust the better.'"

KING'S HANDBOOK OF THE UNITED STATES. By M. F. SWEETSER. 8vo, pp. 944. Buffalo. Moses King Co.

Condensation is one of the watchwords of the day, and it is destined to bear a still more conspicuous part as libraries multiply and the hopelessness of reading everything more and more forces itself upon humanity. The idea of this admirable handbook is credited on the title page to the publisher, Mr. Moses King, who is responsible for the general makeup. More than two thousand six hundred illustrations are scattered through the pages serving to punctuate the context with views of scenery, buildings, famous persons, and the like. The colored maps, fifty-one in number, are, with the exception of two general maps of the United States, grouped in the middle of the volume, a device which will be appreciated by bookmakers, however it may strike the average reader. These maps are all clear, excellently printed and on a scale large enough to be really useful. The context, as we have already intimated, is a model of condensation, and we may without undue flattery add, a monument of industry. The author has spent a great part of his life in compilation, condensation and arrangement, and his experienced hand shows itself in every page. His book is not a history in the sense that Bancroft's or Parkman's works are history, and yet he contrives most happily to lend a touch of interest even to the driest statements. So far as we have been able to verify dates, figures, etc., we have found them correct, and it is safe to say that barring the errors that must of necessity creep into all elaborate human work, the book may be accepted as a trustworthy work of reference. The arrangement is by states, each forming a chapter by itself, the whole preceded by a brief historical sketch of the United States.

THE FIFTEEN DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE WORLD. From Marathon to Waterloo. By Sir EDWARD CREASY, M.A. 16mo, pp. 425. New York: Harper & Brother. 1892.

The first edition of Creasy's "decisive battles" was published in London as early as 1854, and shortly afterward republished in this country, at once attaining a deserved recognition as a text book. Since that time it has commanded a regular sale and has made its appearance periodically in new editions. It is perhaps worth while for the publishers to consider the policy of adding an appendix to some future issue including the decisive battles since Waterloo. In the eyes of the present generation this would seem a desirable feature and would certainly add to the historical completeness of the book.



John Quincy Adams.

[From Joseph Andrews' engraving of the portrait painted by G. P. A. Healy.]



De Witt Clinton

[From the original painting by Charles C. Ingham.]

rank skepticism as to its practicability. The prophecy with which Mayor Clinton concluded his address is worth repeating:

“ If the project of a canal was intended to advance the views of individuals, or to foment the divisions of party ; if it promoted the interests of a few at the expense of the prosperity of the many ; if its benefits were limited as to place or fugitive as to duration ; then, indeed, it might be received with cold indifference, or treated with cold neglect ; but the overflowing blessings from this great fountain of public good and national abundance will be as extensive as our country, and as durable as time. It may be confidently asserted that this canal, as to the extent of its route,

as to the countries which it connects, and as to the consequences which it will produce, is without a parallel in the history of mankind. It remains for a free state to create a new era in history, and to erect a work more stupendous, more magnificent, and more beneficial than has hitherto been achieved by the human race."

The Erie Canal was completed on October 26, 1825. Thus the longest canal in the world had been constructed within a period of eight and one-third years. The manual labor had not ceased for a day since July 4, 1817. On the occasion of the magnificent celebration of this great event in history, Philip Hone was one of New York's representatives to meet the city's guests at Albany as they arrived there on the *Seneca Chief* from Buffalo; and in behalf of the city of New York he made an elegant congratulatory address, and invited the corporation of Albany to accompany the party down the Hudson and accept the hospitalities of the metropolis. Philip Hone was a personal friend and great admirer of Clinton. His home at that time was a great, roomy, cheerful dwelling in Broadway, opposite City Hall Park, which contained a well-chosen and costly library, and many valuable works of art. He must have greatly prized this excellent portrait by Ingham, which he subsequently placed in his collection.

De Witt Clinton was exceptionally dignified in personal appearance, tall, exceeding six feet in height, with a large, well-proportioned figure. His movements were deliberate, and in general society constrained, as if not perfectly at ease, which his political opponents ascribed to arrogance and a sense of superiority. His head, finely shaped and admirably poised, was distinguished for the great height and breadth of his forehead; he had beautiful curly chestnut hair, clear hazel eyes, a Grecian nose, and complexion as fair as a woman's. His tastes were literary; he had collected a large library, and was perfectly familiar with the contents of every volume from Homer, Virgil, and Dryden, down to Irving's *Salmagundi* of his own generation. He was well read in theology, he loved poetry, and he was captivated by science. He was indeed a man so wedded to the pursuit of knowledge, that the wonder is that he ever embarked upon the stormy sea of politics, unless it was through his perception of the need of power to give effect to his efforts for the recognition of religion, and the advancement of education, art, science, and morals. He lacked many of the requisites for a successful politician. His doctrines, objects, and public policy were open. He had no gifts for strategy, no disposition to drill men into mere machines or employ unusual weapons, ambushes, or surprises, to crush an adversary. The severer the scrutiny into his character, conduct, and career, the brighter becomes his fame.

COLONIAL MEMORIES AND THEIR LESSON

In every lifetime there comes a period when we love to turn the pages of our own history and take a retrospective view of the past, as it concerns ourselves, in our progenitors. The love of genealogy is often an inherited taste, although it may be one of cultivation, but at some stage of our existence, amid the full current of events that unceasingly flows around us, we may drop with the ebb tide to gather the shells along the shore of the past, or bring up from its hidden depths rich treasure from the lives of the wise and good whose names we honor through the centuries. Some one has said, "Great men exist that there may be greater men." That seed thought has borne fruit in our own day and generation, and we have seen the veritable sons of our Revolution again sacrificing life for a principle, to preserve what was given to us in trust by our patriot forefathers—our Union in all its glory and strength. We believe in our ancestors. We call our children by their names, and take an interest in tracing family characteristics or the features of grand old portraits in the present generation. That they were strong men with strong convictions, mountain-climbers thinking mountain thoughts, that we do know, self-sacrificing and duty-loving; and the high aims born in them have inspired others to overcome obstacles as they mount still higher. How many of us were made familiar in our earlier years with the old French motto *Noblesse oblige*, to live up to our position in life, honoring the race from which we sprung, which may have served as a vigorous incentive to spur ambition, or acted as a salutary check in time of need; but I never thoroughly appreciated all it embodied until a French teacher—a veritable gentlewoman of Huguenot descent—translated it for me, and gave it a higher meaning and dignity: "Unto whom much is given, much shall be required," and the sweet sense of its worth gathers new strength as the years roll on.

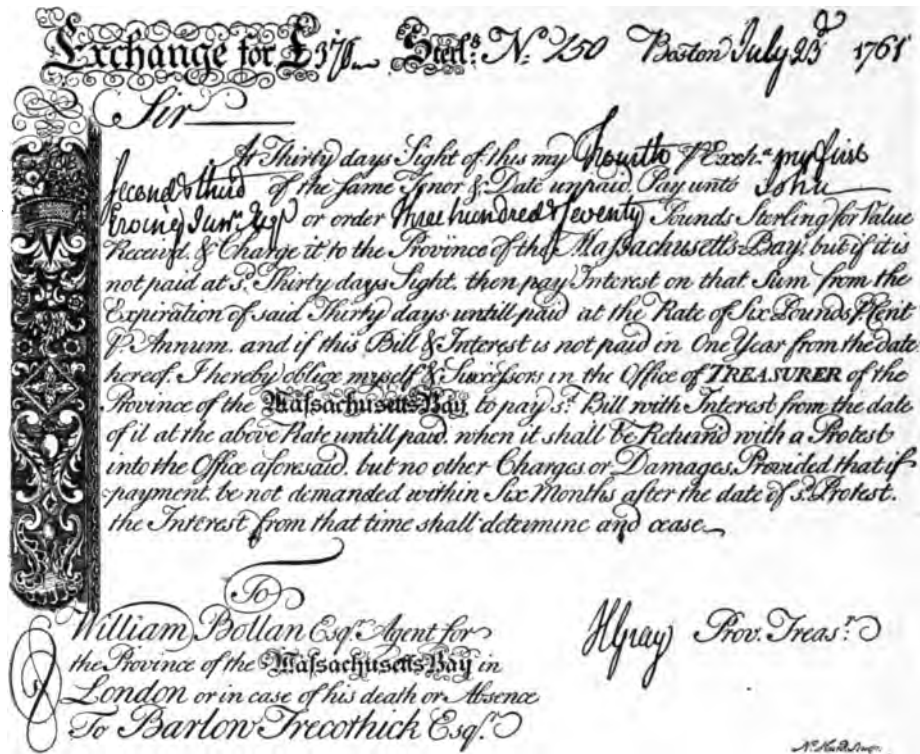
The present is ever unfolding the past. Mistakes made in one generation are followed by their results in the next. If parents eat sour grapes their children's teeth are set on edge, or from the toil and struggle and self-denial of the past the present reaps the golden grain. It is from those who served their generation well that we enjoy the privileges of to-day, and as we review the past, all who took a leading part in it share in its triumphs. The statesman and soldier, as well as the private

citizen and the "embattled farmer," have their representatives in every state, as we gather up the broken links of that long chain of patriots, cemented together by the love of country and liberty, to add to the honor of the past. It is they who set the keynote of our onward march in every direction toward an unclouded horizon, and in the swelling host who have joined us from every nation and clime we do not wish to forget these pioneers of principle, nor all they achieved in the small beginnings of our great republic; and now each one of us comes forward to lay a wreath of evergreen upon the grave of some ancestor who founded a colony, established the laws, and resisted unto death, to give us a free and independent country. Thus we revive their names and noble deeds in grateful remembrance as a legacy for those who are to follow us. Such is the origin, as I understand it, of our "Society of Colonial Dames of America," in its true meaning. The thought is full of poetic sentiment, if given its right direction, and should not degenerate into any ostentatious love of display, or unbecoming and misdirected pride, to weaken its influence.

The last century gathers together records of interest for all patriots, for the charm of ancient story enriches our past. The battles for freedom fought and won, and the principles bequeathed from dying fathers to sons, live not only in the heart of every true American but in the old flint-lock muskets, rapiers, cocked hats, and epaulets, that have descended with the years, and we can imagine our sturdy forefathers echoing some such sentiment as this:

"Never let it be said
That we truckled unto Thrones;
But ye, our children's children! think how we
Showed what things were, before the world was free!"

The footprints of those early days are fast being obliterated by the advancing conqueror progress, who develops great undertakings, controls greater forces, levels all obstacles, and climbs over impassable barriers with increasing knowledge that only a few years ago seemed insurmountable, plunging into untried paths with the confidence that only a successful past can give. Everything well started grows apace, like the giant trees of our forests, sending out strength and vigor in every direction still mounting upward—the result of centuries, they have their roots hidden in the past. We often associate our ancestors with the formal drawing-rooms of the last century, and as dressed in maroon velvet coats trimmed with rich lace, silken hose, knee-breeches, and powdered wigs;



FACSIMILE OF BILL OF EXCHANGE IN 1761.

[In possession of the author.]

but those costly "small-clothes" covered very big men—men who resolved and *did*, cost them what it might; men stung to the quick by a sense of injustice and oppression. Are we not indebted to them for the "free press" of our country, who did not hesitate to expose the wrong, advocate the right, and put their journals into deep mourning the day before the memorable stamp act was to take place? Their pluck, too, in consigning the valuable and probably much longed-for tea to a watery grave, for principle, will ever be the delight of schoolboys.

"The cargo came, and who could blame
 If Indians seized the tea,
 And chest by chest let down the same
 Into the laughing sea!
 For what avail the plow, or sail,
 Or land, or life, if Freedom fail!"



OLD KNIFE AND TWO-PRONGED FORK
OF SILVER.

[In possession of the author.]

The chivalry and adventure of those early days have filled many a volume. Homes were at the mercy of the red man more than of the British, and the long cruel winters were still another formidable enemy to resist. But the peaceful side of the picture shows the simple domestic life—the circles around the log-fires, where classic lore, Horace and Homer, were made familiar to the boys, and bespeak the savor of home-rule and paternity, as the well-worn volumes on our library shelves testify. We read, too, of their cellars, well filled with old wine, pledged by those incorrigible patriots to drive the aggressive red-coats out of Massachusetts bay. It would have been better, perhaps, for their descendants, if their wine had shared the fate of the tea in Boston harbor, as that invincible enemy—the gout—whom they did not conquer has invaded the country ever since. It may, however, temper its piquancy to the innocent sufferers to remember that “its descent was from some aristocratic branch of their family tree,” and I believe there are many to whom that thought has a soothing effect. Their provincial simplicity must always have a charm for us who have advanced so far in luxury and worldly wisdom. We cannot forbear a good-natured smile at those dear simple folk of “ye olden time,” in their consternation, expressed in such practical wisdom, when their round-tipped knife-blades went out of fashion (they were only familiar with the two-pronged silver fork), as to how they were ever going to eat their peas! Their bills of exchange, and the quaint form of invitation, so different from those of to-day, we preserve as relics. Then the lives of colonial grandmothers enhance our own with a halo of romance. We read their long, closely written letters and journals, now yellowed by time, with a pathetic tenderness, wherein they recorded their heart stirrings, their bud-

ding hopes and passions. Sweet-faced miniatures of 1709 look again into our eyes. We wear their rings, reset their jewels, use their silver, read their Bibles—the only ones that tell us of “Susannah and the Elders,” and “Bel and the Dragon.” We even bear their names and the beauty of their lives attuned to ours, and keep up the harmony of the rolling years in our families. What pretty love-letters they wrote! In looking over such letters, I opened one enclosing a rose—all ashes now, yet reverently I folded it again, and tied it up in its faded ribbon. A soft



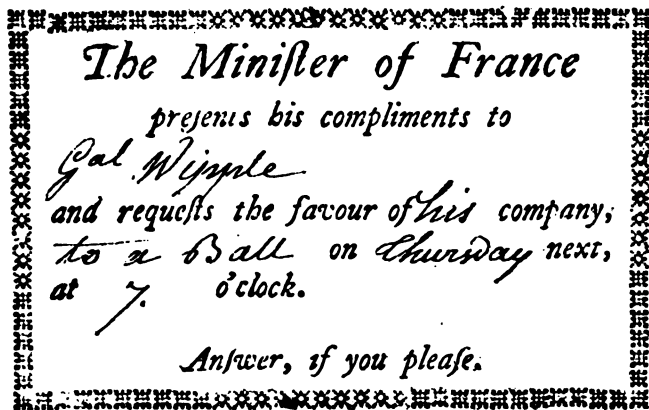
A SLIPPER OF COLORED SILK WORN BY MRS. GOVERNOR SHIRLEY, BOSTON, 1645.

[*In possession of the author.*]

ring of hair was enfolded in another with a verse of tender sentiment, and a baby slipper drifted up to me from the long ago, worn and dimpled by a little foot. It was labeled, “My darling’s first shoe,” and the date marked upon the sole—far down the centuries; no name, as though that was quite enough for that loving mother to distinguish her darling by through the ages. It would have been interesting to have followed the little footsteps, to know whither they led, and if they had made “their footprints on the sands of time.” The slippers, too, of colored silks, to match the *jupons* of colonial dames, recall the stately minuet in statelier

drawing-rooms, where their high jeweled combs and spangled fans twinkled in the soft light of wax candles.

I have sometimes pictured them in their shady old manor-houses, living their sweet, wholesome lives, going through their simple round of



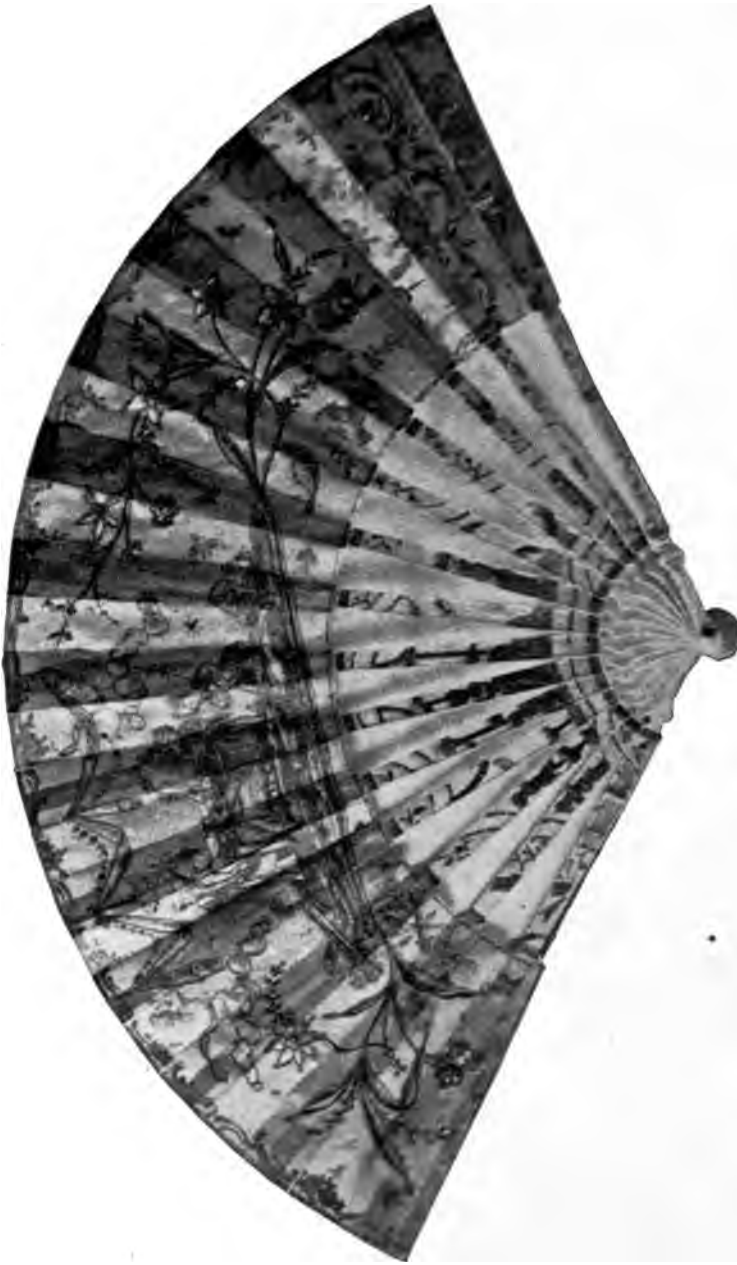
FAC-SIMILE OF AN INVITATION IN THE OLDEN TIME.
[Original in possession of the author.]

home duties, designing their own embroidery and worsted work, even dyeing the different shades of color they used with the herbs and roots out of their own woods and meadows. Before Miss Burney's new departure into sensational novels, they probably read *The Faerie Queen*,

and later Young's *Night Thoughts*, for pastime, doubtless building as attractive castles and bridges of their own sweet fancy, with perhaps more enduring foundations than the airy structures reared by our dazzled imaginations of to-day. There was a deeper sentiment given to the yellow rose than we give to the burning red of the "jacqueminot." In one manor-house the garden walks, hidden behind hedges of box, were kept exclusive and private for their own use, for the garden gate was locked, and the key had its proper place assigned to it in the grand old hall. There was a nice distinction drawn in these quiet homes, and maintained by a becoming reserve and dignity that was equal to themselves and to the times in which they lived. It might almost be called an "unassuming superiority," without any assertion or attempt on their part to insure it.

After the Revolution many of the leading families discarded their liveries on principle, so careful were they not to establish any undue class distinction in a republic.

In turning the pages of history, there are lessons to be learned, high questions to be solved and answered by the thoughtful, and out of them grows the sweet, sound wisdom that makes the world adaptable to all conditions of life. Character is strengthened and deepened by the steadfastness, the example, and practice of the noble lives that have passed onward. If they do not touch our own lives, they color our



FAN OF MRS. SHIRLEY (1745), WIFE OF THE FAMOUS COLONIAL GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

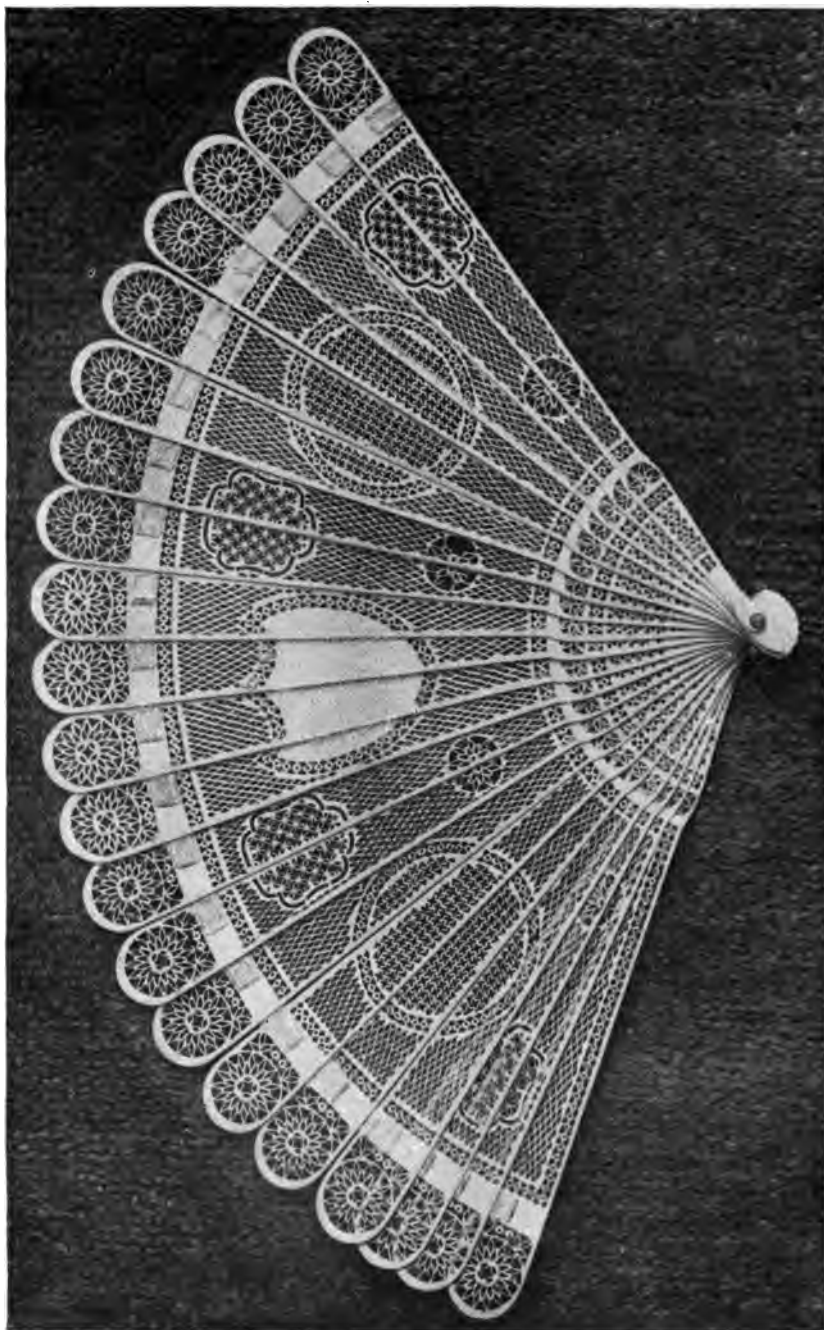
[*In possession of the author.*]

[From a photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

thoughts and actions, and prove that the world is made better by those who have had the courage to live up to their highest convictions. One of our own Colonial Dames made a remark to me the other day, to this effect: "How few of the *bona-fide* old ladies of the past we see around us!" It may be that in our high-pressure way of living there is no time in which to grow old; or is it that the boundary line of old age has grown obscure, not so readily found? Unfortunately, the beautiful autumn of life may be associated with the sere and yellow leaf only, unmindful of the mature fruitfulness and gathered sheaves that it alone can bring. Be that as it may, those dear old ladies, with smooth silvered hair, and soft lace caps, have gone out of fashion. Are we to revive the fading pictures ourselves again, when our lengthened autumns settle into the glow of winter's fireside?

Two sketches have come to me across the centuries. One is a ghost story and the other is a love story, although both are shaded with love. I found the ghost story in the pretty quaint hamlet of Stratford, Connecticut, last summer, when visiting a kinswoman of my own, whose home is in a dignified colonial house built about one hundred and fifty years ago to replace an older family mansion close by. It was built by the first president of Columbia college—then known as King's college. Members of the same colonial family still occupy it. The house itself is a fine study, filled with interesting and valuable relics. It doubtless boasted of its "modern improvements" in that olden day—one being a spacious linen closet built in one of the huge chimneys, so as to keep the linen warm during the bitter cold winters. Secret doors and panels in the wainscoting lead into darkened closets and vaults of concealment. The grounds are laid out in straight walks and shrubbery.

The heroine of my story was the beautiful Sally Johnson, the acknowledged belle and beauty of the period in that part of the country, and her position and loveliness attracted the admiration of a young British officer. Her father was a stanch patriot, and was deeply grieved at the discovery of a sincere attachment between the young people. The English family were equally indignant at a possible union with a "rebel family," whom they always alluded to with a capital D prefixed, by way of being more emphatic, and the recreant young officer was summarily ordered home in disgrace. Filial obedience was as stringent in those days as military laws, and the unfortunate lover saw no alternative before him but death, and ended his life with a bullet at the feet of his betrothed. The American house was dishonored by the tragedy, a blot cast upon its proud name, and the disconsolate maiden was only allowed to remain under her father's



THE ORIGINAL CARVED IVORY FAN OF MARIE ANTOINETTE, 1789.

[Recently for some three years in custody of the editor.]

roof upon one condition, that her sorrow should never again be referred to. Robed in a black silken gown, she wandered aimlessly about the house, the only relief to her feelings being her long-drawn sighs. Gradually she fell into a decline, and soon followed the spirit of her departed lover. These sighs and the rustle of her trailing gown are still heard in the present generation. "And have you heard them yourself?" I asked my hostess. "I assure you I have," she answered. I must, however, explain that the tragedy occurred in the original house on the grounds, that stood unoccupied for many, many years, for its reputation was tarnished at a very early date, as being *haunted*. It passed into decay slowly, and the evening that the last timbers of it were removed, my hostess told me that she was sitting up very late in her library reading, her dog lying on the hearth beside her, when distinctly she heard, as she supposed, some one sweeping past the door. Her dog sprang up with bristling ears, and excited, short barks, and "I arose," she said, "and opened the door, fully expecting to meet some one in the hall, but heard only a deep sigh passing up the staircase." "Were you not alarmed?" I asked. "The feeling was so strong with me," she answered, "that some one had entered the house, that I immediately called the servants together, and we searched every available place, to find that I had been deceived. Then remembering the family legend as being the only solution to the mystery, I looked up into the fine old shade-trees that encircled the house, and readily imagined how their great boughs, heavy with foliage, brushing against the soft shingles, might produce the effect of a trailing gown, and nature's wind-harp in the topmost branches might strike a sighing note, in certain conditions, around the sharp corners of the building." "But why spoil the poetry of a ghost story with the prose of logic?" I asked.

The love story I found in an old sole-leather trunk of family letters, and I finished it myself from an original portrait. Pages of finely written letters, yellow with age, fell into my hands from this receptacle, and in arranging their dates I became much interested in the young girl who wrote them from an old manor far up the Hudson. Her brother had recently married, I inferred from them, and had taken his bride to Europe to spend the winter. These letters were written to her new sister-in-law. They were bright and clever, full of girlish enthusiasm, envying their brilliant surroundings in contrast to her snow-bound winter, cut off so pitilessly from the outside world. I stood upon the porch of her lovely colonial home last winter, and contemplated the isolation of the scene of the last century. The double lawn swept down in its magnificence to the river unchanged, but the ice-boats of to-day skimmed over its surface like

New-Hampshire ^{GM} ^R **GAZETTE,**
AND
HISTORICAL  **CHRONICLE.**

No. 474 ^{5 Weeks before this Paper}
was first Published.

These, and such as these, were the Sentiments of those in Power, in former Times. They knew that Liberty was the natural Right of Mankind; and that it was the greatest Injury even to curtail or deprive them of it, in any Manner, any more than to strip them of their Conscience, or to exchange Part of it, for other Blessings, and the Privilege of what remain. They went so far from a Disposition to rob Men of this natural Right, that the contrary they were for enlarging, and extending of it, so all the World that would receive it.

God Tempers Mankind i.e.,—who has made, that these metaphorical Exclamations, How is the Gold become dim, and the stiff fine Gold changed! can avoid thinking of it—it seems to shew itself on this Occasion.

[illegible]

***** HAT a hard Case it is, that afflicts
this Day's Appearance upon the
Stage of Action, I must Divert,
and divert at first which is my Duty.
W *****
Death, by Stings & Life by
Pain *****
Freedom—Will all the good Devils
I have done signify nothing? Is
the whole Kingdom of England would save my
Life, I am unable to live under this Burden ; therefore
I must Die! —O unhappy that I am—in a
Condition of Liberty in Slavery, in Music, is com-
posed of the Contradictions of Liberty, Power
and harsh, sharp and flat, forgiveness and forgive-
ness, 'tis chequered with variety of Circumstances ; some-
times it fleeds with a prosperous Fortune ; at
others it elbbs into the lowest Degree of Ad-
versity ; and seldom admits of Constancy and Du-
ration.—It is true, my Ladies ! there Fame has
been bestow'd, but she is like the Wind, her
Years end five Years.—FREEDOM is to continue,
and SLAVERY to contrary to my Nature, and cho-
se a voluntary Death, in Hope of escaping this
Servitude.—Should I once submit to have my Li-
berty infring'd, I could never make that Appear-
ance in the World I have, therefore an Inordinate
Desire to see you, and I shall be as well pleas'd
—I was resolv'd to live well ; and to be as useful
as I could, without being concern'd as to the
Length or Shortness of my Duration.—But before
I make my Exit, I will recount over some of the
many good Deeds I have done, and how useful
have been, and still may be, provided my Life
be long enough to last till I can perform more
again, added, it may not seem so, but I shall
my own Praise. Without this Art of communicat-
ing to the Publick, how dull and melancholly mull
sit the Intelligent Part of Mankind appear!—It
may with great Easiness be said, that there is no
Art, Science or Profession in the World, but what
shows its Origin, or at least its Progress and pro-

[Fac-simile of copy in possession of the author.]

great white-winged birds, and the whistling trains echoed through the deep ravines, uniting every lonely hamlet to the great centres of activity. Alas! never for her. She described her life, the books she read, a piece of needle-work she was designing, and begged for fashion plates and a careful description of French bonnets to be sent to her. She sighed for a French maid! She loved the language, so associated in her mind with courts and *salons*, and was enjoying the study of it. Very little of incident occurred in that ice-bound winter with the exception of the arrival of distinguished foreigners with letters of introduction to her father, and she had met several British officers. But the spring opened a vista of pleasure to her, for she had been included in a select ball to be given by some prominent officers at West Point. She arranged her own gown herself. It was of "white tulle trimmed with rouleaus of blue satin ribbon," which she described by making rolls, or wads, of cotton, and covering them tightly with the ribbon.

Here the letters ended, nor could I find a clue to any other correspondence, although I hoped I might still learn something more of her. Years passed, and the letters were forgotten, when one day in visiting a friend I was attracted by an unfinished portrait of an old lady, upon an easel. She had blue eyes and white hair, with a fall of lace around the face. The blue eyes seemed to look straight into mine with a sweet intelligence, and twice I asked the name of the lady of the portrait. It was, however, an unfamiliar name, and conveyed no meaning to me. She was some colonial grandmother who married an officer in the army. As I was leaving the room, I turned again to the portrait and asked her maiden name, and was indeed startled and delighted to meet my girl friend of the past in Alida Livingston. My hostess was equally startled in her turn by my exclaiming, "Alida Livingston! Why, I knew her intimately!" The unfinished portrait served to finish her own history to my satisfaction, and her husband was doubtless one of the officers at that West Point ball, whose spurs became entangled in those rouleaus of blue satin ribbon!

To find connecting links with the past has always a pleasurable interest, and a few weeks ago I stood for the first time before an old house called the "Hamilton Grange." It is now the rectory of the beautiful new church of St. Luke, situated on the corner of One Hundred and Forty-first street, east of Tenth avenue (now Amsterdam avenue). It has been removed from its original site, across the street. Surrounded by a fence are thirteen trees planted by Alexander Hamilton to represent the thirteen original states. He built this house as late as 1802 for a suburban retreat. It was then eight miles and a half from the city limits. So

identified is he with the period of independence—the great leader of Republican science—that I lingered upon the once historic ground, now teeming with civilization and wealth, and took in the points of interest that encircle it. Harlem heights was mapped out before me, once bristling with encampments, and Fort Washington loomed up in the distance, once manned by British troops. It might have been on this very spot that Hamilton proposed to Washington to retake it with a storming party. It is said that Washington thought the dashing young captain overestimated his ability, but in the last battle of the Revolution he ordered him to lead the charge. “Hamilton, with two companions in arms, was the first one to leap upon the British parapet, and took his chances of instant death, in spite of his great ambition to live and to influence.” A contemporary writer charmingly alludes to an unconscious monument to Alexander Hamilton, built within sight of his home, in a flourishing silk manufactory costing one hundred thousand dollars. “Hamilton took hold of the silk industry about the time that he made his celebrated speech on manufactures, and selected Paterson, New Jersey (named in honor of my father’s grandfather, Judge William Paterson), as the spot to organize general manufactures on the plan of incorporations. To-day Paterson has a population of very many thousands of people through the manufactories planted there, and the overflow of the silk industry has sent one of its little rills back to the Grange.”

But Hamilton did not die in this old house, as a man on the place would have me believe, for after the fatal effects of Burr’s bullet he was carried to the country seat of an intimate friend, William Bayard, Esq. (my mother’s grandfather), situated on the lower shore of the Hudson river—now Fourteenth street—where he died the following morning, and his funeral was from Trinity church.

Still another colonial landmark of interest with a pretty sentiment attached is our light-house off Sandy Hook, as it is the original one built there in 1764. The radiance of the past has never been dimmed, only increasing in brilliancy with the years, to welcome and guide all vessels from every foreign port safely into New York harbor. Thus we look back through the sunset tints of the past, very much as we watch the last rays fade behind the distant hills and linger in the after-glow. When we think of those serious and perilous colonial days, where the deepest thoughts and feelings were stirred by possible loss of all that life holds dear, even life itself, to make our country free and independent, we understand with a deeper meaning what was meant by the saying heard in our youth, that “there were giants in those days.” But tradition falls into its

proper place, and it is not enough for us to rest self-satisfied with the lustre borrowed from the lives of patriots and martyrs. Emerson speaks tersely upon this subject: "The reverence for the deeds of our ancestors," he says, "is a treacherous sentiment. Their merit was not to reverence the old, but to honor the present moment, and we falsely make them excuses of the very habit which they hated and defied." But can we be unmindful, in our loyal allegiance to them, that a finer morning has dawned for us, and a new sun has risen, rosy and splendid in opportunity for us all? It is a privilege to live in the universal sunshine. It lights up a boundless reach for our influence. High thoughts and aims increase with the prosperity and benefits of to-day, if we, like them, honor the present moment. May we not as a society emulate the sterling qualities of our ancestors in promoting and defending the highest good around us? Can we not add the enlarged experience, the love and charity and inspiration, of this wonderful age in which we live? It is only in such golden coin that we can pay back the debt we owe them, by making our lives worthy of being their descendants, and like them

"live

In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end in self!"

C. F. R. Irving.

REJECTION OF MONROE'S TREATY

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS IN THE SENATE

The winter of 1806-1807 promised to bring the United States to the verge of war with France. In the middle of February, at a moment when Americans expected daily the arrival of a British treaty marked by generous concessions, Napoleon's Berlin decree reached the United States. Commerce was instantly paralyzed, and merchants, congressmen, cabinet, and President turned to Turreau anxiously inquiring what was meant by this blockade of the British Islands by a power which could not keep so much as a frigate at sea. Turreau could give them no answer. . . .

All parties waited for the news from England, until March 3, 1807, the last day of the session, a rumor reached the capitol that a messenger had arrived at the British legation with a copy of the treaty negotiated by Pinkney and Monroe. The news was true. No sooner did Erskine receive the treaty, than he hurried with it to Madison, "in hopes that he would be induced to persuade the President either to detain the senate, which he has the power by the Constitution to do, or to give them notice that he should convene them again." Unlike Merry, Erskine was anxious for a reconciliation between England and America; he tried honestly and overzealously to bring the two governments into accord, but he found Madison not nearly so earnest as himself. (In writing to Howick, March 6, 1807, Erskine said:)

"The first question he asked was what had been determined on the point of impressment of seamen, claimed as British, out of American ships; and when I informed him that I had not perceived anything that directly referred to that question in any of the articles of the copy of the treaty which I had received, he expressed the greatest astonishment and disappointment. . . . The note which was delivered in to the American commissioners previous to the signature of the treaty, by Lords Holland and Auckland, relative to Bonaparte's decree of November 21, particularly attracted his attention; and he observed that the note itself would have prevented, he was convinced, the ratification of the treaty, even if all the articles of it had been satisfactory, and all the points settled upon the terms that had been required by their commissioners."

At ten o'clock the same night, the two houses of congress, when ready

to adjourn, sent a joint committee to wait upon the President, who was unwell and unable to go as usual to the capitol. Dr. Mitchill, the senator from New York, a member of this committee, asked the President whether there would be a call of the senate to consider the treaty. "Certainly not," replied Jefferson; and he added that "the only way he could account for our ministers having signed such a treaty, under such circumstances, was by supposing that in the first panic of the French imperial decree they had supposed a war to be inevitable, and that America must make common cause with England. He should, however, continue amicable relations with England, and continue the suspension of the Non-importation Act." *

The senators received this rebuff with ill-concealed annoyance. Jefferson's act in refusing to consult them about a matter so important as a British treaty, and one which from the first had been their own rather than the President's scheme, was another instance of the boldness which sometimes contradicted the theory that Jefferson was a timid man. To ordinary minds it seemed clear that the President needed support; that he could not afford single-handed to defy England and France; that the circle of foreign enemies was narrowing about him; and that to suppress of his own will a treaty on which peace and war might depend, exposed him to responsibilities under which he might be crushed. Although the treaty was not yet published, enough had been said to make senators extremely curious about its contents; and they were not pleased to learn that the President meant to tell them nothing, and cared too little for their opinion to ask it. Of all the senators the most formidable intriguer was Samuel Smith of Maryland, who wrote the next day confidentially to Wilson Cary Nicholas a letter full of the fresh impressions which gave life to Smith's private language. He said:

"A copy of the treaty arrived last evening. The President is angry with it, and to Dr. Mitchill and Mr. [John Quincy] Adams (who carried the last message) expressed his anger in strong, very strong terms, telling in broad language the cause of his wrath. He requested the doctor to tell the senators his objections. If the doctor repeated correctly, then I must be permitted to think there was not a little of the heightening. He said the President was at present determined to send the original back the moment it shall be received, without submitting it to the senate. He was sick, it is true—vexed and worried; he may think better of it, for Madison (expecting less than he had) differs with him as to calling the

* Diary of John Quincy Adams, I. 495.

senate, and R[obert] S[mith] concurs in opinion with M[adison]. . . . I stopped here, and I have seen the President and Mr. M[adison]. It seems the impressment of seamen was a *sine qua non* in the instructions. The P[resident] speaks positively, that without full and formal satisfaction shall be made thereupon he will return the treaty without consulting the senate; and yet he admits the treaty, so far as to all the other points, might be acceptable—nay, that there are but few exceptions to it in his mind. I fancy the merchants would be perfectly pleased therewith. If then in all other points it would please, will the responsibility not be very great on him, should he send it back without consulting the senate? M[adison] in answer to this query said: But if he is determined not to accept, even should the senate advise, why call the senate together? I could give no answer to this question. If by his unusual conduct the British continue or increase their depredations (which he cannot prevent), what will be the outcry? *You* may advise him. He stumped us by his positive manner. Will not M[onroe] and P[inkney] both conceive themselves insulted, and return to make war on the administration? The whole subject ought, I conceive, to have been treated as one of great delicacy."

The more closely the subject was studied, the more clearly it appeared that Monroe to all appearance knowingly embarrassed the administration by signing a treaty in contravention of the President's orders; but Jefferson added unnecessarily to his embarrassment by refusing the treaty before he read it. Tacit abandonment of impressments was the utmost concession that the President could hope from England, and even this he must probably fight for; yet he refused to consult the senate on the merits of Monroe's treaty for a reason which would have caused the withholding of every treaty ever made in England. No act of Jefferson's administration exposed him to more misinterpretation, or more stimulated a belief in his hatred of England and of commerce, than his refusal to lay Monroe's treaty before the senate.

History of the United States, by HENRY ADAMS.

THE OLD AND THE NEW IN HISTORY

TWO SONNETS

[THE OLD]

Plead not in vain the archives long concealed,
When men were gods, and heroes lived whose birth
Made land and sea and sky all common earth,
While Homer sang and Oracles revealed:
The rust of ages scars the ancient shield,
And dusty bannered halls have lost their mirth—
The battle-axe and barbèd spear their worth,
In deadly combats on the tented field;
Those fabled days so vaguely seen are gone,
Though battered walls and crumbling towers may sigh
And dream of chivalry : yet comes the dawn
Of centuries which myth and mould defy,
Whose rays of promise, brighter than the sun,
Spread far and near when brave Columbus won.

[THE NEW]

The Nations marching from the mystic past,
Or through the dark uncertainty and gloom
Of fated epochs bearing on their doom,
Behold afar—too far for hope to last,
Or feudal thrones to bind a people fast—
A world of beauty and of sweet perfume,
A land of golden hues and vernal bloom,
Spanned only by the arc of heaven so vast :
No worm-gnawed parchments need proclaim the right
Where simple worth, spurred by the pulse of youth,
Inspires a nation and restores to sight
The long lost palms of Liberty and Truth :
Proud Realm of western grandeur and renown !
Thou seekest only good the new to crown.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE.

W. S. Crandall

HULL'S SURRENDER OF DETROIT, 1812

Mr. Henry Adams in his second volume of the "History of the United States" devotes two chapters to the events connected with the surrender of Detroit in 1812, in which he shows the entire want of preparation with which President and congress, under the influence of Henry Clay and others, rushed into a conflict with the veterans of England on land, and her thousand war-ships on the ocean; and the imbecility of the war department, of its chief Dr. Eustis, and the poor organization of the small army which was scattered over an immense territory on garrison duty, while new regiments not yet raised were relied upon for the conquest of Canada. He says, "The senior major-general and commander-in-chief was Henry Dearborn, the other major-general was Thomas Pinckney. The brigadiers were James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, Joseph Bloomfield, James Winchester, and William Hull." Most of them had served in the army of the Revolution, and Mr. Adams states that "all were over sixty years of age or more, and neither of them had ever commanded a regiment in the face of an enemy."

However it may have been with the others, Mr. Adams is in error with respect to William Hull. He was fifty-nine years old in 1812, and besides several important detached commands in the Revolutionary war, he had commanded the Eighth Massachusetts regiment, which in April, 1777, formed the rear guard of St. Clair's army, and had also commanded it at the battle of Monmouth. On both these occasions the colonel, Michael Jackson, was disabled by wounds, and the lieutenant-colonel, John Brooks, was absent on other duty. Mr. Adams goes on to remark that in case the states had been allowed to choose the general officers, Andrew Jackson would have taken the place of James Winchester, and William Hull would never have been appointed from Massachusetts.

This prediction as to what Massachusetts would have done seems to be rash, since after the battle of Trenton and Princeton Captain Hull at the request of Washington for good service in those battles was promoted to major in the Eighth Massachusetts regiment; and again, after the assault on Stony Point, where Major Hull commanded four hundred men, one-third of Wayne's force, he was promoted by the legislature of Massachusetts to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Besides these promotions William Hull was after the peace, for nearly twenty years, elected major-general

of the third division of the Massachusetts militia, which was under his care one of the best-disciplined divisions of the state. In 1812 William Hull had been for some years governor of Michigan territory, then containing about five thousand white inhabitants, mostly Canadians, along the river and lake, who subsisted mainly by hunting and fishing and the Indian trade; almost all supplies coming from Ohio by Lake Erie.

The greater part of the territory was a wilderness, occupied by various tribes of Indians, who in time of peace with England could be controlled. In 1811, however, rumors of war prevailed, and these savages, who were generally in British pay and regarded as allies by that power, became restless and troublesome—particularly as the American policy was to keep them neutral, which to an Indian is most obnoxious. In the winter of 1812 Governor Hull visited Washington and asked for troops to hold the Indians in check, at the same time repeating what he had before urged upon the government, the absolute necessity of a naval force on Lake Erie, as in case of war the British could render the port of Detroit untenable. The naval force was promised, and Captain Stewart was ordered to the service, but he did not go, and nothing more was done, although at that time the only vestige of an American naval force was the brig *Adams* then building at Detroit. It seems to have been expected by the war department that this single vessel would sweep from Lake Erie the British squadron of five men-of-war and several gun-boats. But even the *Adams* was never put in commission, and she was captured with Detroit. This was about the proportion between the British and American forces on the frontier at the surrender of Detroit on August 16, 1812.

Three regiments of Ohio militia under the command of Colonels Cass, McArthur, and Findley, were ordered for the protection of Detroit against the Indians. These were to be joined by a part of the Fourth United States Infantry, three hundred strong, under Lieutenant-colonel Miller. Governor Hull was asked to take command with the rank of brigadier-general, but declined, and Colonel Kingsbury of the regulars was ordered to the service, who fell sick and was unable to serve. Then Governor Hull at the urgent solicitation of the President accepted the command in order to lead the troops to Detroit, it being understood that another officer should be sent there to relieve him. "In his anxiety for the safety of the people of the territory, Governor Hull here committed an error which a more selfish man would have avoided. The people of the United States generally were expecting the conquest of Canada. It had been stated repeatedly on the floor of congress that in case of war with Great Britain Canada would at once be over-run and conquered by

the armies of the United States. Governor Hull knew, and had repeatedly represented to the government, the difficulties in the way of such an enterprise. The lakes were in possession of the British; the Indians were on their side, and the militia of Canada numbered twenty to one of the militia of Michigan. In three separate memorials addressed to the war department, in April, 1809, June, 1811, and March, 1812, he had urged the necessity of a fleet on Lake Erie. Again, after his appointment as brigadier-general, he urged the same in a memorial to the President.

General Hull well knew and had repeatedly stated, that to conquer Canada or even protect Michigan it was necessary to either obtain command of the lake or invade upper Canada with two powerful and co-operating armies at Detroit and Niagara. He did not think that he should be expected to conquer Canada with an army of fifteen hundred men, four-fifths of whom were militia, while the British held the lakes with their ships, and the forests with their Indians. He depended on efficient support both by water and land. But while his object was the protection of Michigan and its inhabitants, the object of the government was the conquest of Canada. He regarded himself as the governor and protector of the territory; he was regarded by the nation as general of an invading army which was shortly to over-run the whole of Canada. A selfish man, foreseeing the impossibility of meeting the expectations of government and people, would have persisted in refusing this appointment. But hoping to protect the inhabitants from immediate Indian hostilities, and confident the government would support him in case of war, he accepted.*

These important considerations and reasons for accepting the temporary command, General Hull gives at length in his "Memoirs of the Campaign of the North-western Army;" but they seem to have escaped the notice of Mr. Adams, who writes, "April 1 the militia were ordered to rendezvous at Dayton, and there, May 25, Hull took command; June 1 they marched, and June 10 were joined at Urbana by the fourth regiment. Detroit was nearly two hundred miles away, and the army as it advanced was obliged to cut a road through the forest, to bridge streams, and construct causeways; but for such work the militia were well fitted, and they made good progress. The energy with which the march was conducted excited the surprise of the British authorities, and contrasted well with other military movements of the year."

The plan of campaign as related by Mr. Adams, and made by General Dearborn, was an invasion of Canada from Detroit, Niagara, and Sackett's

* Clarke's *History of the Campaign of 1812*.

Harbor, chiefly by militia. It will be seen that the invasion from Detroit was the only one accomplished that year. As the quality of the force with which General Hull was expected to conquer upper Canada was an important factor in the campaign, the commander's account will be interesting. "Their arms were totally unfit for use ; many of the men were destitute of blankets and other necessary clothing ; no armorers were provided to repair the arms ; no means had been adopted to furnish clothing ; and no powder in the magazines fit for use. What is more extraordinary, no contracts or measures were adopted to supply these troops with necessary provisions during their march through a wilderness of more than two hundred miles until they arrived at Detroit. On my own responsibility I sent to powder-mills in Kentucky and purchased powder, collected a few blankets and other necessary clothing, and employed private armorers in Cincinnati and Dayton to repair the arms." *

Lieutenant Bacon of the fourth regiment gave the following testimony at the court martial: "Generally speaking, the Ohio volunteers and militia were insubordinate ; one evening at Urbana I heard a noise, and was informed that a company of Ohio volunteers were riding one of their officers on a rail. Some thirty or forty of the Ohio militia refused to cross into Canada at one time, and I think I saw one hundred who refused to cross when the troops were at Urbana. When the troops left Urbana General Hull came to Colonel Miller in his official capacity, and informed him that there was another mutiny among the Ohio volunteers, and wished that a halt take place. After a short halt General Hull rode up to Colonel Miller and said, 'Your regiment is a powerful argument ; without them I could not march these men to Detroit.' " †

The three hundred regulars, part of the Fourth United States Infantry, seemed to be the only reliable part of the army, and perhaps it would have been better for General Hull if the militia had deserted as they often threatened to do, as with their mutinous officers they formed rather an element of weakness than strength. Four block-houses were built on the route, in which small garrisons were left for the security of the convoys. On the 24th of June, having proceeded about seventy-five miles, General Hull received a letter by express messenger, dated June 18, ordering him to proceed to Detroit with all possible dispatch. Accordingly a small vessel was hired at the rapids of the Miami for the transportation of the invalids (sixty in number), the baggage, hospital stores, etc., and with them went a trunk containing army papers. War was declared by congress

* Hull's *Memoirs*, p. 34.

† Hull's Trial.

June 18, the day of the date of the above letter, yet no intimation of it appeared therein. When this vessel arrived at Fort Malden, the British, farther away from Washington than General Hull, had received news of the declaration and captured her.

Mr. Adams justly says, "This first disaster told the story of the campaign," and the historian is disposed to divide the blame for it between General Hull and the war department. War was declared June 18, and the letter of Eustis of that date to General Hull made no mention of it. How could General Hull imagine that so important an event had taken place on that day, and that his government would give him no notice? Yet such was the case, and another letter of the same date announcing the declaration of war sent through the post office did not reach General Hull until July 2, two days after the British received the news.

General Armstrong writes of this transaction: "We have seen that General Hull lost his own baggage and that of the army, the whole of his hospital stores, intrenching tools, and sixty men, in consequence of the ill-judged and tardy manner employed in transmitting to him the declaration of war. A fact so extraordinary in itself and so productive of injury to the public calls for more development than has yet been given to it. It will be remembered that a declaration of war was authorized on the 18th day of June, 1812. On this day Secretary Eustis wrote two letters to General Hull, in one of which no mention was made of this important event; in the other it was distinctly and officially announced. The former of the two was carefully made up and expedited by a special messenger who arrived in the general's camp on the 24th of June; while the latter was committed to the public mail to Cleveland, thence through a wilderness of one hundred miles by such conveyances as accident might supply.

The result was that the declaration did not reach its destination until the 2d of July, two days after it had been received by the enemy at Malden. On this occasion the British government was better served: Provost received notice of it on the 24th of June, at Quebec; Brock on the 26th, at Newark; St. George on the 30th, at Malden, and on the 8th of July at St. Joseph's. But a fact still more extraordinary than the celerity of these transmissions is that the information thus rapidly forwarded to Malden and St. Joseph's was received under envelopes franked by the secretary of the American treasury!" Thus General Armstrong, who was no friend of Hull, as was proved when in 1814 he appointed General Dearborn president of the court-martial to try the former, imputes no blame to Hull for this disaster, as does our modern judicial historian.


The little army reached Detroit July 5. Some incidents of the march

are found in a letter from Robert Wallace of Ohio, a volunteer aid to General Hull, as follows: "The prudence and dispatch of our march through the wilderness, making our road through woods and swamps, fortifying our camp, and guarding against surprise from the Indians, inspired us with confidence in our old but experienced commander. His letters from the war department urged him on, but our heavy wagons and constant rains retarded our progress. On the 4th of July we delayed at the river Huron to build a bridge for our wagons. We remained under arms all day, and in order of battle, being surrounded by Indians, and in sight of a British frigate full of troops. During the day it was remarked to me by several officers, that General Hull appeared to have no sense of personal danger, and that he would certainly be killed if a contest commenced. This was said to prepare me for taking orders from the next in rank, and I mention it to show their opinion of him at the time.

We encamped that night in an open prairie, without timber to fortify or tools to intrench. Our rear was protected by the river; our front and flank by fires at some distance from the lines. Picket guards were posted, scouts kept in motion, and half the troops alternately under arms all night. All lights were extinguished in the camp but one—that for the use of the surgeon, for we expected an attack before day. I give this as a specimen of vigilance, which could never have been taken by surprise. Our camp and line of march were always in order of battle."

It will be remembered that General Hull accepted the command for the purpose of leading the troops to Detroit for its protection, well aware that the force was inadequate for an offensive campaign, and we make these extracts from Captain Wallace's letter to show how promptly and successfully he did it. It is a part of the campaign which has not been described by historians, perhaps because it reflected credit upon the military skill of the commander, which it has been the object of most of them to decry. If compared with most other military marches through the wilderness, from that of Braddock to Harrison, this was eminently successful; the only disaster, the capture of the schooner at Malden, being due to the negligence, or something worse, of the authorities at Washington.

Having brought his troops to Detroit General Hull expected to be relieved, but instead of that, on the 9th of July, he received orders to cross the river "and pursue his conquests." If he had been given an army of ten thousand men, and a naval squadron such as Harrison had subsequently, this phrase might not have been amiss; but to talk of conquering upper Canada with twelve hundred poorly armed and mutinous militia, and three hundred regulars, showed such ignorance and incapacity



at the war department as to predict failure everywhere. What were the resources of Canada, and what were those of Michigan territory at the command of General Hull, at this time? A report, dated after the loss of Detroit, published in a French-Canadian paper, gives the British force in Canada as eighteen thousand nine hundred men, about one half British regular troops, and the rest embodied militia; in addition to which, upper Canada alone, having a population of one hundred thousand, could furnish in case of invasion at least as many more—making a total of thirty-seven thousand men, a larger force than the whole army of the United States at that time, whether embodied, enlisted, or called for by congress.

To oppose this force defending their own soil, General Hull had for an army of invasion, actually present and fit for duty, as follows:

Authorized force, at Dayton, Ohio, May 25, fifteen hundred men; garrison at Detroit, fifty men; add Michigan militia at Detroit, one hundred and fifty—seventeen hundred men. Deduct from this: garrison of fort and two block-houses, sixty men; prisoners in vessel, sixty men; left sick at river Raisin, twenty-five men; sick in Detroit, two hundred men; refused to cross into Canada, one hundred and eighty men; garrisons left in Detroit and forts, two hundred men—seven hundred and twenty-five men. Nine hundred and seventy-five men—the force which crossed the river, or about one-twentieth of the British available force in Canada. In addition to which the British had a strong fleet of armed vessels in Lake Erie, and General Hull had one vessel, still on the stocks.

Mr. Adams thus describes Detroit in 1812: "The town contained about eight hundred inhabitants within gun-shot of the British shore. The fort was a square enclosure of about two acres, surrounded by an embankment, a dry ditch, and a double row of pickets. Although capable of standing a siege, it did not command the river. Its supplies were insufficient for many weeks; it was two hundred miles distant from support; and its only road of communication ran for sixty miles along the shore of Lake Erie, where a British fleet on one side and a horde of savages on the other could always make it impassable. The widely scattered people of the territory, numbering four or five thousand, promised to become a serious burden in case of siege or investment. Hull knew in advance that, in a military sense, Detroit was a trap."

The Ohio militia which had been clamoring to cross into Canada without orders, when the orders came, July 9, found that they had scruples about leaving Michigan, and one hundred and eighty of them refused to go. On the 12th General Hull crossed with about a thousand men and occupied Sandwich unopposed, and the same day issued a proclamation

to the inhabitants offering them peace, liberty, and security, provided they remained neutral. This proclamation has a curious history. It was approved by the President August 1, and declared by the American commissioners at the treaty of Ghent to have been unauthorized and disapproved by the government. Until General Hull's death the paper was condemned by the government newspapers as pompous and improper. After his death (Hull's) the friends of General Cass claimed its authorship for him (Cass), and praised it as a strong and spirited paper. Cass himself, however, did not pretend to claim it, and when written to with an inquiry whether he was the author, he did not reply.

General Hull immediately fortified his camp, and sent Colonel McArthur to the river Thames for provisions. He returned August 17 with flour and military stores, having penetrated sixty miles. The fort at Malden was now to be attacked, but General Hull had no heavy guns for breaching the works, and on calling his colonels together to inquire whether their men could be depended upon to assault the fort at Malden with the bayonet, Colonel Miller was willing to answer for his men, but the Ohio colonels had not the same confidence in theirs, and it was determined to wait for cannon from Detroit before making the attack.

This small force having crossed the river and "challenged the whole British force in Canada," as Mr. Adams remarks, what was the commander-in-chief Dearborn doing? He had been repeatedly ordered to make a diversion at Niagara in Hull's favor; but up to July 15, the day after General Hull had entered Canada, Dearborn was still in Boston contending with federalists. "More used to politics than war, Dearborn for the time took no thought of military movements. The major-general in charge of operations against Montreal, Kingston, and Niagara should have been able to warn his civil superior of the risks incurred in allowing Hull to make an unsupported movement from an isolated base such as he knew Detroit to be; but no thought of Hull was in Dearborn's mind.

The secretary as early as June 24 authorized Hull to invade Canada west, and his delay in waiting till July 20 before sending similar orders to the general commanding at Niagara was surprising; but if Eustis's letter seemed singular, Dearborn's answer passed belief. For the first time General Dearborn then asked a question in regard to his own campaign—a question so extraordinary that every critic found it an enigma: 'Who is to have command of the operations in upper Canada? I take it for granted that my command does not extend to that distant quarter.'

July 26, when Hull had already been a fortnight on British soil, a week after he wrote that his success depended on coöperation from

Niagara, the only force at Niagara consisted of a few New York militia not coöperating with Hull or under the control of any United States officer, while the major-general of the department took it for granted that Niagara was not in his command. The government therefore expected General Hull, with a force which it knew did not at the outset exceed two thousand effectives, to march two hundred miles, constructing a road as he went; to garrison Detroit; to guard at least sixty miles of road under the enemy's guns; to face a force in the field equal to his own and another savage force in his rear; to sweep the Canadian peninsula of British troops; to capture the fortress at Malden, and the British fleet on Lake Erie—and to do all this without the aid of a man or a boat between Sandusky and Quebec.”*

As has been stated, the council of war decided not to attack Malden without cannon to breach the walls, and Mr. Adams says that their reasons were sufficiently strong. Yet in the next page or two he writes that the army lost respect for their commander in consequence of his failure to attack that fort. What part of the army? Was it the Ohio militia, whose colonels thought their men could not be depended upon for an assault? Or did the two hundred and fifty regulars think themselves capable of taking the fort unassisted? The quality of the militia had been tested, July 19 and 24, when strong detachments had been driven back with loss, and a part of Findlay's Ohio regiment on their way to protect a train of supplies from Ohio had been routed by Indians under Tecumthe. August 3, the garrison of Fort Macinac, sixty-one in number, arrived at Detroit as prisoners on parole, that fort having been captured on the 17th of July, bringing news that Chicago was invested and that a large force of Canadians and Indians were on their way to attack Detroit in the rear. August 7, letters came from Niagara announcing the fact of British reinforcements for Fort Malden. About the same time a letter was intercepted coming from Fort William to Fort Malden, announcing the mustering of twelve hundred fur company employees and five hundred Indians to march against Detroit. Mr. Adams writes, “Hull decided at once to recross the river, and succeeded in effecting this movement on the night of August 8, without interference from the enemy; but his position at Detroit was only one degree better than it had been at Sandwich. He wished to abandon Detroit and retreat behind the Maumee, and August 9 proposed the measure. Colonel Cass replied that if this were done every man of the Ohio militia would refuse to obey, and

* Adams's *History of the United States*, vol. vi. pp. 307-311.

would desert their general, and that the army would fall to pieces if ordered to retreat."

As these Ohio regiments made up four-fifths of General Hull's so-called army, their conduct should be kept in mind. They first mutinied on their way to Detroit. They then clamored to be allowed to invade Canada, and when orders came for that movement many of them refused to go. In three expeditions sent out from Sandwich by General Hull, these troops were repulsed; in the last one, under Major Van Horne, they were routed by a small band of Indians and ran away from the field. When it was decided by their officers that they were not to be relied on for an assault upon Fort Malden, they, officers and men, complained of the delay caused by themselves. Finally, as if in order to prevent the only safe military movement remaining—the retreat toward Ohio—Colonel Cass, their commander, declares that if that retreat is made his men will all desert. The armistice which General Dearborn made with Provost, the British commander, has been the subject of much discussion; General Hull declaring that by allowing Brock to concentrate all the troops in upper Canada against Detroit, it gave the fatal and finishing blow to the campaign; General Dearborn and the government contending that it had no influence on the result. Mr. Adams writes: "Dearborn had been urgently ordered, August 1, to support Hull by a vigorous offensive at Niagara, yet August 9 he agreed with the British general to act only on the defensive at Niagara. Detroit was not under Dearborn's command, and therefore was not included in the armistice, but Dearborn stipulated that the arrangement should include Hull if he wished it. The chance was narrow, for even an armistice unless greatly prolonged would only have weakened Hull, especially as it could not include Indians other than those actually in British service; but even the slight chance was lost by the delay until August 9 in sending advices to Niagara and Detroit, for Brock left Long Point August 8, and was within four days of Detroit when Dearborn wrote from Albany. The last possibility of saving Hull was lost by the inefficiency of the American mail service. Brock with his army of three hundred men, leaving Long Point August 8, reached Malden in the morning of August 13, fully eight days in advance of the armistice."

Immediately after returning to Detroit, General Hull sent nearly half his force, six hundred men, under Colonel Miller of the regulars, to restore his communication with Ohio. It met with a force of about two hundred and fifty British and Indians, which after a sharp engagement were driven to their boats. For some unsatisfactory reason the detachment returned to Detroit without reaching the supplies at the river Raisin. August 13,

the British began to establish a battery on the Canadian side of the river to bombard Detroit. Within the American lines the army was in secret mutiny. The Ohio colonels proposed to remove the general from command, and offered it to Colonel Miller of the fourth regiment, but he declined this promotion. Then the three colonels united in a letter to the governor of Ohio, warning him that the existence of the army depended on the immediate dispatch of at least two thousand men to keep open the line of communication. "Our supplies must come from our state; this country does not furnish them." After showing the desperate situation of General Hull's army, "the last possibility of saving it being lost," Mr. Adams declares "that a good general would have saved Detroit for some weeks, if not altogether. General Hull would soon be starved into surrender, but yet he might have maintained himself a month, and he had always the chance of a successful battle." What chance of successful battle a mutinous body of eight hundred militia had against three times their number of British and Indians, it is difficult to perceive, and in case of defeat an Indian massacre of the people of Detroit was certain.

As governor of the territory General Hull felt bound to protect the helpless people at whatever cost to himself in military reputation. This was his explanation of the surrender at the time; and on his death-bed, in 1825, he repeated his conviction that he had done his duty. Mr. Adams seems to think that the highest duty of a general is to die in battle. So did not think Washington, who in his first campaign surrendered to French and Indians. So did not think Burgoyne and Cornwallis, who, instead of being shot for surrendering their armies, were rewarded by promotion for saving the lives of their men. So did not think the great Napoleon, who saved himself by flight from Waterloo.

Such has been the amount of injustice done to General Hull by ignorant, venal, or prejudiced writers, that Mr. Adams, who evidently wishes to bear a judicial mind, seems absolutely incapable of summing up the case with impartiality. On the 14th of August, Cass and McArthur were ordered by General Hull to select the best men from their regiments, and to open, if possible, a route through the woods to the river Raisin. And here, again, Mr. Adams makes an estimate of the strength of the American force. He says, "The Ohio regiments in May contained nominally about five hundred men each, or fifteen hundred in all." General Hull in his *Memoirs* states that the original call was for twelve hundred men from Ohio, and that was the number that marched, besides about one hundred volunteers who soon disappeared. Says Mr. Adams, "Two months of severe labor, with occasional fighting and much sickness, had probably

reduced the number of effectives about one half." Now, if we deduct from the estimate of Mr. Adams, in May, for two regiments of five hundred each, we have one thousand; deduct one half, five hundred, and the remainder is five hundred; and yet Mr. Adams gives the effective strength of the two Ohio regiments at "perhaps six or seven hundred men"—by what rule of arithmetic it is not explained.

Three hundred and fifty of the men of these regiments marched on the 14th, and the next evening they were half-way to the river Raisin. Mr. Adams writes: "So it happened that on the early morning of August 16 Hull was guarding the fort and town of Detroit with about two hundred and fifty men of the fourth regiment [as the original number in May was three hundred, and Colonel Miller reported his force reduced one half by sickness, one hundred and fifty would be nearer the fact] and such of the Michigan militia and Ohio volunteers as may have been present, all told about a thousand effectives. Hull estimated his force as not exceeding eight hundred men; Major Jessup reported it as one thousand and sixty, including the Michigan militia. If the sickness and loss of strength at Detroit were in proportion to the waste at Niagara, Hull's estimate was perhaps nearer the truth." No doubt it was, as the Michigan militia deserted to the enemy on the 15th. The force with which Brock moved against Detroit has had many different estimates. In his official report he makes his numbers three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians, with five guns. This estimate Mr. Adams adopts. As General Brock reported the capture of a garrison of twenty-five hundred men in Detroit, which was about three times the number actually there, he probably underestimated his own force. At the court-martial, the testimony of Lieutenant Forbush, a prisoner at Fort Malden, showed a force there of one thousand nine hundred and seventy men. Mr. Adams states that Brock brought three hundred men with him. A detachment of British troops under Major Chambers marched across the country with artillery, collecting the militia and Indians, and joined Brock at Malden. In addition to these, General Brock had at his disposal the sailors and marines belonging to the British fleet; there being no American ships to oppose them, their crews might be used on shore.

These three contingents must have added about a thousand men to the force at Malden when Brock arrived there. As to Indians, the hope of massacre, scalps, and plunder had filled the woods with them.

The testimony of Major Snelling, a witness for the prosecution at the court-martial, was to this effect: "He stood at the corner of the slip leading to the gate of the fort of Detroit, and attempted to count the British

troops as they entered." His evidence is rather confused, but as far as it can be understood it seems to imply that Brock's force consisted of regulars and York volunteers in uniform, fifteen hundred; militia not in uniform, seven hundred and fifty—making two thousand two hundred and fifty white troops. He saw only one hundred and fifty Indians, who were drawn up to fire a salute, but supposed there were more. If to these two thousand two hundred and fifty white troops are added the six hundred Indians which Brock includes in his report, the aggregate is two thousand eight hundred and fifty men, which Brock could well spare from his force at Malden of three thousand, having no enemy in his rear. Mr. Adams, adopting Brock's estimate of his force, says that he crossed the river with seven hundred and thirty men. "He intended to take up a strong position and force Hull to attack it; but learning from his Indians that McArthur's detachment, reported as five hundred strong, was only a few miles in his rear, he resolved on an assault, and moved in close column within three-quarters of a mile of the American twenty-four-pound guns. Had Hull prayed that the British might deliver themselves into his hands, his prayer could not have been better answered. Even under trial for his life, he never ventured to express a distinct belief that Brock's assault could have succeeded; and in case of failure the small British force must have retreated a mile and a half under the fire of the fort's heavy guns, followed by an equal force, and attacked in flank and rear by McArthur's detachment, in hearing of battle and making directly toward it."

Mr. Adams underestimates Brock's force by at least two-thirds; and military men know by experience that everything in war is uncertain, and are less likely than civilians to predict the result of movements. Then, how could McArthur's detachment of three hundred and fifty men, with, as Mr. Adams relates on same page, a force of six hundred Indians between them and Brock, assault the latter? Only a few days before, this same Tecumthe with less than a hundred Indians had routed Van Horne with one hundred and eighty men. Were these American guns of which Mr. Adams writes the same from which Captain Snelling withdrew his men that morning without orders and retired to the fort? In order to support his theory that the courage of General Hull (which had carried him through with credit ten battles of the Revolution) failed him under the bombardment of the fort, Mr. Adams selects from the testimony given at the court-martial the evidence of Major Snelling, whose opinion was that the general's use of tobacco in large quantities on that occasion indicated personal fear. This was the Captain Snelling who on the morning of the day of the surrender left his post without orders and marched his

men to the fort, thus making himself liable to a court-martial for the gravest of military offenses; instead of which he was promoted to a majority for his promised testimony, which proved so malignant that he was afterward made a colonel in the regular army. If the immoderate use of tobacco in a commander who finds himself in a critical position indicates cowardice, General Grant must be open to suspicion, for on such occasions he smoked continually. But the few witnesses at the trial who had seen service found no such fear in the conduct of General Hull.

Mr. Adams writes: "Knowing that sooner or later the fort must fall, and dreading massacre for the women and children, and treated with undisguised contempt by the militia officers, anxious for the safety of McArthur and Cass, Hull hesitated, took no measure to impede the enemy's advance, and at last sent a flag across the river to negotiate. A cannon-ball from the enemy's batteries killed four men in the fort, two companies of the Michigan militia deserted, their behavior threatening to leave the town exposed to the Indians, and from that moment Hull determined to surrender on the best terms he could get."

General Hull in his *Defence* thus describes the situation: "Early in the morning of August 16 General Brock landed his forces at the spring wells under cover of the guns of his navy. His effective force was more than three times greater than mine, and he might have brought to his standard more than ten times my number before I could have received any assistance. Being at this time not only general of the army but governor of the territory, and without instructions, all the measures were intrusted to my discretion; being responsible for the safety of the inhabitants, it became my duty to adopt such measures as would effect that object. My situation was such that there was no possibility of affording the inhabitants protection further than the balls from the cannon of the fort could be carried. These inhabitants were scattered over a territory of several hundred miles. The savages had invaded every part of this territory, and while the contest lasted there was nothing which could restrain their barbarity. The work of desolation and cruelty had commenced, and nearly half my effective force was absent; and from the time it had marched, and the orders it had received from me, I had reason to believe it was nearly fifty miles distant. With the feeble force under my command, I did not believe there was the most distant prospect of success in the event of a battle; and had the forces at Detroit been defeated the fate of the detachment under McArthur and Cass would have been inevitable. What, however, was decisive in my mind was my situation even in a possible event of success over British forces. I should have

been without provisions, and I had no means of opening my communication over the lake. It would in this case become a war with savages, who would have been aided by all the remaining forces of upper Canada and the navy on the lake. Had my army, however, not been divided, and had the absent detachment been with me, or had I received information that it had been in a situation where it could have coöperated, I should have risked the consequences of a battle. Under the circumstances which existed, I determined to send a flag of truce, open a treaty, and accept the best terms which could be obtained. By the article of capitulation, protection and safety were secured to the inhabitants of Michigan in their persons and property. All the militia both of Michigan and Ohio returned immediately to their homes, and none were retained as prisoners excepting the few regulars, consisting then of a little over two hundred. This measure, under the circumstances, was dictated in my opinion by a sense of duty, and was attended with less public calamity than any other which could have been adopted; and I was willing to assume and—in my official communication to the government—I took the whole responsibility of it on myself. It required more firmness and independence than any other act of my life. It was dictated by my best judgment and a conscientious regard to what I believed to be my duty; and I now sincerely rejoice, and there has never been a moment when I have not rejoiced that I dared thus independently to do my duty." *

This was written in 1824, twelve years after the surrender of Detroit, and published in Boston, all that time having elapsed before General Hull could obtain copies of the papers and letters necessary to his vindication, from Washington. His requests for them were unanswered, or if replied to were met with the assertion that no such papers were to be found. Mr. John C. Calhoun, when secretary of war, being applied to, immediately ordered copies to be made and sent to General Hull of all the papers in his department that could be found bearing on the case. Some important ones known to have been there were missing. What became of them was probably known only to those interested in their suppression. All of General Hull's baggage and papers were lost in the brig *Adams*, which was used by the British after the surrender as a transport to take the paroled officers and their families to the port of Buffalo. After the passengers were landed near that city the vessel was captured and burned by American sailors under Lieutenant Elliott, and everything belonging to General Hull was lost; a fatal loss to him, these papers being necessary to his defense before the court-martial.

* *Memoirs of the Campaign of 1812.*

General Hull says further : " In the capitulation I made no provision for myself, and was ordered to Montreal as an unconditional prisoner. A provision was made for all the officers and soldiers of the militia, and they immediately returned to their homes. Colonel Cass, taking advantage of my situation, after the indulgence I had procured for him, proceeded directly to Washington, where he was most graciously received by the administration, and then presented an account of the campaign, before it had been possible for me to have made any communication. This letter written by himself, giving particular details of events of which he had no knowledge, as he was absent when they took place, was received by the administration and published as an official account in all the newspapers throughout the United States. While I was a prisoner, my other officers, for whose liberation I had provided, followed Colonel Cass to Washington, and seeing the favors and patronage he had received by his representation imitated him, and were not disappointed in the rewards."

Mr. Adams having shown the imbecility of Secretary Eustis, the inertness and neglect of orders of Dearborn, and the fatal effect of the armistice made by him, the mutinous conduct of the Ohio troops, the want of supplies in Detroit, with no possibility of procuring more, and the superiority of the enemy by land and water, comes to this remarkable conclusion : " If any man in the United States was more responsible than Hull for the result of the campaign, it was ex-President Jefferson, whose system had shut military efficiency from the scope of American government."

This sentence seems to give the key to Mr. Adams's history of the campaign—the undying feud between the Adams and Jefferson clans, and the disposition to prejudge the case of General Hull. " At this time," writes Mr. Adams, " the Canadians outnumbered the American forces at every point of danger on the frontier ; not only were they equal or superior to the Americans at Detroit, Niagara, and Montreal, but they could be more readily concentrated, and were quickly supplied. The storm of public wrath which annihilated Hull and shook Eustis passed harmless over the head of Dearborn. No one knew Dearborn was at fault, for he had done nothing ; and a general who had done nothing had the advantage over his rivals whose activity or situation caused them to act. Dearborn threw the whole responsibility on the war department."

The conclusion is that the only commander who did anything up to August 16 was selected as the scapegoat for those who, neglecting orders, remained idle ; and if General Hull had sat still at Dayton for two months, or had even remained in Detroit, he would have come out all right : but such was not the disposition of one of whom Washington wrote to General

Heath, "He is an officer of great merit, whose services have been honorable to himself and honorable to his country."

As soon as General Hull was exchanged he was placed under arrest, and the administration exhibited charges for capital offences against him. A court-martial, of which General Wade Hampton was president, was summoned at Philadelphia, where General Hull appeared for trial. But this court-martial was dissolved by Madison without giving any reason for its dissolution. After General Hull had been another year under arrest, a new court-martial was summoned, of which General Dearborn was appointed president. Mr. Adams thus describes the transaction: "Meanwhile Hull waited for trial. During the summer of 1813 he saw nearly all his possible judges disgraced and demanding courts-martial like himself. Hampton was one, Wilkinson another, Dearborn a third. Dearborn had been removed from command in face of the enemy, and loudly called for a court of inquiry. Instead of granting this the President assigned him to duty in command of military district No. 3, comprising the city of New York, and made him president of the court-martial upon General Hull.

The impropriety of such a selection could not be denied. Of all men in the United States Dearborn was most deeply interested in the result of Hull's trial; and the President, next to Dearborn, would be most deeply injured by Hull's acquittal. The judgment of Dearborn, or of any court over which Dearborn presided, in a matter which affected both court and government so closely, could not command respect. That Armstrong lent himself to such a measure was a new trait of character, never explained; but that Madison either ordered or permitted it, showed that he must have been unconscious either of Dearborn's responsibility for Hull's disaster, or of his own." Either the above must have been "writ sarkastical," as Mark Twain says, or the confidence of Mr. Adams in the purity of two such astute politicians as Madison and Armstrong is admirable.

Let us now examine the proceedings of the modern court of star-chamber, of which Mr. Adams has nothing to say except to record the verdict, adding "that some one should be punished for the loss of Detroit, and few persons were likely to complain because Hull was a selected victim; but many thought that if Hull deserved to be shot, other men much higher than he in office and responsibility merited punishment; and the character of the court-martial added no credit to the government, which in effect it acquitted of blame."

Few persons now living have read the records of the proceedings of this court. In fact, the book became so rare soon after its publication as to give rise to the belief that it had been suppressed by order of the gov-

ernment, which might well be ashamed of it. "The first court, ordered to assemble at Philadelphia, consisted of Brigadier-Generals Wade Hampton president, James Bloomfield, and H. Burbeck; Colonels E. Izard and A. McComb, artillery; J. Burn, cavalry; J. Simmonds, J. Kingsbury, H. Parker, W. H. Winder, and P. P. Schuyler, infantry; supernumeraries, Lieutenant-Colonels W. Scott, J. Chrystie, and R. Dennis; and A. J. Dallas, judge-advocate. General Hull presented himself before this court February 13, 1813, which was composed of honorable and fairly experienced soldiers—too much so, apparently, to suit the government, which dissolved it and ordered another to convene nearly a year after, at Albany, January 3, 1814, with Henry Dearborn as president, and A. J. Dallas and M. Van Buren as prosecutors, General Hull not being allowed the benefit of counsel. The thirteen officers who formed this court were most of them men just appointed from civil life, without military experience, and they owed their positions in the army to political partisanship, and most of them left the army at the close of the war. Not one of them ever received any kind of promotion for military service, and as far as can be learned not one of the twelve was ever in battle." *

One member of the court, Colonel Conner, was at the time upon the staff of General Dearborn, and a member of his military family, and owed to his influence the promotion to lieutenant-colonel just before the court convened, as well as all previous appointments and promotions. Two other members of the court had been recently promoted, and three other were or had been members of General Dearborn's military family. Such was the composition of the court selected to try on capital charges a veteran soldier of the Revolutionary war; one who had taken part in the most important battles of that war; one who had been twice promoted by Washington; who had twice received the thanks of congress, and, when the army was disbanded at close of war, had been selected by Washington for lieutenant-colonel of the one regiment retained in the service.

Thus far it appears that six distinct provisions of the Constitution of the United States had been violated in this trial. These are the words of that instrument: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury; . . . to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense." First, Hull was refused a speedy trial. Second, he was brought before an

* Speech of Mr. Wheeler of Alabama, February, 1883.

interested instead of an impartial jury. Third, he was not informed of the nature and causes of the accusation. Fourth, he did not have process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and was refused evidence of a documentary character. Fifth, he was refused the right to introduce counsel to assist him in his defense. Sixth, he was not confronted by the witnesses against him. The object of this provision is to have the witnesses confront the court, who are thus to determine credibility, and hence the gross illegality of the order which placed officers on the court to vote on the findings who had not been present, and who had therefore not been confronted by the witnesses for the prosecution. "The Constitution does not limit these provisions to civil trials; and even if it did so, the principles are so just and necessary to all tribunals which seek to dispense justice, that to disregard them would violate any legal procedure."

The proceedings of this court were no less unjust than its organization. The witnesses for the government, from Lieutenant-Colonel Cass of the militia who was made a brigadier-general in the regular army, to Sergeant Forbush who was made a lieutenant, were all promoted for the occasion, none of them having performed any service to entitle them to such preferment. "These witnesses gave their testimony like men arguing a cause. They evidently evinced an anxiety throughout to show that General Hull was to blame in all that occurred. They remembered everything that made against him—nothing that could tell in his favor. This strong determination to do their commander all the mischief in their power, whether arising from prejudice or a worse motive, deprives their testimony of the weight it might otherwise possess. Thus in General Cass's testimony we find a very remarkable power of recollection in regard to some matters, and an equally remarkable forgetfulness as to other things. If any question is asked the answer to which might benefit General Hull, he finds it impossible to remember anything about it. He remembers that the defenses at Malden were poor, and "was of the opinion that the works were not defensible," although at the council of war he thought they were too strong to be attacked by his regiment. He does not recollect about the guns or gun-carriages at Detroit, and is not very sure that the enclosures and platforms were defective. He cannot recollect within four days the time of crossing from Detroit to Canada; he cannot even remember whether Colonel Miller's detachment went to Brownstown before or after the evacuation of Canada. Yet in his letter of September 10 he recollects facts which occurred in Detroit during his absence from that place, such as that of five hundred Ohio militia shedding tears because they were not allowed to fight."*

* Clarke's *History of the Campaign of 1812*, p. 403.

And here another injustice was committed. "The whole concourse of government witnesses were brought into court, and General Cass, the most talented, led off with his evidence, to which the others listened with such care as was thought would prevent the possibility of embarrassing contradictions. General Hull had made so many objections to the various unlawful proceedings of the court, which had in every case been overruled, that he determined not to go through the useless form of further protestations."* In *Hull's Trial* it is stated that "One honorable officer of the court, however, insisted that this tuition of witnesses should not be allowed, but he was promptly rebuked by General Dearborn, who stated that it was not necessary to examine these witnesses separately. Officers were permitted to testify to their recollection of written documents when these documents were themselves under the control of the prosecution, and this, too, even when the defense denied that the documents were such as described by the verbal testimony. The prosecution's witnesses are here worth a passing notice. Their military experience, with few exceptions, had been confined to the two months' service under General Hull, just preceding their capture by General Brock. During these two months their conduct had been insubordinate, mutinous, and almost treasonable. So ignorant were these men of military usage and propriety that they did not conceal the fact of their disobeying General Hull's orders, issued by him in June for the march from Urbana to Detroit; nor his orders to cross into Canada; nor did they deny refusing to march to the Miami, stating that they would desert rather than obey; nor did they deny that two days before the capture of Detroit they were in open mutiny. On the contrary they boasted of these acts. The majority of the court seemed to concur with their witnesses in these views, and apparently commended such disgraceful and unmilitary conduct, all of them failing to observe that the first mutiny and disobedience of these officers was at Urbana, when General Hull first assumed command, with a reputation indorsed by Washington as one of the bravest and most skillful officers of the Revolution. So little did the officers who conducted the prosecution know of military duty and propriety that they even embodied in the charges, 'That the officers and soldiers were induced to lose, and did lose, confidence in the courage and military capacity of their said commander.'"

These men, without military knowledge or experience, were selected to give their opinions regarding General Hull's conduct, and to testify against him. It should be remembered that the acquittal of General Hull

* Mr. Wheeler's speech in congress, February, 1883.

would convict the government and General Dearborn of incompetence and disobedience of orders, and would render these Ohio militia officers liable to punishment for mutiny—certainly the loss of their commissions, perhaps the loss of their lives. Cass, their leader, in addition to promotion to the rank of brigadier-general, over the heads of older soldiers, had in his pocket when he appeared as a witness before this court, his appointment as governor of Michigan. Between ruin and promotion, what wonder at the choice of these men, and that they rendered the services for which they had received their pay in advance? "General Hull was acquitted of the charge of treason, because the principal fact upon which this charge was based would have proved the secretary of war guilty of treason, rather than the general. This fact was his sending a vessel by the lake after war was declared, containing his invalids and hospital stores. But when he had sent the vessel he had received no notice of the declaration of war, though notice might easily have reached him if the proper measures had been taken. Meanwhile the British at Malden had received notice of the declaration of war, in a letter franked by the secretary of the treasury, in consequence of which they captured the vessel." *

General Hull was found guilty on the charge of cowardice. The principal evidence under this charge was that of the militia officers, derived from his personal appearance on the 15th and 16th of August. Now, it must be observed, that these men all testify that they saw General Hull inside the fort and out of danger, while officers like Miller and Maxwell of the regulars, who had seen service, testified that they saw General Hull exposed to the enemy's fire on the advanced line, and that he appeared cool and collected. This was also the testimony of Colonel Watson, Major Munson, and Lieutenant Bacon. That General Hull's countenance should express anxiety on that occasion is natural. His responsibility was great; with a small and mutinous force, cut off from all the assistance which had been promised him, and confronted by overpowering forces by land and water, short of supplies of every kind, and full of solicitude for the safety of the people of Michigan under his charge, he was probably revolving in his mind whether to sacrifice himself or these women and children. These feelings could not be understood by the militia officers, and, apparently, they cannot be realized by Mr. Adams, whose only idea of the duties of a commander seems to be that he should fight.

To save the troops and the civilians intrusted to his care from inevitable and useless slaughter, by the probable sacrifice of his own reputation, demanded a higher courage than that necessary for death in battle.

* Clarke's *History of the Campaign of 1812*, p. 405.

As a specimen of the kind of evidence presented by the government, the following is an extract from the letter of Colonel Cass, upon which the proceedings of the court were founded: "On the day of the surrender we had fifteen days' provisions of every kind on hand. It was calculated that we could readily procure three months' provisions, independent of one hundred and fifty barrels of flour and thirteen hundred head of cattle, which had been promised from Ohio, and which remained at the river Raisin, under Captain Brush, within reach of the army." Testimony at this trial showed that on the 16th of August there was not five days' provision in the fort. As to the cattle and flour at the river Raisin, we have seen that before General Brock crossed the river, Major Van Horn and Colonel Miller had both attempted to reach it, the one with two hundred, and the other with six hundred men, and that both had failed. Cass gives no authority for his statement, he says "it was calculated." Who made the calculation does not appear. But it is very remarkable that only one month before the date of this letter, and four days before the surrender, Colonel Cass should have made quite a different statement to Governor Meigs. In a letter to Governor Meigs of Ohio, dated August 12, Colonel Cass writes: "The letter of the secretary of war to you authorizes you to preserve and keep open the communication from the state of Ohio to Detroit. It is all important that it should be kept open. Our very existence depends upon it. Our supplies must come from our state. This country does not furnish them. Nothing but a large force of two thousand men, at least, will effect the object." On the trial, Willis Silliman, a brother-in-law of Colonel Cass, testified that he received a letter from Cass, dated August 12, which said: "Our situation is become critical—bad as you may think of our situation, it is still worse than you believe. I cannot descend into particulars lest this should fall into the hands of the enemy." This did happen, for General Brock in a letter of September 3 to the British authorities, says: "I got possession of the letters of my antagonist, addressed to the secretary of war, and also of the sentiments which hundreds of his army uttered to their friends."

Silliman testified that he had another letter from Colonel Cass, dated August 3, in which he urged him to use his exertions to hasten the march of troops from Ohio, and said that men and provisions were both necessary; and that provisions are, or would be, necessary for the existence of the troops. Thus we see, that on the third of August, Colonel Cass writes that provisions are necessary, or soon will be, to the existence of the army; and on the trial he swears, that in his opinion, provisions, on the sixteenth of August, might be procured sufficient for three or four months. Which

of these statements should be believed? The packed court accepted the latter, and for these eminent services Colonel Cass became brigadier-general, and governor of Michigan territory.

"General Hull had been refused the aid of counsel; but many days were occupied in speeches by Martin Van Buren and A. J. Dallas, counsel employed by the prosecution, and another atrocity was found necessary. Nearly three months had elapsed since the court commenced its sittings. Members had been absent much of the time, and now General Dearborn found that the votes of these absent members were necessary to his purposes, and an order is produced, allowing absent members to resume their seats. Pursuant to this unlawful ruling, absent members were brought back, and voted upon the finding of the court; and this, too, against the protest of members of the tribunal; and thus ended the most atrocious outrage which was ever perpetrated under the form of justice."

Captain De Hart, in his work on courts martial, writes: "If a member of a court martial should for any cause be absent from his seat during the course of the trial he can not resume it. It would have been considered vacated, and he is excluded from any further participation in the trial. All the members of a court martial must be present during the proceedings on the reception of testimony; and resumption of his place by a member who has been absent for any period while proceedings were going on, would vitiate the judgment of the court." A case of this description is quoted in the work, in which the reviewing authority set aside the verdict of the court on account of this irregularity. O'Brien, in his work on American military courts, says: "When it is a question of military science, to affect the officer on trial, questions of opinion are inadmissible. For it is obvious that the court has met for nothing else than to try that question, and they have before them the facts in evidence, on which to ground their conclusions. Courts martial should be very cautious in receiving evidence as to opinion, in all instances." These important rules were both violated by Dearborn and his court, and its finding, according to military authorities, was vitiated; but President Madison approved of its finding, and that with such indecent haste as showed a foregone conclusion.

Madison was looking for reelection, and, next to Dearborn and Eustis, was more interested in the success of the prosecution than any other person. The conspiracy was successful. General Hull was made the victim. Madison was reelected. Dearborn and Eustis were rewarded with foreign missions, Cass with the governorship of Michigan, and the militia officers who had testified against their commander, with promotion. Those, however, who testified in his favor, got no promotion, and Lieuten-

ant Bacon, an excellent officer, was dropped from the new regiment. All General Hull's correspondence with the government being lost with his baggage by the burning of the *Adams* on Lake Erie, and he unable to procure copies from Washington until 1824, his *Memoirs of the Campaign of 1812* were not published until 1825. This work changed public opinion as to the responsibility for the surrender of Detroit wherever it was read, and his fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, gave him a public dinner in Boston to show their sense of sympathy with him in his unmerited misfortunes. Many other testimonials of like character came to him in his last years, especially from soldiers who had served with him and under him in the war of the Revolution.

Most historians of that period have copied their accounts from the government organs and other partisan works, but a few, like Lossing, Sparks, and Patton, have investigated the matter for themselves, and have come to the conclusion that General Hull was sacrificed to save the reputation of Madison's administration. Ancient history tells us that in the wars between Carthage and Rome, Carthage was no less the enemy of Hannibal than Rome; and a more treacherous enemy, for he depended upon her for help and she failed him almost uniformly. So did the modern republic treat her general in 1812. J. F. Clarke in his *Memorial Sketches* says: "History has at last reached the position in which its final verdict for William Hull is entire acquittal. His condemnation still stands on the records of our army, but it was the nation which was condemned by that sentence, and not Hull. He had the one never-failing support, the consciousness of having done his duty. On this point he never expressed a doubt. He maintained to the last, and repeated on his deathbed, his conviction that he had done right in this act which had brought upon him such unmerited misfortune. It is, however, probable that General Hull, fallen on evil days and tongues, was quite as happy and fully as contented as when his life led from one success to another. The 'stupid starers and the loud huzzas' were gone, but the self-approval remained. Cast down but not destroyed, persecuted but not forsaken, he realized the description of the poet:

'Thou hast been
As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing;
A man that fortune's buffets and rewards
Hast taken with equal thanks.'

MARIETTA, GEORGIA.

Saml B Clarke

REV. CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D.

The following extract from the *Christian Union* of recent date will interest our readers in every part of the land, as Dr. Parkhurst, who is universally recognized as "one of the foremost prophet-preachers of America," is among our eminent contributors, and his fine portrait will be remembered as forming the frontispiece to the November issue, 1890, in connection with his brilliant chapter "Divine Drift in Human History."

"Dr. Parkhurst is a curious intermingling of the best type of the ancient and the modern preacher. Give him the monk's costume, and he might sit to the painter for an ideal monk of the intellectual-spiritual type. His forehead is high, his features clear-cut, his face refined, his eye keen and piercing. Even in repose or in social intercourse the spirituality of his face impresses the beholder. In the pulpit the fires that burn within shine through this translucent face and flame like coals of fire in those keen eyes. More intense preacher there is not in the American pulpit; albeit his intensity shows itself by methods wholly his own. His eloquence is that of deliberation. His style is epigrammatic—to a fault. But the epigram soon ceases to impress the hearer as an artifice; he feels it to be partly due to a rare literary quality, but still more to an intensity of thought and feeling which instinctively seeks the fewest possible words for its expression. He is aphoristic as the Sermon on the Mount is aphoristic. His extravagances are those of a poet, to whom no language is extravagant which is employed to utter the intensity of his emotion. His words flash because his heart burns.

He is a man of audacious courage because of absolute faith. Fear is the child of unbelief. The man who fears for the Bible or the Church or Christianity does so, always, because he lacks faith either in God or in man. Dr. Parkhurst has faith in both. He believes that Christianity is adapted to the universal needs of humanity; he believes that humanity has a capacity—God-given—to apprehend and accept Christianity. His courage carries with it a great hope. He believes—really believes—that one with God is a majority; and he constantly acts on that belief. He never sounds a retreat, and never utters a word of discouragement. We doubt whether his congregation ever heard from him what is known in theology as an "apologetic" sermon. He is never seen on the defense. His way of defending Christian faith is to march at the head of marshaled truth in an

attack on error or wickedness. He defends the Church as Grant defended Washington—by moving on the enemy.

With all this intensity of spiritual conviction and consequent courageous hopefulness, he resembles neither the mystics nor the monks. He belongs neither to the Pietists nor to the Puritans. He is intense without being narrow, bold without being pugnacious, and spiritual without being ascetic. He lives in the nineteenth century, moves with its current, thinks in its thought, and speaks its language. The modern spirit in him summons him to the attack which he is making to-day against a corrupt city government; the intense spiritual life in him gives him the courage for this attack; for he really believes that the conscience of our New York City is more than a match for its corrupt politicians, and that this conscience is not dead but sleeping.

Such a man, as might be expected, is pre-eminently a manly preacher. In his church is seen every Sunday the unusual spectacle of a congregation of which one-half or more is composed of men. His is not the wealthiest church in the city, but we doubt whether any other church contains a larger proportion of distinctively intellectual men. He attracts large numbers of young men. His military spirit fascinates them; his courage inspires them; his visions of truth flash on them like a new revelation.

The work of such a man is not to be measured by the number of additions to the church under his ministry. Whether this is large or not we do not know. We suspect it is not larger than the average; perhaps it may even be less. But to thousands to whom the Christian religion was but a rule of pious decorum he has given a new conception of that religion as an inspired and divine life; and to thousands of others to whom the Christian religion was but a gateway to green pastures and still waters, he has given a new conception of that religion as a life of fearless heroism in the ways of practical righteousness."

DID THE NORSE DISCOVER AMERICA?

For centuries after the Atlantis of the ancients was sunk beneath the sea by "extraordinary earthquakes and deluges," a vast unknown ocean stretched west of Europe, where sea and sky mingled, where shoals impeded navigation, and monsters and demons waited to destroy the too daring mariner who ventured on its waters. About the beginning of the middle ages the vikings of the north began pushing out of sight of land in their single-masted, many-oared galleys. Having neither charts nor compass to guide them, they carried hawks or ravens, and when uncertain respecting the course of their vessels, let loose a cast of these birds, which instinctively flew to the nearest land. Driven by storms across the North sea, they discovered the Shetland and Faroe islands, and later, in 861, Naddod, a Norwegian pirate, was drifted in his ship by an adverse wind to Iceland, which he called Sneeland (Snowland). The oppression of Harald Fairhair, king of Norway, now drove the more high-spirited chieftains to leave the country, and many of the uninhabited lands were thus settled. The colony in Iceland grew within half a century into a sturdy little republic, counting among its citizens people from England, Ireland, Scotland, Flanders, and other countries of northern Europe.

But Iceland was not long to remain the most remote part of the western world known to Europeans. Gunnbjorn first saw land to the west, which was visited in 981 by Eirek the Red, and called by him Greenland, "for," said he, "it will make men's minds long to go there if the land has a fine name." Two colonies were soon planted in the new country by these restless rovers of the deep, not as has been supposed on the east and west coasts, but the eastern settlement (*eystri bygd*) near Cape Farewell, and the western (*vestri ubyga*) probably still farther north. Among those whom Eirek induced to return with him as colonists to Greenland was a Norwegian named Herjulf. It is told in the saga of Eirek the Red, that Bjarni, son of Herjulf, a promising young man who had acquired much property and honor abroad, learning of his father's departure, on his return to Iceland, determined to go in search of him. Never having been before in the Greenland sea he expressed to his men some doubt as to the wisdom of their undertaking. "Nevertheless, when they were ready they set out to sea, and after three days' sailing land was out of sight, and the fair winds ceased, and northern winds with

fog blew continually, so that for many days they did not know in what direction they were sailing. Then the sun came into sight and they could distinguish the quarters of heaven. They hoisted sail and sailed all day before they saw land. They wondered what land this could be, and Bjarni said he did not think it was Greenland. The men asked if he wished to sail towards it, and he answered that he wanted to go near it; this they did, and soon saw that it had no mountains, but low hills, and was forest-clad. They kept the land on their left, but the corners of the sail were toward the land. Then they sailed for two days before they saw other land. They asked Bjarni if he did not think this was Greenland. He answered: 'No; it is very unlike, I think, for very large glaciers are said to be in Greenland.' They soon approached the land, and saw that it was flat and covered with woods. Then the fair wind fell, and the sailors said they thought it best to land, as they lacked both wood and water, but Bjarni did not want to land, and said they had enough left; at this the men grumbled somewhat. He told them to set sail, which they did, and turned the prow seaward, and sailed in that direction with a south-westerly wind for three days, and then more land came in view which rose high with mountains and a glacier. They asked Bjarni if he would like to go ashore there, but he answered he would not do so as the land had an inhospitable look. They did not furl their sail, but sailed along the shore and saw it was an island. They once more turned the prow of the ship from the shore and set to sea with the same fair wind, but the gale increased, and Bjarni told them to take in a reef and not sail so fast, for the ship and its rigging could not stand it. They sailed four days, until they saw land for the fourth time, which was Greenland, and here Bjarni found his father."

The report of Bjarni Herjulfsson, little as he had to tell, aroused the interest of the people and caused much talk of land discoveries. It is further related that Leif, son of Eirik the Red, bought Bjarni's ship, and gathering together thirty-five men set sail upon a voyage of discovery. The year 1000 A.D. has been fixed as the approximate date of this voyage by a comparison of circumstances related in different sagas. Nothing is said of the direction in which these Northmen sailed, only that "they came first to the land (or region) last seen by Bjarni. They sailed towards it, cast anchor, put out a boat and went ashore, but saw no grass. Large glaciers covered the highlands of the interior, and between them and the sea was a plain of flat stones." Leif called the region *Helluland*.^{*} Proceeding farther they came upon a sandy beach with level forest country

^{*} From *hella*, a flat stone.

stretching behind it. "This land," said Leif, "shall be named after its properties and be called Markland" (Woodland).

They sailed thence out to sea with a north-east wind for two days before they saw land. This proved to be an island lying before the north part of the land. Here they went ashore, and tasting the dew upon the grass found it sweet. "Then they returned to the ship and sailed into the channel which was between the island and a tongue of land running toward the north. There the water was very shallow and their ship went aground, and at ebb-tide the sea was far out from the ship. But they were so anxious to get ashore that they could not wait till the high water reached their ship, and leaped out on the beach where a river flowed from a lake. When the high water set their ship afloat they took their boat and rowed to the ship and towed it up the river into the lake. Here they resolved to pass the winter and built large houses. There was no lack of salmon in the river and lake, and they were larger than any they had before seen. So great was the fertility of the soil that they were led to believe that cattle would not be in want of food during winter or that wintry coldness would prevail or the grass wither much.

One evening it happened that they missed one of their men—Tyrker the southerner. Leif was much grieved at this, for Tyrker had long been with him, and his foster-father had been very fond of Leif in his childhood. He upbraided his men harshly, and made ready to go and search for him with twelve men. A short way from the house Tyrker met them and was welcomed back. Leif soon saw that his foster-father was in high spirits. He had a high projecting forehead, unsteady eyes, a tiny face, and was little and wretched, but skilled in all kinds of handicraft. 'Why art thou so late, foster-father, and why hast thou parted from thy followers?' Leif asked. Then his foster-father spoke in Thyrskian, and rolled his eyes in many directions and made wry faces. They did not understand what he said. After a while he spoke in the northern tongue (Norrœna) and said: 'I did not go much farther than you, but I can tell some news. I found a vine and grapes.' 'Is this true, foster-father?' Leif asked. 'Certainly it is,' he answered, 'for I was born where there was neither lack of vine nor grapes.' They slept there that night, and in the morning Leif said to his sailors: 'Now we will do two kinds of work: one day you shall gather grapes or cut vines, the other you shall fell trees so that I may load my ship.' When spring came, having loaded the ship, they made ready to depart, and Leif named the land after its fruits, Vinland (Wineland). Then they put to sea and had fair winds till they saw Greenland and its glaciers."

In another saga, that of Thorfinn Karlsefne and Snorro Thorbrandson, we read of an attempt at settlement made by the Northmen in Vinland about the year 1007. Thorfinn Karlsefne had come from Norway to Greenland and there married Gudrid, widow of Thorstein Eireksson. Both she and others strongly urged him to go to Vinland, and not in vain, for an expedition under his command soon left the western settlement. After sailing two days southward from Greenland they reached Helluland. "Thence they sailed two days and turned from the south to the south-east," and came to Markland. After leaving Markland it is said in the saga that "they then sailed far to the southward along the coast and came to a promontory. The land lay on the right and had a long, sandy beach. They rowed to it and found on a tongue of land the keel of a ship. They called this point of land Kjalarnes (Keel cape), and the beach Furdustrandir (Long Strand), for it took a long time to sail by it. . . . Farther on they came into a bay where there was an island around which flowed rapid currents that suggested the name they gave it, Straumey (Stream island). There were so many eider ducks on the island that one could hardly walk about without stepping on their eggs. They took the cargo from the ship and made preparations to remain there. They undertook nothing but the exploration of the land. Without having provided food beforehand they sustained themselves there during the winter. In summer the fishing was not good and they were in want of provisions. They had previously prayed to God to give them food, but were not supplied as quickly as they thought their hunger demanded. Having found a stranded whale they cut it up. No one knew what kind of whale it was, and when the cook prepared a part of it for them they ate it and all were made sick." Finally "the weather favored them so that they were able to row out to fish, and thereafter they were not in want of food, for wild game was caught on land and fish in the sea, and eggs were collected on the island." . . .

"It is said that Thorhall (the hunter) resolved to go northward along Furdustrandir to explore Vinland, but Karlsefne determined to sail southward along the coast. Thorhall fitted out his vessel under the island, having not more than nine men to join him, for all the others went with Karlsefne. Now when Thorhall carried water to his ship he sang these verses:

' People told me when I came
Hither, all would be so fine;
The good Vinland, known to fame,
Rich in fruits and choicest wine;
Now the water-pail they send,
To the fountain I must bend;
Nor from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine.'

When they were about to depart and had hoisted sail, Thorhall again sang:

'Let our trusty band
Haste to Fatherland;
Let our vessel brave
Plow the angry wave,
While those few who love
Vinland here may rove,
Or, with idle toil,
Fetid whales may boil,
Here on Furdustrand,
Far from Fatherland.'

It is now told of Karlsefne that he with Snorro and Bjarni and their people sailed southward along the coast. They sailed a long time until they came to a river which ran out from the land and through a lake into the sea. The river was quite shallow and no ship could enter it without high water. Karlsefne sailed with his people into its mouth and called the place Hóp.* They found fields of wild wheat where the ground was low, and wine wood where it was higher. There was a great number of all kinds of animals in the woods. They remained at this place a half-month and enjoyed themselves, but did not find anything novel. They had their cattle with them. Early one morning when they were viewing the country they saw a great number of skin boats on the sea. The people in them rowed nearer and with curiosity gazed at them. These people were swart (*svartir*) and ugly, and had coarse hair, large eyes, and broad cheeks. They remained a short time and watched Karlsefne's people. They then rowed to the southward beyond the cape. When spring drew near the natives again visited the Northmen and trafficked with them. The people preferred red cloth, and for this they gave skins and all kinds of furs. They also wanted to purchase swords and spears, but Karlsefne and Snorro would not sell them any weapons. For a whole skin the Skraelings (*Skraelingar*) took a piece of red cloth a span long and bound it around their heads. In this way they bartered for a time. Then the cloth began to diminish, and Karlsefne and his men cut it into small strips not wider than one's finger, and still the Skraelings gave as much as they had for the larger pieces and often more. It happened that a bull which Karlsefne had with him ran out from the wood and bellowed loudly. This frightened the Skraelings so much that they rushed to their boats and rowed away to the southward around the coast." Three weeks afterward a large number of Skraelings returned in their boats uttering loud cries. "Karlsefne's

* From *hópa*, to recede. *Hóp*, a recess, haven, bay, inlet.

men took a red shield and held it toward them. The Skraelings leaped from their boats and began an attack. Many missiles fell among the Northmen, for the Skraelings used slings (*valslöngur*). Karlsefne's men saw that they had raised on a pole something resembling an air-filled bag of a blue color. They hurled this at Karlsefne's party, and when it fell to the ground it exploded with a loud noise. This frightened Karlsefne and his men so much that they ran and fell back to the river, for it seemed to them that the Skraelings were enclosing them on all sides. They did not stop until they reached a rocky place, where they stoutly resisted their assailants." Having compelled them to flee, "Karlsefne and his men perceived that notwithstanding the country was fruitful they would be exposed to many dangerous incursions of its inhabitants if they should remain in it. They therefore determined to depart and return to their own land."

Five expeditions to Vinland are related in the sagas. Adam of Bremen (1073) says it was told him by the king of Denmark that Vinland was an island. "Moreover, he said that an island had been discovered by many in that ocean, which is called Vinland because vines grow spontaneously there, producing excellent wine. For that fruits abound there not having been sown, we are assured not by any vague rumor but by the trustworthy report of the Danes." Vitalis (1140) and Saxo Grammaticus (1200) barely mention Vinland. The Northmen, it seems, continued their visits to the country up to the fourteenth century; then all is oblivion.

The proof of the Norse discovery of America rests entirely upon documentary evidence, and they are "poets but not antiquaries," says Laing, who attempt to strengthen their case by an appeal to "imaginary runes and the identification of places." Nevertheless, there have been many of these "poets," each of whom has established to his own satisfaction the locality of the Norse Vinland, but their testimonies agree not together. Professor Charles C. Rafn in the *American Antiquities* identified the Landfall of Leif Eiriksson with Mount Hope Bay, Rhode Island; and Professor Eben N. Horsford, in a pamphlet entitled *Defenses of Norumbega*, just published, with Boston harbor. Of the documents, the *Hcims krensla*, an old manuscript chronicle of the kings of Norway written by Snorre Sturlason, the "Northern Herodotus," in the thirteenth century, contains the bare statement, "Leif also found Vinland the Good." Two sagas in the celebrated *Codex Flatoiensis*, those of Eric the Red and Thorfinn Karlsefne, give an account, as we have seen, of voyages to Helluland, Markland, and Vinland.

How far are the sagas reliable? Where was Vinland?

The sagas relate the heroic deeds of the early Northmen, the prose narrative being interspersed with metrical passages selected for the most part from verses sung by the Skalds to celebrate the exploits of the illustrious families under whose protection and patronage they lived. "It was not the political importance of an event that induced the Skalds to make it the subject of a lay; they chose it for effect, and selected that which most interested the feelings of their auditors and at the same time best admitted of poetical ornament." The sagas may be divided into mythical, romantic, and historical. In the first class are included those which, whilst they introduce mythical personages and supernatural events, give a faithful picture of the national manners, feelings, and prejudices; the second include those in which the authors give full scope to their imagination; while the third may be considered as historical. But, strictly speaking, no one of these divisions can be said to comprise any saga as a whole, since they are nearly all more or less embellished with mythological and poetical fables. How much of any saga we are called upon to accept as historical may be believed?

In the account of the third voyage to Vinland, for instance, contained in the saga of Eirek the Red, it is told that a plague broke out among the followers of Thornstein Eireksson, and Grimhild, wife of Thornstein the Black, died. While her husband was gone from the room "to fetch a board on which to lay the body," Thornstein Eireksson said, "Strange does our housewife look now, for she rises on her elbow, draws up her feet, and searches for her shoes with her hand." When her husband returned, Grimhild lay down and every timber of the room creaked. Then Thornstein Eireksson's illness grew worse, and he died. While they were all in the room the dead man rose and said, "Where is Gudrid?" (his wife). Three times he repeats the question, but she is silent. He then tells that he is in heaven himself and prophesies Gudrid's fate. In this blending of history and myth it is often impossible to distinguish between the two, for myths may be written in which there are neither heroes nor impossible occurrences.

Moreover, the accounts of the Vinland voyages, whatever they may have been originally, were handed down by word of mouth for two hundred years before they were written, and then rendered into script at a time when, in addition to the inevitable changes produced by long oral tradition, there was superadded the spirit of romance borrowed from the south of Europe. Even in the estimation of the Scandinavians themselves much of the saga record is indistinguishable from myth, leaving little besides the general drift of the story to be held of the nature of

history. Horn says of the *Codex Flatoiensis*, "The book was written toward the close of the fourteenth century by two Icelandic priests, and contains in strange confusion and wholly without criticism a large number of sagas, poems, and stories." One of these sagas, that of Eirek the Red, is in the opinion of Rask, a leading Norse authority, "somewhat fabulous, written long after the event, and taken from tradition."

The case for the Norse discovery was well put by the committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which after long delay finally decided to raise a monument to Leif Eireksson in Boston: "There is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Eireksson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon; they are both traditions accepted by later writers. . . . It is antecedently probable that the Norsemen discovered America in the early part of the eleventh century; but that discovery is confirmed by the same sort of historical tradition, not strong enough to be called evidence, upon which our belief in many of the facts of history rests."

Where was Vinland? It has been variously located all the way from Greenland to Africa. An old geographical document supposed to have been written before the time of Columbus describes the island of Vinland as lying on the opposite side of a channel between it and Greenland: "Now is to be told what lies opposite Greenland, out from the bay already mentioned. Furdustrandir is the name of a land. There are such hard frosts there that it is not habitable as far as known. South of it is Helluland, which is called Skraelings land. From there it is not far to Vinland the Good, which some think goes out from Africa." The map of Sigurd Stephanius (1570) places Vinland north of the straits of Belle Isle, and separates it by a "wild sea" from the "America" of the Spaniards. This map, however, was made after the discoveries of Columbus and his successors had become generally known in Europe, and was an attempt to reconcile the tales of the sagas with the new beliefs. On all the early maps of Greenland, Helluland, Markland, and Vinland are represented as regions of that country. Further, the statements respecting the great number of eider ducks, the skin boats used by the natives, the scarcity of food among the Northmen, and their eating the flesh of a stranded whale to escape starvation, and the sarcastic language of the song sung by Thorhall about Vinland being a land of wine—all establish the fact that this country or region was very near the Arctic circle.

The length of the shortest day in Vinland, given in the saga as from *dagmal*, or day-meal time, to *cykt* time, has been interpreted by Professor Rafn to indicate the latitude of Mount Hope Bay, Rhode Island (41° 24'

10" N.), but the definition of these terms in the law of Iceland, the statement of Torfæus and other northern authorities make *dagmal* between eight and nine in the morning, and *eykt* time between three and four in the afternoon. Torfæus, in his *History of Ancient Vinland*, says that on the shortest day the sun was six hours above the horizon, thus placing Vinland between the fifty-eighth and sixty-first parallels of north latitude.

Every other locality visited by the Northmen shows evidence of their occupation of the soil. In Greenland considerable architectural remains, such as the ruins of churches, attest their presence; but there is not a single trace of them in America south of Davis strait. Among the inscriptions on the Dighton rock, lying on the east side of the Taunton river in Massachusetts, was one thought to be in runic characters; but archæologists now agree as to the Indian origin of this as well as the other inscriptions. Interpreted by an Indian, the rock-writing is an account of a battle fought by the people of two tribes, and engraved by some or one of the members of the victorious party. As to the round tower at Newport being a Norse monument, it is mentioned by Governor Arnold of Rhode Island in his will as "my stone-built windmill." Arnold, the first governor of Rhode Island, living at Newport, in his will dated December 20, 1677, directed that his body should be buried at a certain spot, "being and lying in my land, in or near the line or path from my dwelling-house leading to my stone-built windmill, in the town of Newport." There is another mill of similar construction near Leamington, in Warwickshire, England, where Arnold lived when a boy. This mill was built according to a plan first introduced into England by Inigo Jones.

Does not our wider knowledge influence us in estimating the work of the Norse? They discovered Greenland, as is indisputably established, but Greenland was a new and vast land, and its exploration a great work—greater to them than to us who know how much more lies beyond it. That the Northmen sailed south along the coast of America is not improbable, but it *cannot be proved*.

B. H. Du Bois.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

THE YOUTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

AN AUTHENTIC RECORD

Habits make the man, manners the gentleman, reason, judgment and enterprise, with well-directed industry, the successful and exemplary citizen. Is genius innate or acquired, and is it possible in the child life of an individual to discover indications of capabilities and of character? Dress, education, and conventionalities of an age give almost as much sameness to the conduct and appearance of a people as does the brickmaker's mold to the clay he works. Want of intercourse with the world influences not only the customs but the mental and physical characteristics of communities, causing them to become almost as uniform as the dress they wear. Nevertheless it is, I apprehend, a universal vanity to think ourselves endowed with special talents and so commendable that they ought to be indulged. Many, though quite deficient in energy and perseverance, believe they have great aptitude for the affairs of life—superior, indeed, to their neighbors, which they could demonstrate if they tried or had the opportunity.

People acquire the routine of every-day life almost automatically, but under varying degrees of moral concepts, ethical culture, and notions of obligations and duty. Nevertheless, implanted in the minds of all is the idea of a greater than themselves and an admiration for the leader, the seer, and the prophet. No clime, age or race has an exclusive prerogative to either the genius, the mental powers, the virtues or the vices which distinguish a people, and alone elevate or degrade nations. Yet while there is great sameness, when the race is viewed as a unit, among individuals are much diversity of brain power and aptness for pursuits, with degrees of reason and self-control, which lie at the foundation of all the virtues. From time to time characters possessing, to a phenomenal degree, the heroic and philanthropic virtues spring unexpectedly and without special training into prominence, and become leaders of the world.

George Washington was one of the most conspicuous illustrations of this fact, in history. Many believe he was expressly created, preserved, and directed by Providence for the special work he performed for his country. A people may have surprises of this nature, but Providence is methodical and has no accidents. Were the child life and early youth of

George Washington entirely commonplace and without indication of the greatness of the coming man? We think not. It would be hazardous to attempt to fix the age in days, months or years in the life of an individual when impressions for good or evil may first be made as object lessons, and which exercise a dominating influence in after-life. It is believed precepts imbibed in early youth possess a controlling influence over actions in mature and even in old age. If the theory be correct, that much of what is greatest in great men may be traced to the nobility of character in their mothers, what a debt of gratitude the world owes to that worthy Virginia matron, Mary Washington.

From his tenderest years the teacher of George Washington, by example and precept, was his firm, tender, and sensible mother, to whose benign influence he attributed whatever of virtue he possessed. Biographers furnish the names of two of his school-teachers; it is, however, probable that he had others. The first was a Mr. Hobby, a tenant of his father's, who was also sexton of the parish Oberwharton, in Stafford county, Virginia, and taught in one of the "old field school-houses" near by. George's studies under him, were, of course, of the simplest kind, as reading, writing, and ciphering, but the bright boy had at the same time the moral influence of a good home and the example and instruction of conscientious parents. He was not born to or reared in any enervating luxuries or those leading to effeminacy or evil environments. Parental influence and his school-tasks satisfied his demands and prepared him for the self-denials and hardships of the surveyor's tent, the frontier cabin, and the camp of the patriot soldier. The other teacher, Mr. Williams, conducted a more advanced school in Westmoreland, to which George was sent shortly after his father's death, boarding meantime with his half-brother, Augustine. It was at this school that he made his greater advances and acquired his proficiency in mathematics and surveying. Notwithstanding the embarrassment of a limited education, by force of genius and manly perseverance he supplied the deficiencies and discharged with distinguished ability the trusts of as heavy responsibilities as ever rested upon any man. As a pupil he was noted for his punctual attendance, orderly conduct, devotion to study, and his popularity with his school-fellows. He was the preferred umpire in their disputes, the leader in their sports of running, leaping, wrestling, pitching the bar and other games.

When George was between seven and eight years of age his half-brother Lawrence returned from England with a good education. He possessed a fine manly figure, and was the beau ideal of George, who saw

in him the model man of business, with the manners of a gentleman. Lawrence, although fourteen years older than George, looked with admiration upon his brother, whom he found companionable much beyond what his age might suggest, and whose expanding intellect and perfect rectitude of character merited the highest regard. It is probable that the ensign's commission in the British navy procured for George in 1746 was obtained through Major Lawrence Washington and his friends, but doubtless the boy, listening to the tales of brave deeds and glory to be won, acquiesced in their views and would have gone into navy service had not his mother objected. Washington was already an advanced pupil in the school of self-control, and gave no outward evidence of disappointment at his mother's decision. No sulks or poutings; no attempts to run away from home and go to sea in defiance of maternal authority, but for another year or more he continued at school under the immediate influence of his mother and his elder brothers. Throughout all of Washington's writings, whenever reference is made to his mother, either in his youth, mature manhood or advanced age, it is done with the most becoming and dutiful respect.

George's neatly kept school copy-book, made between the age of thirteen and sixteen years, still in good condition, and preserved in the Department of State, exhibits his fine penmanship, proficiency, and accuracy, as well as his aptness in mathematical demonstration and drawing of geometrical figures and plats of surveys. From early youth he had a mental method of his own for analyzing questions coming before him for consideration, examining them in their immediate and remote effects, and generally reaching conclusions that were just. From boyhood he was noted for sound judgment and ability to concentrate the powers of his mind almost at will upon any given subject. He early acquired a mastery of method, and in all the affairs of life it never deserted him. While not demonstrative in his temperament he was politely social and strongly attached to his friends. His occupations from an early period led him into association with persons older than himself.

While attentive and respectful to ladies he was never what, at this day, would be called a "ladies' man." A good and entertaining conversationalist, he was never a ready public speaker. Even in advanced life, while reading his carefully prepared state papers, he exhibited much nervousness. Without having a loud voice he was a clear and deliberate reader. The earliest records of his independent opinions apart from his school-books, if we except his agency in formulating his version of the "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour," are to be found in "A Journal of My Journey Over the Mountains," begun March 11, 1747-8, when he was just

one month over sixteen years of age. Washington held a commission from William and Mary College as a public surveyor. A record of this fact was made at Culpeper Court House, July 22, 1749, but it is probable he was a licensed surveyor several years before that. Even at this age he possessed not only the expert knowledge of a surveyor, but exhibited surprising fortitude and perseverance, associating with business men in a business way and discharging important trusts with a steadiness of purpose and ability which elicited universal commendation. By his genius, perseverance, and attainments as a surveyor he achieved a reputation for meritorious performances at the age of sixteen above all contemporaries. Washington attained his full stature before his twentieth year, was an athlete of the first order—tall, strong, and of graceful carriage. He was a skillful horseman, fond of field sports, and accustomed to vigorous and prolonged exertion.

He was neat and careful in his dress, but not the least inclined to foppishness. Whatever he made use of or wore he wished to be in good taste and the best of its kind. He was fond of children, considerate of the feelings of others, kind and liberal to servants, punctual to engagements, circumspect in his intercourse with people in general, painstaking and explicit in his business transactions. A memorandum in his journal of 1748 gives minute directions to his tailor, which begin as follows: "Have my coat made by the following directions to be made a Frocke with Lapel Breast," etc. The memorandum is long and very specific in its directions. Nor did he neglect to study what was becoming in manners and deportment, as is manifested in his version of the "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour," of whose underlying principles he was master in a high degree. His habit of noting his personal expenses has preserved for us the following fact: "September 10, 1748, cash, 10 shillings paid the music master for my entrance to the dancing class."

July 17, 1758, he opens an account against Mrs. Mary Washington. There are many charges in this account, chiefly for money lent his mother annually or oftener to the close of her life. Beneath the last entry is written: "Settled."

He grasped a knowledge of the practical and useful affairs in life almost by intuition. His earliest recorded observations on the value of lands, the quality of timber, the productiveness of the soil, etc., in his journal, illustrate the maturity of his mind: "Sunday, March 13, 1747-8. Rode to his Lordship's Quarter about 4 Miles higher up ye river, we went through most beautiful Groves of Sugar Trees & spent ye best part of ye Day in admiring ye Land."

Washington was an enthusiastic admirer of the grand and sublime in nature, and was, as his diaries show, specially observant of the beautiful native trees which were to be met with in our forests, never being at a loss to tell with precision where the finest specimens of the various species were to be found. Later in life when he was embellishing the lawn and grounds of Mount Vernon he took pains to transplant to them hundreds of select specimens of the grandest indigenous trees of our country, from near and remote localities, noted either for their effect in the landscape, their shade, graceful forms, beauty of bud, leaf, blossom or fruit, or for the variety of their autumnal tints.

While his engagements as a surveyor brought him many opportunities for observing the grandeur of nature, they also imposed numerous hardships and privations. On a spare leaf in his journal is the draft of a letter, without date, but written in 1748, to "Dear Richard," in which he describes some of his discomforts. He writes: "Nothing would make it pass of tolerably but a good reward, a Doubleloon is my constant gain every Day that the weather will permit my going out and sometimes six Pistoles." From the tone of this and the drafts of other letters in the same book, to youthful friends, it is evident he at first felt sorely his isolation and want of companionship. But there is no intimation anywhere that he lacked the fortitude or perseverance necessary to bear the privation or perform the duties he had undertaken.

Early in life he manifested the fixed determination to earn more than his expenses, that he might at all times have the means to help others and forward his own plans. Washington's early surveys, it will be remembered, were chiefly in the unsettled parts of the Shenandoah valley and along the Potomac river and its larger branches in Virginia. For want of habitations the surveyors were obliged to camp out in improvised tents. His journal, under date of "March 31, 1748," has the following record: "Early this Morning one of our Men went out with ye Gun & soon returned with two Wild Turkies we then went to our Business run of three Lots & returned to our Camping place at Stumps." As illustrating his fortitude and perseverance, the draft of the following letter to a youthful friend, in the fall of 1748, may be quoted: "I have not sleep'd above three Nights or four in a bed but after Walking a good deal all the Day lay down before the fire upon a Little Hay Straw Fodder or bearskin whichever is to be had." *

It will be remembered that at the time this journal was written the country west of the Blue Ridge was the home and the hunting ground of the Indian. In March, 1748, a war party of Indians, returning from the

* *Journal of My Journey Over the Mountains*, p. 63.

south, with one scalp, stopped at the surveyors' camp for the night, and were induced, for a bottle of rum, to give an exhibition of their war dance. The following memorandum from this journal, without date, but probably made in 1749, shows George's solicitude for the business interests of his brother Lawrence, who had gone to England chiefly on the business of the "Ohio Company":

"When I see my Brother Austin to Enquire of him whether he is the Acting Attorney for my Brother and as my Brother Lawrence left Directions with the Hon. W. F,x to remit his Pay as Adjutant whether it would not be more proper to Keep it to Pay the Notes of Hand that's Daily coming against him and to Write Word to Williamsburg to Acquaint his Hon: my B: A: to write him word."

Still more characteristic of young Washington is the following record in 1748: "Memorandum to charge Mrs. Ans. Washington with 4-9 and 18d the 30 of July to a Maryland Housewife as also Major Law: Washington with 1-3 lent 15 of August 5-9 the 17 Do 2-6 Do: I read to the Reign of K: John In the Spectators Read to No. 143."

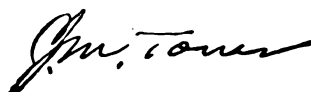
In a small dilapidated ledger, probably the first opened by George Washington, may be found accounts against eighteen persons, whose names, with the years in which the entries were made, can all be given in alphabetical order. We deduce from these entries, the bulk of which were chiefly for small sums of money lent to friends, that Washington was of an accommodating spirit; the fact that he seems always to have had money, shows that he was thrifty, and his making book-entries shows that he had business tact and methods, was orderly, and had a just appreciation of the value of money. He credits himself in this book with small sums won at loo, whist, and billiards; also with small losses at these games with his friends. This habit of charging himself with losses at cards and other games was continued through his life. These extracts from George Washington's early business accounts suggest that the germ of his orderly methods which led him to submit to the labor of keeping an exact account of his personal expenses throughout the Revolutionary War, and which he presented to congress to discharge in lieu of salary, existed in him from his youth. He never counted trouble or cost where a principle was to be maintained, and his systematic methods secured to him time for every duty. His expense accounts show that on September 20, 1747, he buys himself a two-foot Gunter for $\frac{1}{8}$. This was probably the common flat drawing scale or rule, usually an inch and a half broad, divided and ruled to various measures relating to surveying, navigation, trigonometry, etc., used chiefly by surveyors.

It has been said and with much truth that Washington was a slave to his pen. Springing from his habit of explicitness of detail in enterprises and intimately connected with this marked trait was his custom of taking notes and making records of observed facts, relating to matters in which he was interested. On the value of approved methods he sententiously wrote, "Contracts not reduced to writing are seldom performed to the satisfaction of either party." Though he was not an essayist or a writer of books, he was one of the most felicitous letter-writers in history.

Nearly every subject of practical interest to a people in a new country—such as farm management and productions, commerce, inventions, manufactures, and the right of the people to choose their own form of government and rulers—engaged his attention and is discussed with great ability. His earliest business letter of which I have any knowledge is one from the valley of Virginia, May 5, 1749, to his half-brother, Lawrence Washington, at the time a member of the House of Burgesses, and is directed to Williamsburg. In this letter matters of much importance to his mother and to his father's estate he discusses in a familiar and comprehensive manner, and points out the great injury a proposed new ferry would be to their plantation, and hopes the Assembly will not authorize its establishment at the place proposed.

While in ordinary business matters he could safely rely on his own judgment, in those requiring the technical knowledge of a lawyer he never failed to employ one, as is attested by the many fees to attorneys entered in his cash-book. His fees as a surveyor and his salary as adjutant-general put him in possession of funds. It was apparent to all who knew him and observed his aptitude for and his attention to business, that he was sure to get on in the world.

WASHINGTON, D. C.



ANDREW JACKSON AND DAVID CROCKETT

REMINISCENCES OF COLONEL CHESTER

It was in the month of March, 1890, that the following conversation with Colonel Chester took place at his home in Jackson, Tennessee. It opened about Jackson, through my remark that some late writers placed Andrew Jackson and David Crockett in the same rank. "No," he said decidedly; "they stood on a very different plane. Jackson was a wonderful man. Crockett was a backwoodsman only. Jackson was equally able in great or small affairs. I was once," he went on to say, "caught in the rain going to the Hermitage. You know my first wife was Mrs. Jackson's niece, a daughter of Colonel Hay's, and the most beautiful woman I ever saw in my life. Jackson lent me a suit of his clothes which fitted me exactly, shoes and all. We were just the same size, six feet one," and Colonel Chester drew himself up as if proud of the resemblance. He then spoke of the Dickinson duel, and showed me on his own person the course of the ball which drew blood. "Jackson once spoke to me of that duel," he said. "He told me Dickinson was never known to miss his mark, and he felt sure of being killed unless he maintained entire self-control. Dickinson's shot barely missed his heart. 'Then,' said Jackson, 'I had to kill him.' Dickinson had repeated some slanders about Mrs. Jackson. It is true that Jackson was married to her before the divorce was granted. He was told when it had been obtained, and as soon as he heard that his marriage was premature, he went back to Dr. Craighead and had the marriage ceremony performed over again.

General Jackson," he continued, "always escorted Mrs. Jackson from the Hermitage to Nashville—twelve miles—on horseback, riding beside her carriage, but never in it." "Was that," I asked, "because he feared some ruffianly attacks on her?" "Oh, no," he replied; but the question recalled to him the story of Russell Bean, the outlaw of East Tennessee. "Bean had a very pretty wife, of whom he was frantically and unjustly jealous. Her youngest child was born during his absence from home. When he came back he took a pocket knife and cut off its ears, saying 'that he'd mark it so as to know it from his own.' The child died and his wife was given a divorce. He was summoned to appear in court, but refused; and a sheriff's posse sent for him, found him in the top of a tree

armed with a rifle. His reply to the sheriff's summons was a threat to shoot the first man who came within range. No one dared to come near him. The sheriff decided to wait until dinner time, when Jackson, who was then on the bench, could be summoned as a private citizen to assist him during the court's recess for dinner. To Jackson's summons Bean yielded, saying, 'I know Jackson is such a fool, he'd shoot me if I didn't.' Bean," continued Colonel Chester, "was once convicted of felony in Carthage, where I then lived. The punishment was branding on the palm of his hand the letter 'T.' Usually the prisoner was held firmly while this torture was inflicted ; but Bean insisted on holding out his hand himself. No sooner was the brand made than he bit out the scorched flesh and spat it out of his mouth. *I saw this.* His son became a pirate."

I asked about General Jackson's displays of temper. Colonel Chester replied that he was a man of force, and used his temper to gain his ends, but was not of bad or ungovernable temper. "His manners were courtly, and the expression used about him at the time was that he was as able in the cock-pit as in the battle-field, as capable in small as in great things. He was a believer in predestination, and trusted and believed in special Providence, considering the battle of New Orleans as an evidence of Divine favor vouchsafed him." "I served under Jackson at New Orleans," Colonel Chester went on, "and he once said to me that the battle was won by Coffee's repulse of the night attack of the British. Had that attack succeeded there were not Americans enough to hold the line. This was in December, before the arrival of Carroll. Cotton bales were undoubtedly used in the fortifications. When I lived in Carthage, General Jackson passed through the town, on the way home from the Burr trial. The tavern where he stayed was at once crowded with people. He ordered the customary treat all round. A man in the crowd sneered out something about 'your friend Burr.' Jackson's glass was at his lips, but he threw the whiskey into the speaker's eyes.

David Crockett," said Colonel Chester, "was a backwoodsman, strong, keen eyed, observant. On the stump he told anecdotes that pleased the people, but in congress he was without influence. Crockett's cabin, on the Obion river, was open to all. I once crossed that river in a canoe—my horse swimming by me—and slept in his house on a bear-skin, and ate bear-meat with a bowie knife and a cane fork." "What is a cane fork?" I asked. "A fork," he replied, "made by splitting a piece of cane—it had two prongs. Crockett," he went on, "boasted a great deal about a coat made from American wool sent him from New England. He used to wear a coon-skin cap, and defeated Colonel Butler for congress by

ridiculing him for having carpets on his floors." I said something about the inscription at the Alamo. He quickly responded, "The fight at the Alamo was a blunder. What did a man shut himself up in a fort, and allow Santa Anna to surround him for? It was downright folly." The inscription, "Thermopylæ had one left to tell her story, the Alamo had none," he allowed to be touching, but insisted that Crockett was not comparable to Jackson as a soldier, statesman or citizen. Speaking of inscriptions, he said that the one on Mrs. Jackson's tomb, "A being so gentle slander could wound but could not dishonor," etc., was written by General John H. Eaton.

Colonel Robert Chester of Tennessee, whose reminiscences I have recorded, was born in 1793, and at the time of his death, in 1891, was the oldest affiliating mason in the United States. He was a relative by marriage and a great admirer of General Jackson. In 1884, he was the messenger from Tennessee to carry the electoral vote of the state to Washington; and his tall straight figure, courtly bearing, and white hair attracted wide attention at the nation's capital.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "A. J. Turner", followed by a horizontal line.

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

THE UNITED STATES IN PARAGRAPHS

[Continued from page 308]

ALABAMA

1764, February. By a royal decree Captain George Johnstone being governor (R.N.), the province of West Florida is created, embracing the territory south of latitude $32^{\circ} 28'$, and between the Mississippi and Chattahoochee rivers. The northern part of the present state lay in the then province of Illinois.

1772. The Hon. Peter Chester appointed governor.

August 30. Mobile devastated by a hurricane lasting till September 3.

1776. The Declaration of Independence and the war that follow hardly touch the province of West Florida, which remains for the most part loyal to the crown.

1777. William Bartram travels through the province and prepares his valuable notes on manners and customs (published by Ethnological Society, 1851).

1778. Alexander McGillvray, son of Lachlan (see 1735), is made a colonel in the British service and renders valuable aid to the Royalists.

1778, March 7. Captain James Willing, of Philadelphia, leads a body of American troops down the Mississippi and is partially successful in fomenting revolt against the British at Mobile. Loyalty to the crown prevails in the end, and Willing is taken prisoner.

1779. England declares war against France and Spain.

1780, March 14. Don Bernardo Galvez, governor of Spanish Louisiana, captures Mobile, and, after reducing Pensacola, secures control of the whole province.

1782, November 30. A preliminary treaty of peace signed at Paris recognizing the independence of the American colonies, as far south as a line defined by the thirty-first parallel and the Chattahoochee, Flint, and St. Mary's rivers.

1782, November 30. East and West Florida remain by treaty under Spanish rule, and the strip between latitude 31° and $32^{\circ} 28'$ (see 1764) is for many years in dispute.

1784. Colonel Alexander McGillvray takes offense at the British and forms an alliance with the Spaniards.

1785. Border warfare breaks out, fomented by McGillvray and his Indian friends along the Coosa river. The provisional congress, then in session at Augusta, Georgia, sends a commission to negotiate with them.

1787, April 10. Conference of the Hon. James White, United States commissioner, with Colonel McGillvray and the Creek chiefs at Cusseta. No agreement reached concerning boundaries.

August 18. Washington, now in his second term as president, and McGillvray conclude a treaty defining the boundary between Georgia and Alabama

and retaining McGillvray in the service of the United States with the rank of brigadier.

Georgia, under a charter of Charles II., claims all the territory between the thirty-first and thirty-fifth parallels, and sells out the major part of Alabama to the "Tennessee Company" for about \$46,000. The scheme known as the "Yazoo frauds" was defeated with some bloodshed.

1791, May. Andrew Ellicott, a government surveyor, attempts to run the line between the Creeks and Georgians, but is prevented by threatened trouble with the Indians, who are dissatisfied with McGillvray's treaty.

1793, February 17. Death of General McGillvray at Pensacola, where he was buried with full Masonic honors.

1794-1795. Revival of the "Yazoo frauds," Georgia claiming the right to sell titles to lands between her present territory and the Mississippi (West Florida), then owned by Spain.

1795, February 7. The four "Yazoo Companies," so called, organize under the laws of Georgia, and make a first payment on lands including northern Alabama, altogether about twenty-one million acres.

1795-1796. Amid great public excitement the "Yazoo act" is abrogated both by the state of Georgia and by the general government, with Washington as president, but in the meantime many settlers penetrate the wilderness of northern Alabama.

1795, October 27. Thomas Pinckney, minister to Spain, negotiates a treaty fixing the thirty-first parallel (present southern line of Alabama) as the bound-

ary of the United States from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochee.

1796, June 29. Treaty signed at Mucogee, Georgia, reaffirming the agreement of 1790 (q. v.) and authorizing the establishment of government posts along the border.

Fort Bowyer established, Mobile Bay (replaced by Fort Morgan), 1819.

1797. Carondelet, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, refuses to recognize the treaty of Madrid, and a state of quasi-war ensues, the United States establishing military posts near the Spanish forts on the lower Mississippi.

1798, March. Spanish garrisons withdrawn and survey of the thirty-first parallel begun by Colonel Andrew Ellicott, with an armed escort of Spanish and American soldiers, and Major Stephen Minor and Sir William Dunbar as commissioners on the part of Spain.

1799-1801. Winthrop Sargent, of Massachusetts, governor.

August. Colonel Ellicott completes the survey to the Chattahoochee, when he is attacked by the Creeks, instigated, as is supposed, by Governor Folet of Pensacola. He fortifies his camp and the survey proceeds.

1798, May 10. Congress creates the "Mississippi Territory," extending from the Chattahoochee to the Mississippi, between the parallels of 31° and 32° 28', the alleged rights of Georgia being provisionally recognized.

By appointment of the president, Winthrop Sargent, of Massachusetts, is made governor of the new territory, with the seat of government at Natchez, Mississippi.

1800. Population by second census (Mississippi and Alabama), 8,850.

1801-1805. William Charles Cole Claiborne, of Virginia, governor.

1802. Thomas Jefferson, having become president, appoints William C. C. Claiborne, of Tennessee, governor of Mississippi.

April 24. For \$1,250,000 Georgia cedes to the United States all the territory now included within the state lines north of the thirty-first parallel and westward to the Mississippi. Commissioners for the United States: Albert Gallatin, James Madison, Levi Lincoln; for Georgia: James Jackson, Abraham Baldwin, John Milledge.

The Pierce brothers, New Englanders, open at Tensaw the first American school in the state. Cotton gins established.

1803. Colonel Andrew Ellicott's *Journal* published in Philadelphia (see 1791).

William Augustus Bowles, a native of Maryland and a British deserter, stirs up the Creeks to war. He is captured, handed over to the Spaniards, and dies in prison at Havana.

1803, April. Lorenzo Dow, the first Protestant preacher in Alabama, visits the Tensaw settlements.

April 30. France cedes Louisiana to the United States for \$12,000,000, upon which complications arise with Spain regarding boundaries.

1805-1809. Robert Williams, of North Carolina, governor.

1809-1817. David Holmes, of Virginia, governor.

1810. Population by third United States census (Mississippi and Alabama), 40,352.

1812-1813. The Creek war.

1812-1814. War between the United States and Great Britain. The Spaniards favor the English so openly that armed invasion of West Florida is decided upon by the United States.

1813, April 13. Captain Cayetano Perez surrenders Mobile to an American force under General James Wilkinson, who fortifies the entrance to the bay.

May. Tecumseh, the famous Indian chief, working in British interest, stirs up the Creeks and Choctaws to massacre the American settlers. A British fleet appears off the coast.

July 27. Battle of Burnt Corn. Beginning of the Creek war. Colonel James Caller, with a hastily raised force of volunteers, attacks the Indians but is routed, and Mobile itself is threatened by the victorious Creeks.

July 30. General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne takes command of the Mobile district and begins operations against the Creeks.

Fort Mims built near Tensaw, and occupied for safety by some 553 souls, including a garrison under Major Daniel Beaseley.

August 30. At noon when the drums of Fort Mims beat the "dinner call," a large force of Creek warriors under their chief Red Eagle—William Weatherford, a descendant of the McGillvray family—stormed the outworks, taking the garrison wholly by surprise, and all, save a few who escaped and others saved for slavery, were put to death. Major Beaseley was killed at the first onset while trying, sword in hand, to close the outer gate.

November 3. Battle of Tallassee-hatchee. A large force of hostile

Indians defeated and most of them killed by an American force under General Jackson.

November 9. Battle of Talladega. General Jackson with about two thousand men surrounds a large force of Creeks and after a sharp fight kills many of them, and puts the rest to flight.

November 12. "Canoe fight near Tensaw." Three Americans, Dale, Smith, and Austill, attack a war canoe containing nine Creek warriors and in a desperate hand-to-hand fight slay them all. A brave negro slave, Cæsar by name, paddles the American canoe.

November 18. Attack upon the Hillabee Towns by Generals Cocke and White, ignorant of a truce granted by Jackson. This apparent breach of faith protracted the Creek war.

November 29. Battle of Auttosee Towns. An American force under General John Floyd, and piloted by Abram Mordecai, a brave Jewish trader, defeats the Indians near Calebee Creek.

December 27. Battle of Eçonachaca (Holy Ground), on the Alabama river, in Lowndes county. General Claiborne captures the place, a Creek stronghold, after an obstinate resistance.

1813-1814. Continuation of the Creek war, with the victory often doubtful, Jackson being hampered by short-term volunteers and inefficient contractors.

March 27. Battle of Cholocco Lita-

bixee (the Horseshoe), a fortified bend of the Tallapoosa river. Jackson with two thousand men storms the position, nearly all the Indian garrison, one thousand strong, fighting to the death.

April. Fort Jackson built on the site of old Fort Toulouse (see 1714). The Creek chiefs, including William Weatherford, their gallant half-breed leader, surrender, and the war is soon at an end. Weatherford became a respected citizen of Munroe County, Alabama, where he died in 1826.

August 29. The British under Colonel Nichol occupy Pensacola with Spanish consent, and instigate the Indians to renewed hostilities.

September 15. A British squadron of four vessels under Commodore Percy engages the forts at Mobile Point, aided by a land force, but is driven off, with the loss of the flagship *Hermes*.

November 7. With an army of regulars and volunteers, Jackson invests Pensacola, captures the Spanish outworks, and soon compels the evacuation of the British.

1815, February 12. A powerful British force invests Mobile Point by land and sea. The garrison, three hundred and sixty strong, under Major Lawrence, surrenders, salutes its flag, and marches out with the honors of war.

1815, March 13. News received of the treaty of Ghent (December 24, 1814), and peace is proclaimed between Great Britain and the United States.

Chas. Ledyard Norton.

(To be continued)

NOTES

THE HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION in 1889, which has long been anticipated with much interest, is completed and will be issued in a few days. It is a sumptuous folio of six hundred and fifty thick calendered pages, with gilt edges, in a rich binding. In addition to the elaborate record of the celebration, which is described in all its aspects, it contains a large amount of collateral but related historic matter, and is illuminated with a bewildering amount of historic portraits and illustrations, numbering some seven hundred. There are numerous excellent pictures of the parades during the three days of the celebration, naval, military, and industrial, from photographs of the stirring scenes. The volume also contains extracts from unpublished dispatches regarding Washington's inauguration, written from this country by the diplomatic agents of England, France, Spain, Holland, and Sweden, and now in the state archives of those countries. The names appear of all the invited guests at the Lawyers' Club reception; of the invited guests and subscribers to the ball and banquet; of the subscribers to the Memorial Arch fund, and to the celebration itself, and of all who were officially connected with the celebration. These names may easily be found by means of the index, which covers one hundred pages and is a very elaborate piece of work. One thousand copies only of the volume are printed, and the price is \$30 a copy.

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS—In the report recently issued by the Bureau of Education, in which many subjects of the first interest to parents and teachers are discussed, we find the following: "In relation to geography and history it may be said that while in their treatment they have undergone important changes, those changes have resulted from the adoption of more intelligent methods of teaching rather than from any change in the general purposes of instruction. Essentially 'information subjects,' they have always been taught with that end principally in view. That they were encumbered with useless details that drew the mind of the pupil from important general facts and ruling principles was due not to a belief that such teaching was the more effective discipline of the mind, but to a less intelligent comprehension of what information best serves the pupil. Such changes being the result of greater efficiency on the part of teachers are naturally followed by a clearer understanding and a more rational knowledge of the subjects on the part of the pupils.

In the case of geography and history no tendency is apparent to materially alter the time appointed, and there seems to be nothing to justify a belief that the time now devoted to these subjects is either considerably more or considerably less than at any recent period. The inference, therefore, is that at the end of the elementary course the pupil of to-day knows more that is worth

knowing of geography and history than did the pupil of any past period."

OHIO'S PART IN UNIVERSITY EXTENSION—Ohio is making steady advance in university extension. In addition to the large societies in Cleveland and Cincinnati, a movement has been made for the formation of a State Extension Society. At a meeting in Columbus, January 21, after a careful discussion of the relation of the college to this movement, and of the best methods of organization, it was resolved to form a state society with a membership composed of the faculties of the various colleges of Ohio, and of such persons as they may deem proper to elect. The society is to be under the management of a board of councillors composed of

one member from each college. Its organization will be completed on March 8. The formation of such state societies is most desirable. Were each state in the Union to form a state society, the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching would be able to enter more freely upon a national work of a very valuable character, such as : 1. The collection and publication of information pertaining to the university extension movement in this country and abroad ; 2. The preparation and publication of technical literature on the subject, relating to the best methods of organization, the function of the lecture, the syllabus, the methods of conducting examinations, etc. ; 3. The devising of plans for the training of university extension lecturers.

QUERIES

THE LARGEST STATUE IN THE WORLD—Will some of the readers of the magazine enlighten me as to which is the largest statue in the world, and its exact location ?

AMASA WILLIAMS

BELFAST, IRELAND.

ORIGIN OF THE RING IN THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY—Information is de-

sired as to when the ring was first used in the marriage ceremony and what was its origin.

HISTORY CLASS

KANSAS CITY.

PORTRAIT OF LA SALLE—Will some one tell me through the *Magazine of American History* where I can find a portrait of La Salle ?

W. A. C.

REPLIES

OLIVER CROMWELL'S DESCENDANTS [xxvi. 73, 318]—There may be descendants of Oliver Cromwell in the United States of America, but of one thing I am sure, there are none through the line

of his second and favorite daughter Elizabeth, who married one John Claypoole, as their children died young and unmarried—shown by several wills and court proceedings in England, copies of which

I have. The Claypooles and their descendants in America, with the exception of one branch which settled there some twenty years ago, have for ancestors two brothers, Norton and James. Norton was granted a ticket from Barbadoes to New England, 22d February, 1678, and arrived at New York in ship *Bachelors' Delight*. ("Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, etc., etc., from Great Britain to the American Plantations. 1600-1700." By John Camden Hotten.)

James Claypoole arrived at Philadelphia from England "8th day, 8th month, 1683," in ship *Concord*. (Claypoole Family Records, *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, vol. xiv. p. 87.) These brothers were two of a family of fourteen children, and full brothers to the above-named John. (Benjamin Claypoole's letter, dated London, March 22, 1706-7, *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, vol. x. pp. 354-355.) Edith Chambers's descent is very clear, as is shown in a "Release" of some land, dated 7th November, 1745, and recorded 12th June, 1766, Deed book No. 11, p. 601; Recorder's office, Doylestown, Bucks county, Pennsylvania.

I shall not give it *in extenso*, but simply genealogical extracts: "Release: James Claypoole, David Chambers and Edith Chambers to Samuel Faries." "Between James Claypoole of the City of Philadelphia Painter and David Chambers of the said City Shopkeeper

and Edith his wife, (they the said James Claypoole and Edith Chambers being the residuary devisees of the last will and testament of their father Joseph Claypoole deceased by his will and testament) of the one part . . . "

" . . . Whereas William Penn the Proprietary of this Province having granted unto James Claypoole the Grandfather of the said James Claypoole party hereto and Edith Chambers the quantity of five thousand acres of land to be located in this Province did by his the said Proprietaries Warrant of the 12th day, of the 5th month, 1684, cause to be surveyed unto the said James Claypoole the Grandfather on the 30th day of the Seventh Month in the same year certain one thousand acres of land part thereof . . . "

Thus Edith's grandfather was James Claypoole the emigrant (1683), and John was her great-uncle, and his wife Elizabeth Cromwell her great-aunt by marriage. My descent is through James Claypoole the painter, a full brother to Edith. For over four years I have been at work on the genealogies of the different Claypoole families and their descendants in America, and although I have a mass of information, should be glad to correspond with "Historicus," as he may have valuable family data unknown to me.

J. RUTGERS LE ROY

14 RUE CLEMENT MAROT,
PARIS, FRANCE.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The stated meeting for April was held on Tuesday evening, the 5th instant. Hon. John A. King presided. The librarian reported the addition to the gallery of the society, of portraits of President King painted by Robert Hinckley, Maximilian and Carlotta, painted in Mexico as emperor and empress, bequeathed by Mrs. Parthenia T. Norton, in memory of her husband Henry G. Norton, who was for many years a member of the society; also a portrait of Zachary Taylor in the uniform of a colonel of infantry.

Mr. Edward F. de Lancey read the paper of the evening, entitled "The King's Personal Policy in England, and how it Forced his Subjects in America, Against their Wishes, into a Successful Revolution."

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on the evening of March 14th. An interesting report was made by the committee on the matter of erecting a monument to the memory of soldiers of the "Maryland Line" who fell on the battlefield of Guilford Court-house, or were engaged in that battle. The committee have secured the necessary funds and agreed upon a design for the monument, and the work has so far progressed that the monument will be in place and delivered over to the Guilford Battlefield Association in the course of the coming season, with appropriate ceremonies.

A letter was read from the Rev. Dr. Hall Harrison, enclosing a letter to him

from the late president of the society, J. H. B. Latrobe, and correcting an error which crept into one of the addresses before the society at the meeting in memory of President Latrobe. This letter, written twenty-two years ago, showed clearly that the code of laws for the colony of Maryland in Liberia was not prepared by Mr. Latrobe, but by Hugh Davey Evans, for many years a prominent lawyer in Baltimore and a member of the Maryland Historical Society, who died several years ago. The fact was made very clear that Mr. Latrobe was the author of the charter, the constitution, and the bill of rights of that colony, and of the ordinances for its temporary government; but that the code of laws, which have been much commented on and commended, was prepared by Mr. Evans. An inquiry from abroad as to the locality of "Carrollton," so familiar to readers of American history as the supposed home of "Charles Carroll of Carrollton," elicited the fact that it was the name of a manor in Frederick county, Maryland, inherited and owned by Charles Carroll. It was not his permanent residence, although it bore the family name.

A paper was then read by Professor Herbert B. Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University and a member of the society, upon "Jared Sparks, the first Unitarian minister in Baltimore." The paper consisted of selections from a forthcoming work on "The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks," now in the press of Houghton & Mifflin at Boston.

After describing the English beginnings of Unitarianism, Dr. Adams traced the origin of the liberal movement in Baltimore, to the Rev. Dr. Freeman, of King's Chapel, Boston, who first preached in Gibney's Hall in South Charles street, Baltimore, October 12, 1816. Mr. Sparks owed his call to the pastorate to the influence of his friend and classmate, Edward Hinckley. Extracts were read from the Parish Records of the First Independent Church, illustrating the early history of the society. Mr. Sparks's leadership of the Unitarian movement southward was rapidly sketched, and interesting extracts from his journals of travel in the west and south were read. Most important, perhaps, was his record of an interview with Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Sparks received an original letter from the sage of Monticello, giving his religious views, which approximated to the Unitarian faith. Dr. Adams referred to Mr. Sparks's influence as the chaplain of congress, and read some of his amusing observations upon Washington society in the year 1823. Attention was called to the influence of Baltimore and Washington, with extensive travel west and south, upon the mind and sympathies of Mr. Sparks. He was entirely free from provincial and sectional spirit. He resigned his Baltimore pastorate in 1823 to take editorial charge of *The North American Review*, which he conducted in a truly national way.

THE CAYUGA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its April meeting in the rooms of the association in Auburn, New York. Daniel Munson Osborne was the subject

of the paper, prepared, in response to an urgent request, by Thomas W. Osborne, a son of the great "reaper man," and his successor as head of one of the largest agricultural machine houses of the country. The story of the life of Auburn's representative citizen could not have been better told, nor was the literary excellence of the paper its chief charm.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY, New York, held its annual meeting April 8, at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. The reports were of unusual interest, showing that the future of the society is well assured. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Hon. Charles E. Fitch, president; Professor Wm. C. Marey, vice-president; Hon. William F. Peck, recording secretary; Mrs. Jane Marsh Parker, corresponding secretary; Howard L. Osgood, librarian; Charles H. Wittle, treasurer.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN NORTH CAROLINA—This society was organized at Trinity College, North Carolina, on the evening of April 4, 1892. It will be under the direction of Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, the professor of history in the institution, and its work, as outlined by the constitution, will be to collect, arrange, and preserve a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, and other materials illustrative of the history of North Carolina and the South, and to promote original work in the field of Southern history. The officers chosen, were: Mr. S. J. Durham, president; Mr. E. T. Bynum, vice-president; Dr. Weeks,

corresponding secretary ; Mr. I. E. Avery, recording secretary and treasurer ; Mr. F. C. McDowell, librarian. These, together with Dr. J. F. Crowell, president of the college, and Mr. J. A. Baldwin, compose the executive committee in whose hands the control of the society is placed.

The society starts off with a membership of fifty and much enthusiasm. It has no rivals in the state, and its directors hope to put it at the head of all historical work done in North Carolina. For the present the greater part of the work will be done by members of the department of history in the college, but contributions have been promised by others. A circular letter has been sent out, asking contributions to the library, of Southern *Americana* and especially of *Caroliniana*. There is a wide field for historical studies in North Carolina and the South, along political, religious, social, economic, and constitutional lines. The field has been but slightly worked, and we earnestly hope this society will become a power in the new South.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of the executive committee of this society was held at its rooms in the Westmoreland Club-house, February 19, President Henry in the chair. Among the interesting reports were many gifts of books. The president read an interesting letter from Mr. H. B. Clay, of Boston, regarding the Clay family of Virginia and Kentucky. Mr. Brock read a letter from Dr. Thomas Nelson Page, stating that Mr. George R. Morse, of New York, designed to present to the society a large part of the

correspondence of Governor John Page, of Virginia, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the Virginia Historical Society, with a sense of the peculiar fitness of its collections as the depository of the original papers of the distinguished son of Virginia, Governor John Page, would express its gratification at the generous intention of Mr. George R. Morse, of New York, as stated, and would highly appreciate the valuable gift. Mr. Brock was authorized to commit to the printer for publication the current volume of the society, which will comprehend, with other matter, the valuable papers read before the society at its recent meeting, December 21 and 22, 1891.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY met in annual session at Topeka, Kansas, on January 19. Reports and papers were read, and officers elected for the ensuing year. The account of the library accessions was particularly interesting, as it is notably a library of original materials for the use of students and investigators. The secretary said : "Our Kansas State Historical library already exceeds that of any other in this country as to the number of its volumes of newspapers. No other library in any state contains so many volumes of its own state newspapers as has our own. We number now eight thousand four hundred and twelve volumes of Kansas newspapers and periodicals. These are nearly all volumes of daily and weekly newspapers. They contain a record of the history of Kansas through all the years of our territorial and state existence, thirty-seven years—from 1854 to 1892."

BOOK NOTICES

PATRICK HENRY, LIFE, CORRESPONDENCE AND SPEECHES. BY WILLIAM WIRT HENRY. With portrait. Vols. ii, iii. 8vo, pp. 652, 672. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891.

The second volume of this instructive and exhaustive study of a noble life is even more attractive than its predecessor. It opens with the third term of Patrick Henry's public service as governor of Virginia, 1778-79, when a French fleet was on its way to aid in the revolutionary struggle, and the prospects for the patriots somewhat more hopeful than they had been. During that memorable winter the court of Spain was engaged in an effort to effect a settlement of impending hostilities with England by securing to that country the basin of the St. Lawrence and the territory northwest of the Ohio, the United States to be bounded by the Alleghanies. By this arrangement Spain could claim as her own the valley of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio. But the plan did not succeed, and in June, 1779, Spain made a formal declaration of war against Great Britain without entering into alliance with the United States. Then came necessity for the most vigorous measures of defense, as England thought to push her war with America to a successful termination with all convenient dispatch. Sir Henry Clinton superseded General Howe, and was ordered to abandon Philadelphia and hold New York and Rhode Island, attacking the accessible forts along the Atlantic coast, destroying everything of value within reach; while the Indians from Detroit to Florida were to be incited to renew their murderous raids. How well Governor Henry acted for Virginia these pages reveal. At the end of this term of office he declined to be a candidate for re-election, and retired to his Leatherwood estate, in the interior of the state, about seven miles from the court-house. A few months later he was elected a delegate to congress, but declined on account of illness. He was, however, soon one of the chosen delegates from Henry county to the Virginia assembly, and accepted the trust; an event that was hailed with delight throughout Virginia, for of all leaders he was the one most implicitly trusted.

After the war was over, in November, 1784, Mr. Henry was again, for the fourth time, elected governor of the state. "without competition or opposition," succeeding Benjamin Harrison. The chapter relating to this peculiar period is one of intense interest. In November, 1785, Governor Henry was re-elected to the office of governor of Virginia for the fifth term—and without opposition. Governor Henry's attitude toward the proposed constitution is

fully shown in this second volume, also his position in the Virginia convention. His struggle for amendments is recorded in the thirty-eighth chapter. His biographer says, "While Mr. Henry set his face against all factious opposition to putting the new constitution in operation, he was unrelenting in his efforts to procure the amendments he deemed of such vital importance. His meeting with the legislature in extra session satisfied him that the body was of his views, and he had but to wait for its regular session to embody them in acts." We have in this excellent and well-written work a complete outline of the constitutional controversies in which Mr. Henry was concerned, and the historic perspective which time has furnished enables the author to place the noble patriot and inspired orator in true relations with men and tendencies of the creative period of American national life. The work contains much new information about the man, and a comprehensive exposition of his political convictions.

The third volume contains the text of two of Patrick Henry's most important speeches, and the greater part of his public and private correspondence. The speeches are the celebrated arguments made in the Virginia convention of 1788, against the constitution, and in the British debt case. The author of the work says: "It may give the reader some idea of the amplitude of this argument, when he is told that Mr. Henry was engaged three days successively in its delivery; and some faint conception of the enchantment which he threw over it, when he learns that, although it turned entirely on questions of law, yet the audience, mixed as it was, seemed so far from being wearied that they followed him throughout with increased enjoyment. The room continued full to the last; and such was 'the listening silence' with which he was heard that not a syllable he uttered is believed to have been lost." The letters are addressed to Washington, Hancock, Franklin, Jefferson, Lafayette, Harrison, Jay, Adams, Lee, Madison, Randolph, Laurens, Wythe, and other leaders of the American revolution, and are written in the stately and ceremonious style which was characteristic of that period. It was then considered beneath the dignity of an educated man to write even to a personal friend in a playful spirit or to discuss a commonplace business transaction with any degree of familiarity. The volume furnishes an interesting study of courtly phrases, colonial sentences, and the solemnity of style which prevailed. The worthies of that time wrote to each other very much as they danced the minuet—with marvelous display of courtesy. The work is supplied with an excellent index for purposes of ready reference. As the edition is limited to eleven hundred

copies printed from type, these volumes will pass at once into the possession of libraries and book-collectors as a valuable literary and historical treasure.

NEW FRAGMENTS. By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. 12mo, pp. 500. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1892.

This collection of the distinguished author's miscellaneous essays and poems, covers a large variety of subjects, scientific, biographical, controversial, reminiscent, and speculative. Most of them have appeared in various publications, and are here gathered in the uniform shape adopted for the publication of his other works. His writings must always command a widespread popularity among intellectual people, and will no doubt prove as suggestive in the future as they have in the past.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. With some account of ancient America and the Spanish conquest. By JOHN FISKE. 2 vols., crown 8vo, pp. 516 and 630. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1892.

It was wittily said, at a recent symposium of literary folk in this city, that by the end of next year few of the early American worthies from Columbus down will have a respectable shred of reputation left. It is perhaps a natural outgrowth of the journalistic training of the day that when a narrow soul becomes aware of a mortal reputation lifted upon the pinnacle of fame shining in the light of all the ages, it is seized with a mad desire to wreck that reputation, to dim the lustre of that light. It is by no means difficult to accomplish the task. It requires no extraordinary gifts to magnify the peccadilloes and minify the noble deeds of any human creature. It is easy to ride a hobby, particularly the hobby historical, for when your enthusiastic but narrow-minded historian sets himself to prove a certain thing about a certain person or place, it shall go hard but that he will find convenient nails on which to hang his theories.

The four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's great achievement is bringing out a host of writers on matters historical, especially regarding the famous Genoese and his predecessors; for that he had predecessors other than the native races of America, few nowadays will be found to deny absolutely, however they may differ in matters of detail. It is fortunate for those who have at heart the intelligent, critical consideration of our pre-Columbian as well as of our later history, that Mr. Fiske should have decided to bring out such a work as this just at this particular time. His well-known scholar-

ship and varied accomplishments find in this field ample material for literary work of a high character. Probably neither Bancroft, Prescott, Irving, or more recently, Dr. Winsor, would ungrudgingly admit the necessity of such a work. They have each and all of them gone over the ground with conscientious fidelity and exhaustive patience. So much the better! Every seemingly exhaustive work of this character opens the way for a still better condensation and compilation, and for a still clearer conception of what has gone before.

In the first of the two handsome volumes before us, a long introductory chapter is devoted to ancient America—the western continent, that is, before Europeans so much as suspected its existence. The ground is very thoroughly covered, and the conclusions even of such recent archaeologists as Baudelier receive due credit. After this come “Pre-Columbian Voyages,” which will not altogether meet the approval of Professor Horsford, “Europe and Cathay,” “The Search for the Indies,” “The Finding of Strange Coasts,” and “The Death of Columbus.”

The second volume opens with a chapter entitled “Mundus Novus,” which occupies nearly a third of the book; and the remaining pages are devoted chiefly to Spanish conquest in Mexico, Peru, and the other Central and South American states. In a somewhat careful examination of this work, we fail to discover that the author has omitted any important department that could reasonably be expected to claim his attention. Of course, like every student, he has his likes and dislikes, but he has brought to bear upon all sides of the historical prism the fruits of life-long study and of a catholic appreciation of what is best in the records of the past. The work deserves to be, and no doubt will be, a valued guide for readers of American history for many years to come, and it will serve at once to simplify and stimulate the work of future explorers in the same field, for every generation must needs produce a new crop of such explorers, until the making of many books comes to an untimely end.

THE HAPPY ISLES, AND OTHER POEMS. By S. H. M. BYERS. 12mo, pp. 162. Charles H. Webster & Co. New York. 1891.

This charming little volume contains among its thirty-nine poems the original song which has the honor of giving the name to the most picturesque campaign of the civil war, “The March to the Sea,” of which song General Sherman said it was “the shortest complete history of that campaign in the language.” Its author had been captured by the enemy, and during fifteen months was quartered in the prison camp at Columbia, South Carolina, with some hundreds of fellow-prisoners. He wrote the poem one chilly morning in a little wedge

tent; and Lieutenant Rockwell wrote the music to it under the floor of the hospital buildings, after which it was sung by the prison glee club. On his release Adjutant Byers was sent by General Sherman as the bearer of the first despatches north to General Grant and President Lincoln, announcing the victorious progress of the army through the Carolinas. Another poem of stirring interest is entitled, "News at the White House," telling how President Lincoln sat alone the entire night at a telegraph instrument, listening to the news as it was wired to Washington during the battle of Chattanooga. We cannot forbear quoting the following lines:

"Battle's thunder from left to right,
Belching cannon and musket's crash—
Click, click, click: 'Lo! on every height,
Flames of sulphur and lightnings flash.
Closer still to the breathing wire
Bends the face of the President—
Does he hear it, the battle's fire,
Half way over a continent?"

The volume presents the beautiful "Ballad of Columbus" to its readers, which first appeared in this magazine in April, 1891, attracting wide attention, and "The Ballad of Quintin Massy,"—Quintin, the blacksmith painter of Antwerp, "that famous old Flemish town."

A GENEALOGICAL HISTORY. Beginning with Colonel JOHN WASHINGTON, the emigrant, and head of the WASHINGTON family in America, with genealogical chart. By THORNTON AUGUSTIN WASHINGTON. 8vo, pp. 71. Pamphlet. (Privately printed.) Washington, D.C. 1891.

The facts embraced in this work are limited chiefly to such as relate to that branch of the Washington family in America from which its editor and compiler is descended; but these facts are valuable, and are so connected with the history of the entire family that they become of general interest. Until within a year or two there has been an exasperating uncertainty about the actual identity of the Lawrence Washington who was the father of the Colonel John Washington who emigrated with his wife to this country about 1657, as there were Lawrence Washingtons in nearly all the generations and lines of descent for centuries in England. But Henry F. Waters, A.M., ended, on the 3d of June, 1889, the long search for the true line of the English ancestry of our George Washington, which was begun in 1791, having reached proofs of the most positive and conclusive character that the father of the emigrants was the clergyman, Lawrence Washington, M.A., whose

wife's name was Amphilis. This does not alter the English pedigree only so far as it settles the identity of that one personage, who died about 1655, a few months after the burial of his wife, leaving three sons, young men who had but little chance of getting on in England under Cromwell, as they belonged to a royalist family. Thus they emigrated to Virginia. In this little brochure before us we may follow the line of descent from Colonel John Washington, the elder of these brothers. He bought lands in Virginia, became a planter of importance, and served in the House of Burgesses. He was a churchwarden as early as 1661, and the parish in which he lived was named "Washington Parish" in recognition "of his public services and private virtues." His son Lawrence was the father of Augustine who married Mary Ball. Samuel Washington, the brother of our first president, was the great-great-grandfather of the author of this genealogy, which is admirably arranged and presented.

ENGLISH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. By ROBERT ARCHERY WOODS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891. \$1.50.

During the years 1890 and 1891 a series of six lectures was delivered by the author at Andover Theological Seminary, which attracted wide attention from the catholicity of the views expressed and the evidently exhaustive study of the subject that characterized the whole treatment. A demand for publication followed almost as a matter of course, and the lectures, with certain revisions and additions, now appear in book form. The author gathered most of his material during a six months' stay at Toynbee Hall in London, and during subsequent visits to similar fields in other cities of the United Kingdom.

It will be readily inferred, then, that the lectures bear mainly upon the social aspects of English life in its lower strata, the labor movement, socialistic tendencies, the university settlements, church work, the charitable and educational problems involved, and the various views and experiences of philanthropists. Some of the names and places mentioned are familiar to American readers, and all of them have a direct bearing upon problems which either confront us already or are destined to do so before many years have passed. These seven chapters will be of great value to writers and speakers on the threatening conditions of American life, and, if studied without prejudice, may well prevent many blunders on the part of well-meaning persons who have more zeal than brains.



KING GEORGE III.

[From the original picture by Sir William Beechey, R.A.]



THE OLD VAN CORTLANDT HOUSE, ERECTED BY JACOBUS VAN CORTLANDT, IN 1748.

Donck's, where some locust trees now stand, near where the park gardeners have made a plantation of boxwood ; the present house, somewhat west of that site, was erected in 1748.

During the revolution this house was occupied most of the time by some of the Van Cortlandt family. It stood on the verge of the debatable ground, Colonel James Van Cortlandt and his brother Frederick, both owners of lands in the park limits or its vicinity, siding with the colonies. The colonel besides commanding a regiment was a member of the provincial congress, and Frederick was captain of the Westchester levies. The old house saw the retreat in 1776 of a part of the American army on its way to White Plains, and in 1778 and 1779 Lincoln's ragged troops marched by it in their unsuccessful attempts to recapture Kingsbridge. Then, again, British troops were called to order under its apple-trees to hear the church of England service and King George prayed for, and Armand's gallant cavalry have charged over its fields. It saw the right flank and centre of the grand reconnaissance of 1781 file by on both the Albany and Milesquare roads, and its window-panes reflected the light of the deceptive camp-fires kindled on Vault Hill to make the British General Clinton believe that Washington was advancing in force on New York, when in reality he was silently stealing across the Hudson to join Lafayette at Yorktown. From its windows during the grand reconnaissance

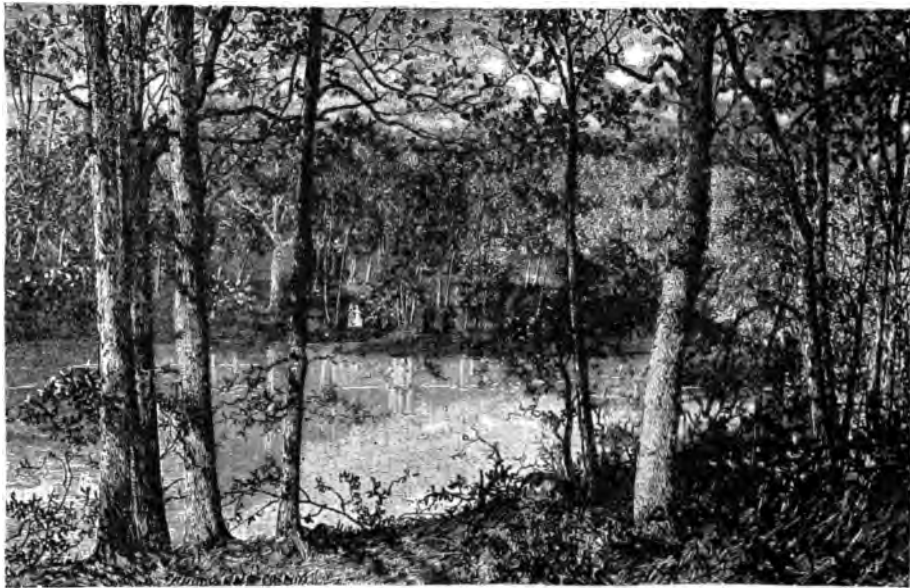
one could have seen the smart cavalry fight at the old bridge near the mill, and at the close of the war Washington alighted there and drank a glass of "Resurrection" Madeira to the health of the ladies and the thirteen states, the day before King George's troops left New York forever.

We leave the interesting old house, and take the Milesquare road as it winds and turns in a general northeasterly direction through the former farms of the Van Cortlandts, Van Tassels, Valentines, and DeVoes, till we come to a point just behind Woodlawn heights, where the old road meets a rough lane leading towards the northwest. The junction of the lane and road forms the apex of an irregular triangle, the base of which is the brook which takes its rise just north of the park limits, on the McLean estate; and forms, just before it empties into the Bronx, the beautiful lake known to us all near the entrance to Woodlawn cemetery. Within this triangle in August, 1778, was fought the battle between Colonel Gist's men and the Stockbridge Indians on the American side, and Colonel Simcoe's Rangers, Emmerich's corps of chasseurs, and three companies of DeLancey's Loyal British Legion under Tarleton, on the British side. Simcoe, the ranking officer in command of the British party, so disposed his men behind the Woodlawn heights that when Emmerich was attacked at the apex of the triangle by the Indians, who were in advance, the rest of the British command got in their rear and flank by approaching the Milesquare road behind the slant of Woodlawn heights, or by the bed of the brook. The Indians were almost surrounded but fought valiantly, pulling the British troopers from their horses and wounding Simcoe and several of his men. Outnumbered they were forced to flee down the western slope of the Van Cortlandt ridge, and crossing Tibbetts brook by a bridge, of which we think we have discovered the remains, took refuge behind the rocky cliffs west of Tibbetts brook in the north centre of the park. Old Nimham the chief, seeing that the battle was going against him, told his younger companions to fly, but that he was old and would die there. About forty of the Indians, including the chief, were slain. Tarleton came near being killed, having fallen from his horse while striking a blow with his sabre at an Indian he was chasing down hill. His orderly saved him by shooting the Indian, who was about to stab Tarleton. Simcoe gained the heights where the McLean house now stands and made several American prisoners, but Gist escaped with the rest of his white command. The body of old Nimham was found next morning by the side of the stream, and he with the other slaughtered Indians were buried in a common grave. This field, in the northeast of the park, is still known as the Indian field.

The site of the graves of the brave Indians who fought for our liberty

should be indicated in some simple way appropriate to the surroundings, perhaps a cairn made with the stones which abound there, on which in a few words should be recorded the date of the battle and the services of Nimham and his followers.

We find a graphic account of this battle in the fifth volume of the *Magazine of American History*. It was written by a recently deceased member of our society, Colonel Thomas F. Devoe, a faithful collector of historic facts relating to the city, which for so many years he served so well as clerk of the markets. The colonel has left much valuable histor-



VIEW IN BRONX PARK—THE RIVER GLADE.

ical work behind him, and also in the hearts of the members of this society feelings of affection and respect for his memory.

We leave Van Cortlandt park and go east by way of Mosholu parkway, a strip of land six hundred feet wide, leading to Bronx park. Most of this parkway lies in the limits of Archer's manor of Fordham. The Corsa farm, now partially merged in the parkway, formerly belonged to Andrew Corsa, one of Washington's Westchester guides. It seems but right that a passing salute should be paid to the memory of Mr. Corsa. He did good service for his country, though a denizen of the neutral ground. Local pride and the memory of having seen the old man in his latter days prompts us to afford this slight glimpse of our Harvey Birch of Fordham.

BRONX PARK

We have now arrived at Bronx park. It contains about six hundred and fifty-three acres, lies on both sides of the river Bronx, and extends generally from what is known as Williamsbridge to West Farms. We have arrived on a scene of beauty which in a foreign land one would travel miles to behold. The Bronx, which flows in the centre, runs generally north and south, varies in width from fifty to five hundred feet, and forms at intervals wide lake-like reaches, with rocky banks clothed with magnificent trees. The late Peter Lorillard and his father owned this property for the better part of a century, and took great pains to preserve its natural beauties, only assisting nature by here and there erecting bridges across the stream and making paths along its banks, forming numberless rambles from which one gets an ever changing yet always impressive scene of forest, stream, and lake.

The waterfall near the former Lorillard mansion, while adding beauty to the scene, also served the utilitarian purpose of furnishing power for the extensive snuff mills, which for nearly three generations were operated by the Lorillards, laying the foundation of their fortune, which still ranks high in this city of many millionaires. The mansion is a fine modern structure of stone, built in the fifties. About the mansion it is proposed to lay out the public botanical garden. The old snuff mill, built of Westchester stone, with its arched brick windows and doors, mellowed by the gray coating of time, is so simple yet quaint in its architecture, that it is hoped it will be preserved and made to serve some purpose appropriate to the surroundings.

Farther down, the stream broadens into two large lakes with a waterfall between, where Bolton's bleacheries were. At about the centre of the lower lake is a point where the manor or patent lines of Fordham, West Farms and the borough of Westchester formed a corner. At the foot of the lower lake is the last dam just before the Bronx reaches tide-water. Mills have been here since the earliest settlement of the colony. During the revolution the place was known as De Lancey's mills, for most of this century as Lydigs or the West Farms mills. As far back as 1735 we find the mills vested in the distinguished Huguenot family of De Lanceys. At the outbreak of the revolution, Peter de Lancey, the husband of a daughter of the learned Cadwallader Colden, was the proprietor. The historic mansion house stood east of the dam, facing towards the present road which crosses by a bridge just south of the dam.

Peter de Lancey's son James was celebrated in the revolution as the

leader of the De Lancey's Horse. He was sheriff of the county and commander before the war of the light horse in the Westchester militia. The De Lanceys espoused the cause of the crown, and James as lieutenant-colonel of battalion called the Loyalist Rangers or De Lancey's Refugees was one of the most skillful and daring of the native loyalist officers. His knowledge of Westchester rendered him especially useful as the commander of a partisan corps, not only in obtaining enlistments among his acquaintances, but also on forages and reconnoissances. His aged mother was a loyalist, and lived at the old mansion after the evacuation of New York by the Americans, while the British were in possession of the city.

She must have been a brave woman to have dared to live within the



THE OLD ROSE HILL HOUSE, AT DE LANCEY'S MILLS.

[From Bolton's History of Westchester.]

The original picture is in possession of Dr. Bayard of West Farms.

lines of the "neutral ground." This lady, while Washington still held the lines north of Harlem heights, asked for a pass to cross the lines and go into Westchester.

Washington's letter declining to issue it is very polite but very firm, and reminds us of the experience of our northern officers in the late war with the confederate states, when charming but determined ladies of decided secession sympathies sought passes to go beyond or within the federal lines. The mansion was burnt many years ago, but one relic still stands, a storm-scarred white pine tree. Its former owners by exile, confiscation and attainder, paid a sad penalty for their devotion to their king and what they deemed their duty. Now, more than a century

afterwards, we may respect their loyalty, whatever our views may be as to their cause. The following lines, written many years ago, are appropriate to the beauty of the place and its associations :

Where gentle Bronx, clear, winding flows,
 Its shadowy banks between,
 Where blossomed bell or wilding rose
 Adorns the brightest green,—
 Memorial of the fallen great,
 The rich and honored line,
 Stands high in solitary state
 De Lancey's ancient pine.

PELHAM BAY PARK

We will now visit Pelham bay park. We approach it by the Bronx and Pelham bay parkway. We are in the township of Westchester, the Oostdorp or Vreedelant of the Dutch, but settled by men of English birth. Its ancient records contain such names as Ferris, Throckmorton, Wheeler, Hunt, Bailey, Cornell, Waters, and Ponton, and tell the familiar story of New England immigration by the reluctant consent of Dutch governors. After Nicolls' capture of New York, it was erected into a separate borough, with right of representation in the general assembly. They were a community of freeholders, not rich, except in flocks and herds, but they owed no fealty to any lord of the manor. Independence and home rule can be plainly read between the lines in their still well preserved books of record, on file in the old court-house at White Plains. Those men had heard of Cromwell; it is possible that some of them may have seen him and served under him, and we are just in believing that they knew the Bill of Rights and Magna Charta as well as their well thumbed Bibles and Westminster catechisms. The parkway extends almost due east and west across the highest ridge of this ancient township. We cross the Williamsbridge and Eastchester roads, and at the foot of the eastern slope of this ridge we come upon the broad flat or marsh called the Westchester meadows.

We are opposite Throgg's neck, which Washington in 1776 describes as *a kind of island*, the waters surrounding which were then and are still *fordable at low tide*. To our right and south is the old village called Westchester, the Oostdorp or Vreedelant just mentioned, and we see below us the line of the ancient causeway and tidal mill-dam crossing the meadow and creek just where it stood in October, 1776, when General Heath, by Washington's direction, placed Hand and his riflemen behind a breast-



THE OLD LORILLARD MANSION, BRONX PARK.

work of cordwood, on the west or mill side of the causeway, to bar the British General Howe's advance from Throgg's neck. Howe had landed on the west side of Pelham bay near where the New Country Club grounds are now situated, and intended by a movement across Westchester county to Kingsbridge, to get in the rear of the Americans at that place, hem them in on Manhattan island, and by one blow end the rebellion. The spire of the Presbyterian church marks the route of the Throgg's neck road up which the British general advanced, but was checked at the causeway by Hand and his riflemen who had torn up the planking of the bridge, while not far from where the parkway crosses the meadows, perhaps on the very spot where Prescott, of Bunker Hill fame, Bryant and Jackson, with two pieces of artillery, and Colonel Graham, with a regiment of Westchester militia, held the fords against the British attempt to gain the Eastchester road. This first repulse delayed Howe's main advance for five days waiting for further supplies and reinforcements. In the mean time Heath had slashed the timber across all the highways leading to Eastchester and the Bronx, dug pitfalls in the fields, and trusted to the stone walls running across the country as the best of breastworks for his raw troops.

The main American army, in the interim, retreated from New York to White Plains by roads west of the Bronx; and Howe, when he finally advanced in force with his heavy artillery and reinforcements, found that a

profitless encounter at the old bridge across the meadows and on the highlands beyond only enabled him to gain Kingsbridge after the Americans had escaped. The British veteran was forced by this almost unmentioned skirmish to change his plan of campaign. The visitor to the parkway, while admiring the monotonous green of the meadows with glimpses of shining waters beyond, should always remember the battle of Westchester creek, our Lexington of Westchester.

After crossing the meadows, we leave the parkway and come to Pelham bay park, which has a water frontage of nine miles. It contains one thousand seven hundred acres. It lies in the townships of Westchester and Pelham, on both sides of Pelham bay, which is formed by the promontory or island of Throgg's neck on the west, and Pelham neck on the east. At its head Hutchinson's river flows into it, which is named after Anne Hutchinson, the refugee whose history is an oft repeated instance of Massachusetts theological intolerance. Her religion prompted her to leave England and follow her beloved pastor to the province of Massachusetts bay. Kind, generous, social, she soon became a favorite, and may be said to have held her *salon*, if such a term can appropriately be applied to the woman's gathering of that age, in formal, religious Boston. Instead of tea and scandal, art, literature or dress, those godly dames discussed religion, faith, the influence of the Holy Spirit and its manifestation in their hearts. Anne, their leader, carried away by applause or enthusiasm, thought herself to be gifted with inspiration from above and became a preacher and prophetess to those who attended her seances. Were she living now she would probably be lady superior of some sisterhood, spreading good broadcast among her fellow women: leading a corps of Salvation Army, or offering up prayers for some sick and dying friend who believed in the faith cure.

At first her pastor, John Cotton, was inclined to encourage her. Sir Henry Vane's arrival from England aided her, for he, as we all know, was himself an enthusiast in religion. Vane was made governor, and Winthrop given second place. Theology and politics became strangely mixed. Vane's return to England left her without a strong governmental protector, and soon after his departure the woman was condemned to banishment by the civil, and excommunication by the ecclesiastical authorities. Her trial was the first recorded church synod held in Massachusetts. Her crime was *antinomianism*, a word in these less pious degenerate days requiring research before its meaning can be understood. But whatever it meant we find from the original material of her history written by her enemies, that her theology, not her mode of life, met with the disapproba-

tion of Governor Winthrop, Hooker, and other leading divines. She first took refuge under Roger Williams, in Rhode Island; there her husband, a quiet inoffensive man, died, and the widow, still threatened with persecution and pestered with requests for recantation from her former neighbors and church associates, fled to New Netherland with her son-in-law and younger fatherless children, seeking under Dutch tolerance a rest from her labors in the quiet of the forest. What is now Pelham bay park was her last earthly home. The supposed site of her house is in the southwest corner of the park, near the junction of the Boston and Prospect hill roads, close to a spring by a split rock with a tree growing out of the cavity. There she was murdered by the Weekquaesgeek Indians, in their raid of 1643, giving a name to the river or creek which we see gleaming below as we look through the red cedar grove.

This park is better wooded than any of the parks to the north and west. Much of it is in an unadorned state of nature, but there are fields and lawns here and there with gentle slopes and wide *oak openings* which form already a natural park. Its former owners had the good taste not to improve too much. Their mansions, still standing, recall the associations of people of wealth and refinement, who preferred its drives, aquatic sports, healthful breezes, and fine marine panorama to the usual crowded summer resorts.

Bolton, the historian of Westchester county, had his home here just on the park border in the priory, and is pleasantly remembered by many of the present mothers and chaperones of New York, as one of their instructors in the celebrated seminary of the Misses Bolton. Well-known New York names occur in the park title-deeds and boundaries, recalling a social intercourse of ever pleasant memory, for Pelham and Throgg's neck have always maintained the status of a residential resort of what we republican democrats, for want of a better term, call *society*, and even when their club-house and former homes were confiscated for the public good they bore the affliction with that good feeling only to be found among the most Christian of people or well-bred members of the "Four Hundred." Pelham bridge is also part of the city property, and the waters which wash its piers have also historic memories. No bridge spanned the head of the bay at the time of the revolution, but near there, after Howe's check at the Westchester bridge and meadows, his brother the admiral ferried a portion of the troops across to join the other detachment, which was also ferried from the New Country Club grounds.

The latter force landed at the extreme point of Pelham neck, then called Pell's point, opposite City island, and both forces forming a junc-

tion at Bartows, pushed eastward along the present road leading to New Rochelle. The British marched as far as where the causeway leading to Hunter's island now begins, and there met with a sharp resistance from Colonel Glover with his battalion of Marblehead fishermen and some other troops. It took a strong force to dislodge Glover and his men, who, safely ensconced behind their double stone walls, fired volleys at the enemy. These spirited contests at the bridge and meadows of Westchester and at Hunter's island causeway held Howe in check long enough to enable Washington to do just what Howe, in his letters to England, said he feared he would do, hold "the upper roads to Connecticut, and bar the passage of the Hudson." The rebel army of raw levies in these almost unmentioned skirmishes accomplished strategic results more important than that of Bunker Hill. The thirteen colonies, though defeated at Long Island and driven from New York, were still able to maintain an interior line of defence without a break from New England to Florida.

The part of the park in the township of Pelham embraces a certain part of the patent or manor of Thomas Pell. The manor extended originally over a large portion of New Rochelle. Pell came from England, and to Pelham by way of Fairfield, Connecticut. He purchased land of the Indians, in 1654, and his patent was granted to him in 1666 by the English government, at the capitulation of the Dutch. Dying childless in 1669, he devised his property to his nephew John Pell, living in "ould England." The latter was the son of John Pell, a doctor of divinity who had stood high in Cromwell's favor. Young Pell came to America and received his inheritance, and Thomas Dongan, then colonial governor, confirmed to him the manorial rights heretofore possessed by his uncle, Thomas. This John Pell deserves the credit of founding the settlement of the Huguenots at New Rochelle, for in 1689 he gave them one hundred acres out of his patent for the establishment of the church at that place named by them after Rochelle, the scene of their Huguenot fathers' conflict for religious freedom in the sunny land of France.

The Pell descendants are too numerous and well known in this city to require mention here. The site of their former manor house was near where the Bartow mansion now stands. The Bartows are scions on the female side of the Pells. And within a neat enclosure on the grounds southwest of the mansion, in a sunny nook looking south towards the sound, and back on the wooded hills of the ancient manor, repose the bodies of several of its lords. The law condemning the lands for park purposes exempts this spot from desecration or change. But we must go to the west and south, and visit the other remaining parks.



THE OLD LEWIS MORRIS HOUSE, MORRISANIA.

CROTONA PARK

Passing through Bronx park we come to Crotona park, taking the Crotona parkway from Bronx park to reach it. This park and parkway contain one hundred and twenty-five and thirty-four one-hundredths acres. It was formerly known as Bathgate's woods, and is almost in the centre of the annexed district. It is between the Boston road and Third avenue, the twenty-third ward line and Tremont avenue, in that part of the city still known as Tremont and Fairmount. Clermont park lies further west, across the valley of the Harlem railroad and Mill-brook, in that part of the city heretofore known as Central Morrisania. It contains thirty-eight acres, and was principally taken from the estate of the late Martin Zoborowski, a well-known citizen of New York. They both command fine views. Running north and south through Crotona park is the patent line between the Morrisania manor and the West Farms patents of Jessup and Richardson. The northerly part of Clermont park lies just south of the Fordham manor of Archer.

St. Mary's park lies further down the Mill-brook valley, between St. Ann's and Trinity avenues and One hundred and forty-fourth and One hundred and forty-ninth streets. It contains, including Passage or Trinity avenue, about twenty-eight acres. Within its limits are three or four rocky knolls from which extensive views are obtained of the Mill-brook valley, the East river, Randall's and Ward's islands, and Hell Gate beyond. Its panorama suggests a host of historic reminiscences.

The East river and Hell Gate reminds us of Adriaen Block in his little sloop *Restless*, on his voyage of discovery in 1613-14, to the eastward, and the knowledge then first obtained of the magnificent expanse of water we call Long Island sound. Following the line of water to the west we see Randall's, formerly Montessor's island, and know that between it and the main flows the Harlem kills, across which British and American pickets in 1776 exchanged angry bullets. Further on is the old Morrisania mansion, standing on the site where formerly stood the house of Jonas Bronk, the first white settler, where in 1641 the first treaty was made between the Dutch and the Indians, and all along those shores and as far east as Pelham park were posted in 1776, the continentals and Westchester militia, to watch the British lines and vessels, and guard the left flank of the American army. Perhaps on one of these knolls the signal officer was stationed who sent word to Washington, in October, 1776, that Howe and his fleet had gone up the East river to Throgg's neck, to inaugurate the movements we have just recounted; or later, on a hot day in August, 1781, the spectator from one of these heights might have beheld General Washington and the French General de Rochambeau, with mounted staff and cavalry escort, coolly surveying with their field-glasses the British works on Randall's island and the shores of the Harlem, while the British batteries and gun-boats were throwing shot and shell thick and fast about them; and near them, so our old friend Andrew Corsa, the guide we saluted at Mosholu parkway, tells us, stood the mill not far from where St. Ann's Church now stands. Corsa, being a non-combatant, had prudently placed the mill between himself and the enemy, but seeing the "father of our country" so bravely disregarding the danger he for very shame rejoined the party, amidst the shouts of laughter of the generals and their escort. Not far away were the deserted huts of James de Lancey's loyalist battalion, who had been warned of the American advance just in time to escape; and some years afterwards, when the war was ended, the Constitution adopted, and the French revolution a matter of history, one might have seen Gouverneur Morris, a handsome aged man with hair *en queue*, and artificial leg, limping up the crooked lane which still forms the south

bounds of this park, and overheard him conversing about crops and rural matters with Bathgate, the Scotchman he had induced to come to America to teach the art of thrifty agriculture to our rather shiftless Westchester farmers, perhaps to return from his promenade, and in the study of the old house by the kills recently renovated by him, read some letter



THE GOUVERNEUR MORRIS HOUSE, MORRISANIA.

from Madame de Stael, or other French friend telling the last *bon mot* in the *salons* of Paris, in which years before he had, as American minister, been a familiar figure; perhaps to dine with Jay or Hamilton, or some other of his former associates, and over a bottle of Madeira taken from the hold of the frigate *Huzzar*, which lay a wreck near by, recall the struggles and compromises in the continental congress and later conven-

tion, where ways and means and new constitutions were by them devised and formulated; or perhaps with later acquaintances, De Witt Clinton, Simeon DeWitt, General Stephen Van Rensselaer and others, who had come to dine and spend the night, and quietly talk over the details of the all-absorbing topic then agitating the public mind as to the best methods of building the new canal from the great lakes to the Hudson.

Near by this park, in the quiet church and yard of St. Ann's, dedicated by a faithful son to the memory of a daughter of the house of Randolph of Roanoke, sleep the former proprietors of the region, a colonel and a captain in Cromwell's army, the first American born chief-justice of New York, also a colonial governor, other judges of admiralty and law, and a signer of the Declaration; and by them repose their kin, some of them soldiers and sailors who, in the Revolution, the "war of 1812," the Seminole and Mexican campaigns, and last of all, the grand settlement of sectional differences, wore with honor the uniforms of the government and the state their fathers helped to organize.

CEDAR PARK

Last, but not least in point of advantageous location and fine panorama is Cedar park, an acquisition made by the city, prior to the taking of the other parks we have described. It is named Cedar park for the reason that about twenty-five or thirty years ago its site was covered with a forest of red cedars. The park is situated on a high ridge between the Mill-brook or Harlem railroad valley and the valley of Cromwell's creek, called by the Indians, *Nuasin*. It lies just north of the cut at the junction of the Harlem and Hudson River railroads.

Its altitude, accessibility both by land and water, and decided though gentle slopes towards the great valleys of drainage, induced many when it was proposed to locate the World's Fair at New York, to advocate Cedar park and some adjoining lands as the appropriate site for the Columbian Exhibition. Let us imagine ourselves for a few moments standing on its highest elevation nearly one hundred and nine feet above tide level, and from this backbone of old Westchester, we behold a landscape which picturesquely discloses the location of many historic memories. Before us at the south lies Manhattan island, the site of the greatest commercial city of a continent. And yet not three hundred years ago, where now we see this mighty city, was a rocky wooded island, the home of a small tribe of uncivilized people; later on, far south of our vision, was the small trading village of the Manhattoes, governed by a trading com-

pany across the sea. Memories of old Holland arise, and we recall her struggles against Spanish oppression and bigotry, her firm establishment of civil and religious liberty, her refuge afforded to those of English race who fled from their native land to escape the bigotry and oppression of an English king ; and to that Holland do we owe to-day our first discovery, our first settlement, our township laws, our burgher rights, our freedom of religion, our scheme of a federal union.

Before us lie the Harlem heights, Manhattanville valley, with McGowan's pass in the distance, over which territory Washington was able to demonstrate to his raw levies of militia that, though defeated but a few days before on Long Island, they possessed skill and courage sufficient to stand up against and successfully cope with veterans fresh from European battlefields. On those heights to the west within our view appears a white colonial mansion with its Greek temple front and old-fashioned grounds known as the Jumel House, but in 1776 called by another name, after one Roger Morris, an English army officer. This old house recalls the softer as well as sterner qualities of Washington's character, for there resided sweet Mary Phillipse, who preferred the British regular to the rather solemn sedate young Virginia colonel who, in the year 1756, on his way to Boston, met the fair Mary and tried unsuccessfully to gain her hand. Later on it was the headquarters of that same Virginia colonel promoted general of the continental armies in America. Perhaps amidst the care and anxieties of the campaign, pleasant memories came to the mind of the busy commander of the fair lady whose house he occupied ; and perhaps the fair Martha, lady Washington, had never heard from George's lips how she had reversed the scriptural order of things, and that Martha, not Mary, "had chosen the better part."

Within its walls, after the capture of Fort Washington, were quartered the British general, Sir William Howe, and his co-adjutor, Von Knyphausen, and later on, Stephen Jumel's widow, the fair Eliza Croix, who married Aaron Burr. What a suggestion is in the name of Aaron Burr, for over there to the south-west are still to be seen the tops of the trees planted by Hamilton on his grange, which he left one day in 1804 to keep his sad appointment with Burr, near the Elysian fields of Hoboken.

Not many years ago an aged relative told us of an account given by Mr. Justice John Duer, of his last interview with Hamilton. It was at the grange ; the time, a few days before the duel ; the occasion, a reception given by Hamilton to his friends, now we know, for the reason that he wished to take a "last fond look" at the faces he loved and never expected to see again. Duer was then a youth, a student at law in Hamilton's office, and

an invited guest. Hamilton in his gracious, courtly way said a few words to each of his company, and, coming to young Duer, placed his hand on his shoulder and gave him a manly caress, saying something kind about his diligence and expressing good wishes for his future success. It was Hamilton's farewell. If there is such a thing as magnetism, perhaps here was an illustration. The foremost framer of our Constitution touched the future reviser of our statute law, whose abilities were at a later day called in to wipe out the fictions and technicalities of common law rendered obsolete and useless by the Hamilton Constitution. In that old house of Madame Jumel, Joseph Bonaparte, Moreau, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and many other notables have been guests; and 'tis said that there Halleck wrote his "Marco Bozzaris;" and just outside the enclosure, while seated on that granite rock still in full view above the line of the old aqueduct, Joseph Rodman Drake, Westchester's poet, Halleck's "friend of his better days," was inspired with the beautiful thoughts now familiar to all of us in his poem to the American flag. Most surely Cedar park and its beautiful panorama is worth visiting and recalls events, characters and names "which were not born to die."

We have had our ramble, and in noticing the features of nature, we have recorded noble deeds and memories appropriate to the localities. We hope this blending of the two may be of a higher value than a mere evening's talk to pass an idle hour. We hope for ages to come that our citizens will enjoy these parks, and after reading "sermons in their stones," and "listening to the music of their running brooks," at times remember the characters associated with them who, in years gone by, developed our resources, formulated our constitutions, fought the hand-to-hand fight for liberty, and founded New York.



NEW YORK CITY.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOHN MAUNSELL

1724-1795

John Maunsell, a soldier of Wolfe's, who reached the rank of lieutenant-general, was a son of Richard Maunsell, of Limerick, M.P. from 1741 to 1761, and Jane, daughter of Richard Waller, Esq., of Castle Waller, county Tipperary, Ireland. His grandfather was Thomas, who married a daughter of Sir Theophilus Eaton. One of his brothers was the Rev. William Maunsell, D.D. They were descended from a scion of the Mansells of Bucks, who settled in Cork in 1609. The family had a branch in Glamorgan, who spelled the name without the *u*. They have a tomb in Westminster Abbey in the north aisle near the transept. Among them were Sir Edward, of Margam, father of Thomas Lord Mansell, in the reign of Queen Anne; and William, Bishop of Bath and Wells. The name is pronounced by all according to the English spelling. It has always been distinguished in the church, the army, and the navy by eminent names.*

The subject of this sketch received his commission as ensign in 1741 at the age of seventeen. Another John Mansell, or Maunsell, as it is differently spelled, was commissioned in the third dragoon guards in 1753, and rose through all the grades in the same regiment, being senior captain in 1764, and became lieutenant-general in 1800; but their services were in widely different fields. George II. was king, but his well-known martial proclivities were kept in check by Sir Robert Walpole, whose motto was "peace at any price." The earliest relic of young Maunsell's campaigns that I remember to have seen was a weather-beaten leathern trunk of cylindrical shape, studded with brass nails, with "J. M. 1745" tacked with the same on the top. It was a year most disastrous to the British arms, at Fontenoy, Prestonpans, and Falkirk. It saw Charles Edward and his Highland army within ninety miles of London, and the regulars obliged to adopt a special drill to repel the fierce charge of the Highlanders and the terrible sweep of their claymores. In the New York state library is a

* Those who desire fuller information about the family may consult the following: *Ashmole's Antiq. of Berks*, vol. 3, p. 304; *Phillipp's Visit. of Somerset*, p. 117; *Burke's Commoners*, vol. 1, p. 304; *Burke's Landed Gentry*, pp. 2-5; *Burke's Commoners*, vol. 2, p. 274; *Collectanea Topographica*, vol. 1, p. 389; *Burke's Heraldic Illustrations*, plate 129; *Harleian Society*, vol. 13, p. 46; *Harrison's History of Yorks.*, vol. 1, p. 419; *Mansell's History and Genealogy (account of the family of Maunsell, &c.)*.

unique relic of the British army of that day, which belonged to Washington. It is a series of highly finished plates of the dress, equipment, and drill of every regiment in the service, made by order of the commander-in-chief, the Duke of Cumberland; presenting striking contrasts to modern military customs. The drill of each regiment was directed by its own colonel, and there was no fixed system. The great object was to fight most effectively. An interesting illustration of this is afforded by an anecdote of General Wolfe. "He was showing some general officers how expert his men were at a new mode of attacking and retreating upon hills; and when he stepped up to one of the officers after the performance, and asked him what he thought of it, he said, 'I think, I see something here of the history of the Carduchi, who harassed Xenophon, and hung upon his rear in his retreat over the mountains.' 'You are right,' said Wolfe; 'I had it from thence: and I see that you are a man of reading; but our friends there are surprised at what I have shown them, because they have *read nothing*.'"

The persistent neglect of the home government to provide any defense for the American colonies against the attacks of the French in Canada, and their Indian allies, can only be excused on the ground of its own unsettled state and the wars on the Continent into which the accession of William of Orange drew it. For a century and a half they were left to defend themselves, garrison their forts, and protect their frontiers, each for itself, as best it could, without any substantial aid from the mother country or from each other. So disaffection grew, and the Dutch at Albany secured their own safety by giving the French at Montreal information and a lucrative trade. In 1746 Louisbourg, the key to the St. Lawrence, had been captured by the soldiers of New England and New York, aided only by a squadron under Sir Peter Warren; but it was recklessly given back to France, to the humiliation and disgust of the colonies, the untold misery of the French in Acadia, and to the disgrace and confusion of the government, for they were compelled to retake it in 1758 at an enormous cost of blood and treasure. At last, after France had established herself solidly along the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, and in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and inclosed the English colonies with a chain of strong fortresses which seemed to defy any attempt to take them, the lion aroused himself to see the foe on every side of him. Virginia moved first on her own account in 1754, when young Washington first gave token of the valor, fortitude, and prudence which made him the foremost man of his own and every age. The next year Braddock was sent against DuQuesne, Johnson against Crown Point,

while Shirley prepared to attack Niagara; but all that they gained was a rout and massacre, a fruitless victory, and a knowledge of the strength of the French in position and resources. The three following years were spent in getting rid of incapables, with incredible suffering and ureless bloodshed. It was at this period that the services of John Maunsell become historical. He was in "the sieges of Port l'Orient, Louisbourg, Quebec, Montreal, Martinique, and the Havana; he commanded the Thirty-fifth regiment, which mounted the breach of the Moro; was at the battle of the Plains of Abraham, under General Wolfe, in action under General Murray at the same place, and was twice wounded on service."

The great events and transformations that have taken place since these achievements have in a measure dimmed their lustre, although they cannot diminish their importance. There is no record in history of services more arduous, hazardous, and gallant than that given in those brief words. It is not strange that General Maunsell's share in them was a source of pride to his family, and a theme which they sedulously impressed on their descendants. The capture of Louisbourg after a hard siege, in 1758, opened the door to Quebec, whither Wolfe sailed the next year with nine thousand men, a quarter less than had been promised him. With him went Captain Maunsell, at the head of his company, and took his share in the dangers, privations, and disappointments of the eventful summer of 1759. At length, on the fateful September 13 came the closing of the first act on the Plains of Abraham, and Captain Maunsell was carried wounded from the field in his own sash, which is preserved in the family, stained with his blood. But if gallantry was displayed in scaling the precipice with Wolfe and routing the French on their own ground, it was far more conspicuous in enduring the dangers and sufferings of the terrible winter which the shattered remnant of the army spent in the captured city. Besides their ever-active enemies in the flesh they were compelled to face frost and cold, hunger and nakedness, scurvy and fever. The officers shared the labors of the men, so that a sergeant records: "None but those who were present on the spot can imagine the grief of heart the soldiers felt to see their officers yoked in the harness, dragging up cannon from the lower town; to see gentlemen who were set over them by his majesty to command and keep them to their duty, working at the batteries with the pickaxe and spade." Maunsell survived these dangers, labors, and privations, and when Levis, who had succeeded Montcalm, came against them in the spring with three times their number, he was one of the three thousand left from Wolfe's nine thousand whom General Murray gallantly but unsuccessfully led out to meet them on the same field where their heroic

chief had fallen. Escaping from this defeat, the benefit of which was snatched from the French by the timely arrival of reinforcements, he was found among the twenty-four hundred effectives who embarked July 15 for the attack on Montreal, to which Haviland was advancing from Crown Point and Amherst from Oswego. He took part in the joyful reunion of the war-worn veterans of Quebec with the comrades from whom they had been so long and so far separated, and with them witnessed the close of the dominion of the French in Canada by the capitulation of the city, September 8, 1760, almost the anniversary of the victory that had so signally initiated it. He witnessed the unconditional surrender of the enemy by laying down their arms, upon which General Amherst had insisted, "for the infamous part the troops of France have acted in inciting the savages to perpetrate the most horrid and unheard of barbarities in the whole progress of the war, and for other open treacheries and flagrant breaches of faith, to manifest to all the world by this capitulation his detestation of such practices." Alas for human inconsistency! the British commanders sanctioned the same barbarities during the Revolution.

He had earned his promotion, and in the next year, 1761, was commissioned major in the distinguished Sixtieth, or Royal Americans, in which Moncton, Wolfe's second in command (wounded in the battle at Quebec), was colonel. Under that gallant and generous commander he served at the siege of Martinique in 1761-62. He was in the trenches before Havana during the yellow fever months of 1762, and led the Thirty-fifth regiment into the breach of the Moro Castle, August 14, and carried it by storm. This seems to have ended his active military career in the field, as it ended for a time the wars of Great Britain in the west.

In recognition of his gallant achievement, he was gazetted lieutenant-colonel of the Eighty-third regiment, October 31, 1762. This regiment was disbanded in 1763, and he was transferred to the Twenty-seventh Foot (Inniskillings). He had received, with the other officers who had served in America, a grant from the government of lands in New York and Vermont, near those granted to his comrade, Major Skene, where Whitehall (old Skenesborough) now stands.

Returning to New York, he espoused for his second wife Elizabeth Stillwell, widow of Captain Peter Wraxall, which the register of Trinity church records under the date of June 11, 1763. She was of remarkable beauty, as her portrait, in the possession of the family of the late H. Maunsell Schieffelin, testifies; and she was one of "the six beautiful sisters," daughters of Richard Stillwell, of Shrewsbury, and Mercy Sands, among whom were Mrs. Clark, mother of the wife of Bishop Moore, and

of Lady Affleck, the mother of Lady Holland, and Mrs. De Visme, mother of Theodosia, wife of Aaron Burr, who was the mother of Theodosia Burr Alston. Her first husband was a man of more than ordinary capacity and acquirements, and had held a leading place in the affairs of the province of New York, especially as the secretary for Indian affairs and the confidential friend and aid-de-camp of Sir William Johnson, a relation honorable to both—to Sir William, as trusting this virtuous and upright man above the venal and debauched satellites around him, and to Captain Wraxall, as devoting his learning and ability to the difficult, dangerous, and disheartening labors of Johnson with the Indian tribes. He was a nephew of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, the distinguished traveler and author, and came to this country when he was about twenty-five. In 1747 he was sent by Governor Clinton to England on a special mission with a recommendation from his excellency for a captaincy, and returned in 1750 with a commission as town clerk of Albany, which embraced the clerkship of all the provincial courts. In 1753 he appears as secretary for Indian affairs. In 1754 he was chosen secretary of the provincial congress which met at Albany to consider measures for union and common defense. In 1755 he accompanied Johnson in the expedition against Crown Point, and was wounded in the battle with Dieskau at Lake George (as the Lac du S. Sacrament was henceforth called in honor of the king), the graphic report of which was prepared by him immediately after the action. In the ensuing January he addressed to his chief an able and voluminous report upon the British Indian interest in North America, which is published in the *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. 7, and which formed the basis of a new system of control. He married Elizabeth Stillwell December 9, 1756. He was in garrison at Fort Edward in 1757, when Fort William Henry was left to its fate by his commander, Webb, and its garrison suffered such atrocities. He died July 11, 1759. His reports and published papers, prepared often amid the din and bustle of the camp or trading post, show him to have been intelligent, observant, thoughtful, and highly educated; while his library was a rare collection of the choicest works in literature, history, geography, biography, travels, and theology which the period could supply. He illustrates the value of the advice of the Rev. Wm. Jones, of Nayland, to a pupil about to enter the army: "The learned will have the advantage of the ignorant in all the departments of public life. There are times and seasons when they that know less, be their fortune and station what it will, must come to those who know more; and natural abilities, be they never so great, will always do better with information than without it." His books of devotion show that he realized the words

of the same writer : " Soldiers may have religion as well as other men ; why else did the providence of God select Cornelius the centurion as the first Gentile convert to the Gospel ? Devotion never appears with more dignity than in one whose profession places him above the imputation of a superstitious fear. I was never more pleased with any spectacle that occurred to me abroad, than when I saw many venerable greyheaded soldiers, relics of battles and sieges, in the great hospital of Les Invalides at Paris, dispersed about different quarters of the chapel, and all engaged in their own private devotions at a common hour of the day."

The union was eminently happy, and lasted with undiminished felicity for thirty-two years. The bridegroom was in his thirty-ninth year, and his elevated character, his sweet and affectionate disposition, his geniality, wit, and humor, his distinguished career and his courtly manners, made him a universal favorite with his wife's relatives, and a welcome addition to the colonial aristocracy of the city, in which they resided from the first. Maunsell and Wraxall had been friends in the army, and it was a tradition in the family that when the latter had announced his engagement to an American lady his comrade had expostulated with him on marrying " an American squaw " ; but when he saw her he had himself become captive to her beauty and charms, and hastened back from the wars to make her his bride. They lived in a house belonging to Oliver DeLancey in Greenwich, which had been so named by Sir Peter Warren when he bought it, after the famous Sailors' Hospital near London, as being a suitable name for the refuge of an old sailor like himself. His friend, Captain Thomas Clark, of the army, had in the same spirit named his demesne just north of Greenwich, " Chelsea," after the Soldiers' Hospital, which is perpetuated in " Chelsea square." At Greenwich they were near Mrs. Clark, and not long after Mr. John Watkins, husband of their sister Lydia, established his family on Harlem Heights, near the home of Colonel Roger Morris, now the Jumel house. Colonel Morris had been a comrade of Colonel Maunsell's at Quebec. Thus half of " the beautiful six " found themselves in pleasant proximity, and while each was distinguished by decided individual traits and they were outwardly separated by the Revolution, yet they never lost their warm affection, sisterly sympathy, and readiness to help in time of need.

Twelve years passed, during which the storm of the Revolution was gathering, which burst at Lexington and Concord. As a soldier, Lieutenant-Colonel Maunsell felt himself bound to the service of the king, although his affections were strongly fixed on the home which he had adopted. He sailed for England in May, 1775, in company with the Hon.

John Watts, Colonel Roger Morris, Isaac Wilkins, Esq., the Rev. Dr. Chandler, and other royalists, with introductions from Lieutenant-Governor Colden warmly commending him to the prime minister and Lord Dartmouth. He had returned from a visit there only two years before. He left Mrs. Maunsell in their home in Greenwich, and returned for her the next year, having received an appointment in Ireland which relieved him from serving against his friends in America, to which he was greatly averse. He was given a post at Kinsale, where they remained till peace enabled them to retrace their way across the Atlantic to their home.

Life in such a post could not have been an eventful one. He was promoted to a colonelcy on half-pay August 29, 1777. Mrs. Maunsell gives some glimpses of their life and of manners and customs among the gentry of the south of Ireland. "My gentleman has been much indisposed with a gouty complaint, long under the doctor's hands, as well as myself, which has cost him many guineas. He is growing better but not wholly restored to health. Being often indisposed, I don't go abroad in cold weather. The gentlewomen here appear plainly dressed in their own houses; the dust from the coal fires the worst I ever saw, and the heavy sulphurous smoke would ruin good cloaths in common. They do not marry here from disinterested motives, but on the contrary an attachment to advance fortune in the choice of a wife seems the ruling passion with the males." Her acquaintance with court and camp had not affected her stern integrity; in reproving one whom she thought extravagant and who had incurred a debt, she writes: "I think were I thus situated I would endeavour by every effort to extricate myself, and rather fare on dry bread, and be attired in the meanest apparel than accessory to lessen the substance of others." Husband and wife were of one mind in this high sense of honesty, for it is handed down that having been relieved of his post, which had required large transactions in supplies for the army, his superior greeted him with the jocose remark, as to a comrade who could not be ignorant of the secrets of official perquisites, "Well, General Maunsell, I suppose you have not neglected your opportunities to feather your nest," but was met with the indignant reply, "Sir, I would as soon defraud you as I would my king." He left with "clean hands and a pure heart."

Colonel Maunsell was gazetted October 19, 1781, as major-general on half-pay on the Irish establishment. When peace was concluded with the United States the general and Mrs. Maunsell did not return at once to New York, but went to London, fixing August, 1784, as the time of their return to reside here. In London their home was at 40 Bury Street, St. James's, near the Horse Guards, as recorded by the general in his prayer-

book, for, like his fellow-soldier Cornelius, he was "a devout man and one who feared God." One of his most marked characteristics was his affectionate interest in all connected with him, including his wife's relatives. One of her sisters, Mrs. Watkins, had been left a widow with a dependent family. The British commanders had found her house on Harlem Heights useful, and had kept it in order during the war, so that she had a roof over her head when peace returned. But in the unsettled state of things her affairs were very precarious, and she had no adviser. A letter from the general, addressed to her "at the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Moore's, New York," dated "London, December 14, 1783," is interesting as showing his affectionate consideration, his knowledge of affairs, his prudence in counsel, and chiefly his admiration for Colonel Burr, who had recently married a niece of Mrs. Maunsell's—Theodosia, widow of Colonel Prevost of the British army; a sentiment which, it is needless to say, the honest veteran had occasion to change. "My dear sister," he wrote, "Mr. Burr will counsel you in all this. I hear a great character of him, and I think Theo was lucky in meeting so good a man. You may rest assured that my wife and myself are your sincerest and most disinterested friends, and your happiness shall be our first and only object. Consult Mr. Burr only, whose goodness will induce him to give you the best advice." After their return to New York in 1784, they made their home at 11 Broadway.

Major-General Maunsell was promoted lieutenant-general October 12, 1793. He had been abroad the previous year, whence he sent a letter to his niece, Miss Watkins, so characteristic of the old soldier, with glints of Irish humor, irony, and banter, honest and sincere, and withal so changed in its estimate of Aaron Burr, that it deserves to be given in full:

"A thousand thanks for your letter of 16 January which came to my hands on 16 Feb., accompanied by one from your aunt and one from Lyddy. I am to hope that your aunt is well, tho neither of you tell me so in your letters; Lyddy is quite silent respecting her. I hope she has not experienced any inconvenient cold from the severity of the winter. I really long to see you all more than you can imagine. Lyddy tells me that Mr. Burr expects a seat in congress, and that he has taken *Big Symmons's* house in Wall Street. As I shall never more have any intercourse with him, or his family, his changes in life give me no concern, or pleasure; he is no friend to your house. I rejoice that you and Lyddy find beaux to attend you, and that you mix with the gay and lively. Remember me to the Stoutons, TenEycks, Smiths, the Randalls—Miss in particular—Miss Ramsey Marshall, and our opposite Miss Sucky Marshall, and be sure to mention me allways to my good friend Gen. Gates and his Lady.

The season of my return to my Dear Wife approaches fast. I am determined never more to separate. Sometimes I write a little angrily to my wife and you all; you must not mind that; my mind is easily disturbed at the Idea of my long separation from you all. Besides, Rogue R. has vexed me a little, because he cheats you all, and will cheat you all, and you have no remedy of redress but thro my employing Mr. Jenkins to sue him in chancery.

I do not think that Mr. Burr will be sent to Congress. You will perceive that he will act just as he did respecting the Assembly; he declined in print—before he was chosen—a pritty mode of manifesting confidence in success, which he was not sure of. Pity he had not hired apartments in Big S.'s paunch, which is large enough than to have taken his house. I hope that a letter from Capt. Drew will accompany this to Liddy and me; I have written to him; no answer as yet. I have said all that occurs to me. I'll lay down my pen, first requesting you to make my most afft regards to all your house, don't forget Sam."

General Maunsell, having reached the age of threescore and ten years, wished to spend the rest of his days in a house of his own. He had a small farm on Harlem Heights between the Morris and Watkins places, and this he offered for sale in order to raise the money to buy the house. It is now divided by the avenue St. Nicholas, then the Kingsbridge road, and partitioned by avenues and streets, but the following were its advantages, as described in the newspaper advertisement, April 25, 1795: "A small farm containing about sixty acres, more or less, of excellent land, on Haerlem hill, ten miles from the city. The remarkable healthfulness of the situation, and other advantageous circumstances attending it, make it a desirable object for a gentleman who wishes for a country residence which cannot be affected by any contagious disorders. It is particularly well watered and wooded, and has an orchard on it of good fruit." The general was fond of writing letters in which he explained his views at large, and this transaction drew from him one of the most characteristic of them. This was one of his last addressed to his sister, Mrs. Watkins:

"Being advised by every one of my friends in the city to avail myself of the present unforeseen and unexpected high price of land to exchange Low's small farm, amounting to sixty odd acres, more or less, of land, by selling it to the greatest advantage, and purchase a house in town, an object much to be desired by me, and which, without selling this small farm I could not accomplish for want of sufficiency of Cash—houses being so pleagy dear and beyond my reach.

I send you the advertisement I put out for the purpose—peruse it—

and when an opportunity offers push on the disposal of it to the best advantage; mention every advantage attending it—viz., the great supply of Salt sedge that can be had on the spot—no flies—or troublesome insect of any kind—the immense quantity of Sedge for manure on it—the benefits this mud receives from the Mills at Kingsbridge—the goodness of the land—its fine prospect—the wood lotts; for there will be no wood in a little time—it is now £5 a load—plenty of water—and notice being on Morris' Land—and anything else you may think—for four or five men have been with Mr. S. about it. £75 per acre is the price—I at first asked £83 per acre. It is probable that Col. Smith may think of it; I suspect that he is about it thro another hand. It would best suit Morris' land on acct of the water and wood.

It is the prettiest farm on the Island. I have a house in view—the price is £7000—a large sum. We shall go up to Harlem the next week. Read *attentively* the advertisement."

Before he could complete his negotiations he was called away July 27, 1795, and his remains, with those of his wife and her kindred, rest in the Bradhurst vault in Trinity Cemetery. Mrs. Maunsell built the house on the Harlem farm which now stands at the corner of St. Nicholas avenue and 157th street, where she resided till her death in 1815. A kinsman of my own heard Sir John Temple, the British consul-general, toast General Maunsell at a public dinner with the compliment that he was "as modest as he was brave." That he was frank, genial, generous, unaffected, and unswerving, and a true man in all relations of life, was the unvarying testimony of all who knew him. The strength of his character was shown in the lasting impress which he left on all with whom he was brought in contact. His name remained with them, and still remains with the descendants, a household word, and they never tired of repeating his sayings and his acts. Even his foibles were dear to them, as when they told how the veteran who had faced the bullets and bayonets of the French and Spaniards and the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage, was so afraid of being choked by a fish bone that he would allow no one to speak to him when he was eating fish. His name, perpetuated in every generation since his death, testifies to the abiding veneration with which his memory is cherished.

ST. NICHOLAS PLACE, NEW YORK

Mr. Van Rensselaer

AMERICA MUST BE CALLED COLUMBIA

THE OPPORTUNITY TO RIGHT A GRIEVOUS WRONG

Now that the people of two vast continents, and the circumjacent islands, are preparing patriotically to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery, or re-discovery, of the new world, it is a suitable time in which to pause a moment and note the deep injustice that has been done the memory of the greatest of discoverers by the carelessness of his successors, or the selfish policy of the Spanish monarchy.

There was never a greater delusion than that which connected Amerigo Vesputius with the discovery of America. Nothing is now better established than the fact that Columbus was as much the discoverer of the mainland of South America as he was of the islands known as the West Indies. If any man was entitled to dispute with Columbus the discovery of the Western world it would be Sebastian Cabot, for his voyage to the coast of North America was undertaken one year before the third voyage of Columbus, or, to be more precise, in 1497. The Florentine known to us as Amerigo Vesputius was a caterer for vessels going out on voyages of discovery. He was also a cartographer, but not of the first rank. He never commanded an expedition to America. In 1499 he was with Hojeda, one of Columbus's captains, on his trip to the northern coast of South America. His alleged voyages to Brazil in 1501 and 1503 have been exploded as myths. He was, however, a man of much literary ingenuity, and he had influence with a certain publisher in Lorraine, in an age when printers and geographers were alike scarce, who in 1507 gave him credit for a discovery that he never made.

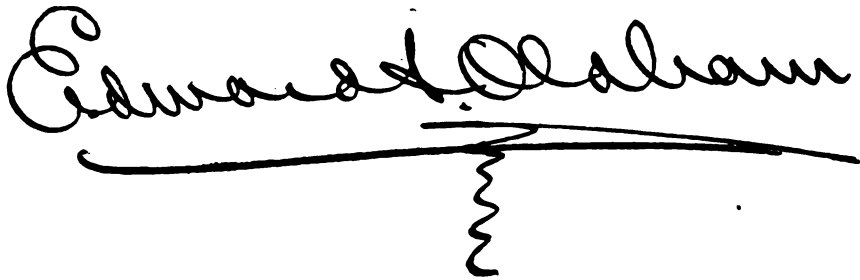
No map earlier than 1520 bore the name America, and that map assigned other names to the continent and stated that Christopher Columbus was the discoverer of that continent. Only a very few of the maps or charts from that date to 1560 contained the name of America, and those coupled it with the name Indies or India, or Holy Cross, the Portuguese name for the new world. Very few of these charts and maps gave Columbus the credit for the discovery. Examination of the documents, private and public, in the capitals of France, Spain, and Portugal, and critical study of the contemporary writers of those countries, together with those of Italy, fails to reveal a scintilla of proof that Vesputius was the rightful discoverer; but they do establish beyond successful controversy the claim of Columbus. It was not disputed while the great Genoese lived. It was not seriously urged for many years after his death.

The leading contemporary historians of all the countries engaged in discovery disprove by their silence the preposterous claims of the Florentine, or overthrow

them by direct statements. This fact, as well as his own failure to make valid claim, or bring proof of what he wished to palm off on posterity as true, must be accepted as conclusive against him. The great writers of Europe and America, from Las Casas to Viscount Santarem, formerly premier of Portugal, have condemned Vespuceius as a cheat and an impostor. Bancroft and Irving, Herrera the Spanish historian, the illustrious Humboldt, and many others, make a solid phalanx overwhelming in their statements as to the falsity of the Florentine's claim.

The plan of at last doing justice to Columbus is not simply to make the pageant in his honor as imposing as two worlds can make it, but it is to procure concert of action among all the nations concerned, and the geographical, historical, and literary societies throughout the world, by which concert the imposture which has thriven for more than three centuries shall come to a merited end.

Let it be understood by common consent that after October, 1892, the name of Columbia shall take the place of the name of America, everywhere. The country of South America bearing the name "United States of Colombia" could be changed to United States of South Columbia, or something else, and our own District of Columbia could be turned into the District of Columbus, or District of North Columbia. The difficulties in the way of changed nomenclature are more apparent than real. The people would be proud to do Columbus the long delayed honor, and there is no better time in which to effect the changes than in the quadrennial celebration.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Edward D. Olsham". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line that spans the width of the signature. Below the horizontal line, there is a small, stylized wavy mark.

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

KING GEORGE'S PERSONAL POLICY IN ENGLAND

HOW IT FORCED HIS SUBJECTS IN AMERICA, AGAINST THEIR WISHES,
INTO A SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION *

It is well that of late the sentiment of American nationalism—"America for Americans"—has sprung into unwonted activity.

Whether this be from the enormous immigration of low-class foreigners, which has recently flooded, and still continues to flood, our country, or from a spirit of national and personal pride springing out of the cycle of centennial celebrations which began in 1876 and ended in that magnificent commemoration in this city, three years ago, of the establishment of the constitutional government of the United States, or from a combination of both these causes, I know not.

That it exists is patent. Witness the new and flourishing organizations in social life, springing up on all sides, among both men and women. Originating in this city of New York, they are now spreading throughout the nation, rousing and vivifying that pride and spirit of country and of race on which the existence and prosperity of every land depend. Witness the "Sons of the Revolution," the "Colonial Dames," the "Daughters of the Revolution," the "Daughters of 1812," and similar organizations of various kinds. Witness the numerous societies, clubs, and other bodies, all over the country,—political, secular, and ecclesiastical, professional and non-professional—for protecting, preserving, and maintaining American legal, political, and personal rights against the undue influence of the incoming hordes of foreigners and their supporters upon our domestic institutions, habits, and life.

America for Americans, and Americans to rule America, in accordance with their own laws and personal rights, was what Americans were forced to fight for by their own king and government against their own wishes a little more than a century ago—both king and government, too, actually acting under the forms of law. A similar fate may be ours, and a similar contest be forced upon us or our children, by our own rulers and our own government, both acting, too, under our own liberal forms of law, unless both rulers and government heed in time the voices and wishes, daily growing louder and stronger, of the American people. For, rest assured,

* Paper read before the New York Historical Society on the evening of April 5, 1892.

this nation will not permit, without a struggle to which that of the old revolution would be but child's play, its rulers and government to throttle and rob its people of their rights, property, and political power at the dictation and by the overawing influence, of the gigantic combinations of great corporations and trusts on the one hand, and of socialism and anarchic labor on the other, each acting largely under foreign direction and control, solely for its own interests, which, unless checked in time, will inevitably bring about, what is now only threatened, the destruction of our present form of government.

But it is not proposed to speak of this subject. At present, the personal object in England of George III., and the policy based upon it which forced his subjects in America, against their wishes, into a rebellion, and the side causes here which incidentally aided the king in making that rebellion a successful revolution, will alone be discussed.

And this will show how very easily a settled government and the prosperity of a people can be wrecked and destroyed by the policy and action of its rulers, which, when those rulers first put them into operation, they never for a moment dreamt would, or could, produce such an effect.

George III. was the last king of thirteen of the colonies of British America, each independent under his rule; and when they cast off their dependence on him, they not only remained independent still, but made a point of being, and were, acknowledged by treaty as, thirteen independent nations, each entitled to and possessed of all the rights and powers of independent sovereignty. This was in 1783; but after six long years trial of this independent sovereignty, in weakness, jealousy, and poverty, they were forced to give up, mutually, some of their separate sovereign powers, and join in forming a republic of limited powers for their own salvation—the republic of the United States—the first real republic in this western hemisphere, and now happily its dominant power.

All this was the amazing result, to the American people, of their own king's action in England, and their opposition here to the infringement of their native rights, as Englishmen and English subjects, which had their origin in that action—a result utterly unlooked for, and as unwished for as it was unexpected, at the beginning, by both parties. A result, too, which occurred when it did, only by the aid of that great country against whose power and arms Americans had fought from the beginning of their existence here, with all the hate of race, religion, and blood—the kingdom of France. A fact of which that magnificent statue which overlooks our city and bay—the largest and grandest ever made by human hands—will ever stand an undeniable, unparalleled, and most splendid proof.

Of George III., one of the most brilliant of the living statesmen of England has well and truly said, this very year : " He saw in the American war, not vanished possibilities in the guidance of a new world, but the expropriation of an outlying estate, the loss of which diminished his consequence. He fought for it therefore as doggedly as a Lord of Ravenswood for his remaining acres. As to his ministers, he regarded them as the mere weapons of a warfare waged on behalf of autocracy."* And such was undoubtedly the fact.

Let us turn now to this side of the Atlantic, and see the actual state of things here.

" What book have you got hold of, William ? " was the question Chief Justice John Jay put to a young kinsman one morning, on finding him in his library at Bedford intently reading. "*Botta's History of the American Revolution*," was the reply. " The history of the American revolution ! Well ! Botta's is the last, and perhaps the best ; but let me tell you, William," pointing his forefinger at the latter with a significant gesture, and emphasizing the adjective and the adverb, " the *true* history of the American revolution can *never* be written." Surprised at so strong a remark, his auditor naturally desired to know the reasons ; but the venerable man declined to give them, saying : " You must be content to know that the fact is as I have said, and that a great many people in those days were not at all what they seemed, nor what they are generally believed to have been."

The " William " to whom the chief justice said this, and who told it to the writer, was the latter's own father, William Heathcote de Lancey, then a young clergyman, and subsequently the first bishop of Western New York, who at the time, with his wife, a granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Harry and Mrs. Munro—Eve Jay—the chief justice's only sister, was making their venerable relative a visit at Bedford. The conversation took place in 1821, eight years before the death of the chief justice. It was therefore a clear statement, made without excitement, in the calm evening of his life, under his own roof, and to his own connection, by the very man who, next to Washington, knew most thoroughly the facts and the men of the revolutionary era. During one of the visits which the celebrated Gouverneur Morris occasionally paid his old friend, the chief justice, at Bedford, after both had long retired from public life, they got into a conversation about the continental congress, to which both had belonged, its members, and their conduct, a conversation which occurred in the presence of the latter's son, the late Judge William Jay, who related it to the writer's kinsman and law partner, the late Gerard Walton Morris, who told

* Lord Rosebery's *Life of Pitt*, page 11.

it to the writer himself. Mr. Gerard Walton Morris, the eldest son of Commodore Richard Valentine Morris, was the favorite great-nephew of Gouverneur Morris, and his devoted attendant during his last illness; hence Judge Jay told him this, among other anecdotes of his great relative. These two venerable men had been talking some time over the different members of the Congress and their conduct, each in turn relating details and anecdotes of their sayings and doings—reminiscences which caused both to become animated—and as Jay concluded a story, Morris, with his natural vehemence, suddenly slapping his hand upon his thigh, burst out, "Well! governor, what a damned set of rascals they were!" "True enough," was Jay's quick rejoinder. Not long after his return from his French mission, Mr. Morris was asked, at his own table, by a connection, from whom the story comes to the writer, what benefit the American revolution had been to the people most interested in the country, those to whom its property, real and personal, actually belonged. "We who carried through the American revolution, *with scarce an exception, were all very young men,*" was the immediate answer.

No close student of the revolutionary period will have any difficulty in recalling illustrations of Gouverneur Morris's more vigorous than elegant characterization of the continental congress. And as to his other suggestive remark, a very distinguished federal judge said, quite recently, that in his judgment our revolutionary fathers made a very great mistake when they threw off their allegiance to the crown of England. The evidence that they did so very reluctantly—in fact, had to be driven into it—is beyond question. John Adams's letters at the time, and the entries in his diary, alone make this clear; and thirty-eight years after the peace, and after he had been President of the United States, he thus wrote to Mr. George A. Otis: "That there existed a general desire of independence of the crown, in any part of America, before the Revolution, is as far from truth as the zenith is from the nadir. . . . There was not a time during the revolution when I would not have given everything I possessed for a restoration to the state of things before the contest begun, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance."

"What, eastward of New York," said Mr. Jefferson, "might have been the dispositions towards England before the commencement of hostilities, I know not, but before that I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain; and after that its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all." This is the evidence of the very author of the declaration of independence himself. "It has always been my

impression," says Madison, "that a reëstablishment of the colonial relations to the parent country, as they were previous to the controversy, was the real object of every class of the people, till the despair of obtaining it, and the exasperating effects of the war and the manner of conducting it, prepared the minds of all for the event declared on the 4th of July, 1776." In the ninth of the famous "Fairfax County Resolves," reported by Washington, from a special committee of which he was chairman, to the general county meeting over which he presided, and adopted July 18th, 1774, it is stated that the British ministry are artfully prejudicing our sovereign and inflaming the minds of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain by propagating the most malevolent falsehoods, particularly that there is an intention in the American colonies to set up for independent states." And three months later, on the 9th of October, 1774, he wrote to Captain Mackenzie these strong words: "No such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in North America." These are the opinions, the views, and the very words, of Washington!

In August, 1774, Franklin said to Lord Chatham: "That having more than once traveled almost from one end of the continent to the other and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking and conversing with them freely, I never had heard in any conversation from any person drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or a hint that such a thing could be advantageous to America." All these citations, except those from the Fairfax Resolves, the letter to Mackenzie, and that from Madison, which is from a letter of his to Jared Sparks, in 1828, are taken from a letter of Chief Justice Jay to George A. Otis, in January, 1821, and another from Mr. Otis, in reply, quoting John Adams's letter on this subject, in the second volume of Jay's *Life of Jay*, pages 410 to 417. The original letters of Adams and Jay were in the possession of the late Mr. Jeremiah Colburn, of Boston. In his own letter, Chief Justice Jay says: "During the course of my life, and until after the second petition of congress, in 1775, I never did hear any American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the colonies"; and after quoting Franklin, as given above, he continues: "It has always been, and still is, my opinion and belief, that our country was prompted and impelled to independence by *necessity* and not by *choice*. *They who know how we were then circumstanced know from whence that necessity resulted.*" The italics, save those in the last sentence, are his own.

The late Sir James Mackintosh once had a conversation on this subject, at Holland House, with John Quincy Adams, in 1816, which the

latter thus relates in his diary in the third volume of his *Memoirs*, recently published :

"Sir James Mackintosh asked me if I thought Dr. Franklin sincere in the professions he made here, that he lamented the revolution which had separated the colonies from Great Britain, which he said he did on the day before he last left London, even to tears. I told him I did not believe Dr. Franklin wished for the revolution, nor Washington. He asked me if any of the leading men had. I said that, perhaps, my father, Samuel Adams, and James Otis had."

Writing in September, 1785, from New York, to William Smith, the former chief justice of the colony, then in London, seeking that chief-justiceship of Canada to which he afterward was appointed, John Thurman, a well-known merchant of New York and old acquaintance of both parties, says: "I spent some time lately with your old friend, Governor Livingston [William Livingston, governor of New Jersey]. He never mentioned your name, though I gave many openings; he said it was not against his conscience to declare independence, though he did not do it, as they were not instructed by the state; he did not rejoice in the change, but acquiesced in it, as there was no way of avoiding it." This letter, in one of Thurman's letter books, still in existence, was printed in the *Historical Magazine* in 1868.

This clear, unvarying testimony is absolutely conclusive, and cannot be assailed, still less controverted, without charging these men, the very first men of America on the successful side in the revolution, with deliberate falsehood—a charge not for an instant to be made, much less credited. If *they* told the truth, what becomes of the oft-repeated, common idea, so continually stated and harped upon *ad nauseam* in speeches, school histories, histories of higher grade, Fourth of July orations, and so-called "patriotic" writings of all kinds, that independence was but the culmination of the growth through long years of American antagonism to Great Britain's monarchical institutions—the result of a native American republicanism springing from Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and other forms of dissent from the Church of England, and flourishing and increasing from the foundation of the colonies, till at last it triumphantly freed America from "the yoke of England"? If *they* told the truth, what real difference was there between the "Loyalists" or "Tories," and the "Rebels" or "Whigs" of the revolution, except as to the terms and conditions on which the colonies should continue the connection with Great Britain and their allegiance to their common sovereign? If *they* told the truth, what, too, becomes of that other common charge, that from the very commencement

of the dispute with Great Britain the Whig portion of the colonists sought to establish independence, and their opponents sought to put it down?

The truth is, the Tories as a mass felt the tyranny and oppression of the English government, and its wanton and wicked trampling on their rights and liberties, as deeply, and were as earnest in their attempts to obtain redress for America's grievances, as the Whigs as a mass. But they believed in obtaining that redress under the forms of the British constitution, by contending against and ousting from power the ministers responsible for such tyranny and oppression, not by rebellion against their sovereign. And especially was this the case in New York. Compare the three papers which the Loyalist Assembly of New York adopted in March, 1775, setting forth the American grievances seriatim, and demanding their redress in the clearest and strongest terms, the "Petition to the King," the "Memorial" to the House of Lords, and the "Representation and Remonstrance" to the House of Commons, with the "Fairfax Resolves" of 1774, and the "Suffolk Resolves," and the fact will be apparent. The petition to the king sets forth their grievances in sixteen clauses, and concludes with a seventeenth and final one, in these words:

"We have now, Most Gracious Sovereign, stated our grievances to Your Majesty; we have done it, we trust, with all the respect due to the best of Kings, and with that decent freedom becoming the representatives of a faithful, ancient, and loyal colony; and we have not the least doubt, but that, by your merciful mediation and interposition, we shall obtain the desired redress, and have such a system of government confirmed to us by your Majesty, and your two houses of Parliament, as will sufficiently *ascertain* and *limit* the authority claimed by the *British* Legislature over this colony, and secure to us those just and invaluable RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES which all your Majesty's subjects are entitled to. This, Most Gracious Sovereign, is the sum of our wishes and the end of our desires; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we are convinced this will be the only effectual method of quieting the minds of Your Majesty's faithful *American* subjects, and of restoring that harmony and cordial union between the mother country and us which is so essential to the welfare and prosperity of both."

To the Lords, among other things, they say, "That we conceive the people of the colonies entitled to EQUAL RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain. That upon these principles it is a grievance of a most alarming nature, that the Parliament of Great Britain should claim a right to enact laws binding the colonies in all cases what-

soever. Incompatible as this claim is with the very idea of freedom, your Lordships cannot wonder that the colonies should express an invincible repugnance to it. Absolute and uncontrollable power in any man, or body of men, necessarily implies absolute slavery in those who are subject to it, even should such a power be not carried into execution; yet let it be remembered, that the liberties of an Englishman are his *rights*; and that freedom consists not in a mere exemption from oppression, but in a *right* to such exemption, founded on law and the principles of the constitution."

To the House of Commons they state that "a cordial reconciliation" "can be rendered permanent and solid only by ascertaining the line of parliamentary authority and American freedom, on just, equitable, and constitutional grounds"; that Parliament has no right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatever"; that "all duties raised in this colony should be paid into the colony treasury, to be drawn by requisitions from the Crown to the General Assembly"; and, after asking redress of all the other colonial grievances which they specify, and remonstrating against the acts leveled at Massachusetts Bay, they thus conclude: "We claim but a restoration of those rights which we enjoyed by general consent before the close of the last [the French] war; we desire no more than a continuation of that ancient government, to which we are entitled by the principles of the British constitution, and by which alone can be secured to us the RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN." The italics and capitals in these quotations are in the originals as printed in the *Journal of the Colonial Assembly of New York*, for 1775, pages 109 to 117.

The three millions of American people in the colonies not only desired, but labored for, and till the last moment asked for, a constitutional settlement of the dispute with the "Home" government, as they called that of England, and their inherent rights as Englishmen and subjects of an English monarch. Why were their wishes and desires overborne? Why was such a settlement not obtained? And what caused a part of them to rebel against Great Britain and to throw off their allegiance to their acknowledged and lawful sovereign? Narrow British insularism, with the consequent misgovernment arising therefrom, and the personal object and folly of George III., on the one side; and the demagogic fanaticism of disappointed ambition smarting under the denial of power and place, the antagonism of all forms of religious dissent, and of skepticism, to the Church of England, and mercantile anger at the suppression of illicit trading, on the other, are the answers to these questions. And of each in its order.

By British *insularism*, which term is used because the word "provincialism" is not properly applicable to a nation, is meant that peculiar mental characteristic of the English people, an arrogant self-sufficiency, which causes them to consider that their own ideas and views on any subject are superior to those of all the world, and to think that what is not known about any matter or thing in their own islands is hardly worth knowing at all. It is the natural result of their position, that of a strong-minded race dwelling for ages, of necessity, in a very small land, and possessed of and wielding, at the same time, immense resources and power without, as well as within, its borders. This provincialism of the nation, if the expression may be pardoned, was really the bottom cause of Great Britain's difficulties with her American colonies. For out of it grew the English colonial system, with all its shackles on trade, commerce, free navigation, and the natural growth of colonies, the cornerstone of which was "British interests." Not "British interests" in the proud, imperial sense in which the expression has become so familiar now, but simply the trading interests of three islands in the North Atlantic off the western coast of the continent of Europe. Founded originally, as the colonies were, by companies of merchants for trading purposes, the insularism of the British mind could not conceive that that they were anything but trading stations for the sole benefit of the British Islands, and simply as such did it rule them always. They were distant inferiors, possessed of no rights which Britain was bound to respect. Not until very late in the nineteenth century did Englishmen discover that colonies were in reality not stations for trade, but the outposts of empire; and that Britain's colonial system had been from the beginning one huge instance of continual misgovernment. Strangely and strongly has this fact been acknowledged in our day in regard to the American colonies, in the British parliament, by one of the greatest ministers that Britain has known in this century. "England," said the late Earl of Beaconsfield, referring to America, in his speech in the House of Lords on laying before it the recent "treaty of Berlin," in 1878, "lost in the last century some of her most precious possessions through bad government, a loss which every Englishman must deplore at this moment, *and which would not have occurred if the principle which now governs her relations with the colonies had been then observed.*" The English statesmen of the early part of the last half of the eighteenth century seem actually to have forgotten who the colonists, far across the Atlantic, were, and dealt with them much as if they had been Hindoos, native Australians, or New Zealand Maories. Whereas they were not only of their own race, possessed of and entitled by law to all the rights

and liberties of Englishmen, but were also partakers in that same English self-sufficiency above mentioned, to such a degree that they refused to be treated as subjects of their fellow-subjects. It was this claim of subjects in England to rule and to bind in all cases their fellow-subjects in the colonies, for the purposes and benefit of Great Britain alone, which the latter objected to, not her monarchical institutions, nor owning allegiance to her king. The "stamp act," the "tea duties," and "taxation without representation," were only the methods and the means by which British politicians sought to effect this object. They were but the expression of the governmental ideas of the period in England, not the cause, as often stated, of the American revolution. That cause was really this insularism in which these governmental ideas had their origin. The Loyalist Assembly of New York, in 1775, saw very clearly the true cause of the difficulties which resulted in the revolution, when it said to the House of Lords, in its memorial for redress, mentioned before: "The colonies, as your Lordships know, were not in contemplation when the forms of the British constitution were established; it followed, therefore, from its principles, when colonization took place, that the colonists carried with them all the rights they were entitled to in the country from which they emigrated; but as, from their local circumstances, they were precluded from sharing in the representation in that legislation in which they *had been* represented, they of right claimed and enjoyed a legislature of their own, always acknowledging the King, or his representative, as one branch thereof; this right they have pointedly, repeatedly, and zealously asserted, as what only could afford them that security, which their fellow-subjects in Great Britain enjoy, under a constitution at once the envy and admiration of surrounding nations; because no money can be raised upon the subject in Great Britain, nor any law made that is binding on him, without the concurrence of those who have been elected by the PEOPLE to represent them. For what happiness can the colonists expect if their lives and properties are at the absolute disposal of others; and that power which, when restrained within its just bounds, would dispense light and heat to the whole empire, may be employed, like a devouring flame, to consume and destroy them." The italics and capitals in this extract are in the original. But it is not possible to dwell longer on this source of Britain's difficulties with her American colonies; the other—the personal character, object, and folly of George III. demands notice.

George III. was the first English-born sovereign of the house of Hanover, and the first of the Guelph kings who spoke the English language—two facts which caused his accession to the throne, in 1760, to be hailed

with greater demonstrations of popular joy than that of any English monarch in modern times.

The great whig families, "the revolution families," as they were called, had, during the preceding reigns, wielded the power and ruled the destinies of the British empire in their own interests. The new king, young, arbitrary by nature, and a greater upholder of the prerogative than the Stuarts, determined to break them down. He meant to govern, and not merely to reign. This was not an easy task; but he kept British politics and British ministries in continual turmoil and change until he obtained a prime minister by whom and through whom he could carry out his ideas. For, in the words of the living British statesman before mentioned, "he was the ablest political strategist of his day," and, he might have added, the astutest.

During ten years everything was uncertain; five different administrations were in office during that period, and almost every month witnessed changes in the men composing those administrations. This long series of rapid changes was brought to a close by the formation, in February, 1770, of the famous ministry of Frederick North, Lord North, afterward Earl of Guildford, the first ministry, since the overthrow of Sir Robert Walpole, the members of which were really united among themselves. The king had succeeded in depriving the whigs of office, and their unsuccessful attempts to regain power during the ensuing twelve years, using the American questions merely as one of their chiefest means of fighting their adversaries, gave rise to that most brilliant period of the parliamentary history of Great Britain.

Lord North was content to let the king have his own way and to support his measures, although personally he approved of neither. The extraordinary private letters of King George III. to Lord North, now before the world, are at once the proof of this fact and of the almost incredible severity with which he wished to treat his American subjects—a severity not springing from a cruel disposition, but from his firm belief in the prerogative, and his resolute determination to maintain at all hazards what he called the "preservation of the empire." How completely his course, by preventing on his part any settlement of the dispute under the forms of the British constitution, produced a result precisely the opposite, is one of the most striking facts in British history. North's ministry fell on the question of granting independence to America, in 1782; Rockingham's whig ministry succeeded, but he died in three months; Shelburne's whig administration followed, and in the autumn of that year acknowledged the independence of the thirteen colonies. The famous coalition of Fox

and North drove the Shelburne whigs from power, and brought in the Duke of Portland's mixed ministry, in April, 1783 ; this lasted only till December of the same year, when the whigs were finally defeated, driven from office, and their opponents again came in under the great William Pitt. That success placed the tories permanently in power and gave them an ascendancy which lasted, practically, till the fall of the Duke of Wellington's administration in 1830, the long period of forty-six years. Complete was the success of King George III. He did destroy the great whig oligarchy, both for his own long reign and that of his successor. But at what a terrific cost was his victory won ! The loss of America, an empire in itself, the greatest and most magnificent possession ever held by the crown of England ! A possession far exceeding in value that wondrous Asian dominion which has lately given to the present wearer of that crown the sounding title of Empress of India.

Consider, now, the incidental causes on this side of the ocean which helped the king in producing the final result.

One of the unwritten but most stringent rules of Great Britain's colonial policy, never relaxed, if possible, was that which forbade the appointment of natives or residents of colonies to their supreme command. They could not aspire to the highest offices in their own land, and had to submit to be ruled by strangers. Governorships were always filled by British appointees, who were always the political, personal, or military friends, or the representatives of such friends, of the minister of the day, the appointments being in the gift of the crown. This same principle permeated in a great degree all the subordinate offices, even to the lowest. No matter how able or well fitted for an office he might be, an American was always thrust aside if the appointment or the place was wanted for an Englishman. This was the case in all the colonies, and in all it caused strong personal antagonisms to the government of the day. In New York, during the entire British domination, no native American was commissioned governor. Three or four senior mandamus councilors, on as many occasions, administered the office as " Presidents of the Council," during the intervals between the death or resignation of one governor and the appointment of another ; but they had no commissions except as mandamus councilors. The title of " governor," as a matter of courtesy, was usually accorded them.

The only apparent exception to this statement, and to the operation of the rule above mentioned, was that of James de Lancey. He was commissioned lieutenant-governor of New York while its chief justice, on October 27, 1744, and succeeded to the command of the province at the

death, by suicide, of Sir Danvers Osborne, its governor, on October 12, 1753, and held it till the arrival of the next appointed governor, Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, on September 2, 1755. The latter, in order to take a naval command in the then war with France, resigned on July 2, 1757, and Mr. de Lancey again succeeded to the government of the province. Pitt, afterward Lord Chatham, who was then in power, desired to send Mr. de Lancey a new commission as governor, they being political as well as personal friends and correspondents, but he feared to do so, dreading the effect of such a breaking of the rule as a precedent in other cases. He, however, effected his object practically and at the same time preserved the rule intact, by notifying Mr. de Lancey that no new appointment would be made during the latter's life. Mr. de Lancey therefore continued to rule New York as its governor under his old commission until his death, on July 30, 1760. With this peculiar exception, the rule as regards New York was strictly maintained; the subsequent several administrations of Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, an inhabitant though a Scotchman born, like those of the presidents of the council, being merely to fill intervals between the appointments, or in the absences of different governors.

This discrimination against colonists in their own homes caused great dissatisfaction, was wrong in principle, and an intolerable grievance to an intelligent and high-spirited people, and undoubtedly induced many who had personally suffered from it to rebel against the system and those who upheld it.

The influence of the opposition of the different forms of religious belief in the colonies to the Church of England, and of skepticism, in preventing a constitutional settlement of the dispute with Britain, has received scarcely any attention from historians; yet the former was one of the strongest means used to effect such prevention, and the latter greatly contributed to the same result. The bare mention of these facts will strike many with surprise. The fact, too, in this connection, is remarkable, that the Church of England, so small in numbers as to be, according to John Adams, hardly a fifteenth part of the people of the colonies, should have been the object of such fierce, continuous, bitter, and malevolent attacks. The tremendously long and bitter war waged upon that church in New York by William Smith, William Livingston, and John Morin Scott—the famous Presbyterian triumvirate—so often mentioned as the leaders of the "Sons of Liberty" in that province, and their clerical coadjutors, is now hardly known; and yet the publications in the controversy up to 1769, inclusive, alone form three thick duodecimo volumes—two from the press

of John Holt and one from that of James Parker. All three were very young men of good ability, all disappointed in their political aims and desires, all having been defeated in elections to the assembly, or in applications for appointments to office, for the conservative party, as a general thing, with a few brief exceptions, maintained its supremacy in New York during the English rule. And its leaders were either of the Church of England or the Dutch Reformed Church. These three, the leaders of the "outs," the Whigs, made the religious controversy a means of trying to become leaders of the "ins." The newspapers of the day, the publications above mentioned, and others of the same nature, and the brief sketches in the opening chapters of Jones's history, give a vivid idea of the violence of the politico-religious party warfare in New York. In Massachusetts a similar attack was made with similar objects, by politicians, and a like controversy, based upon Puritanism instead of Presbyterianism, arose between the famous Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, Dr. Chauncy, the Rev. Mr. Caner, Dr. Johnson, and the Rev. Mr. Apthorp, and into which Archbishop Secker was also drawn—a controversy of wonderful power on both sides. Samuel Adams wrote a caustic review of it, and John Adams said of it and its effects, in a letter to Mr. Niles in 1818: "It spread an universal alarm against the authority of parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension that bishops and dioceses, and churches, and priests, and tithes, were to be imposed on us by parliament. It was known that neither king, nor ministers, nor archbishops, could appoint bishops in America, without an act of parliament; and if parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tithes, and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism-shops." And in a letter, at the close of the same year, to Dr. Morse, the father of American geography and of the inventor of the electric telegraph, the same antagonist of Episcopacy writes: "Who will believe that the apprehension of the Episcopacy contributed, fifty years ago, as much as any other cause to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urged them to think on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies? This, nevertheless, was a fact as certain as any in the history of North America. The objection was not merely to the office of a bishop, though even that was dreaded, as to the authority of parliament on which it must be founded." The letter, which is very much too long to be quoted in full, gives a general account of the church and its "essential character of intolerance," as he styles it, in the different colonies. In New York, says he, "The royal governors, councillors, judges, etc., had such overbearing influence, that they dared to

grant large tracts of fertile lands to the Churches of England, and laid the foundation of the ample riches they still hold ; while no other denomination could obtain any." After referring generally to the other New England colonies, he " hastens to Massachusetts ; and here," says he, " I want to write a volume. Here the clergy and principal gentlemen were High Churchmen indeed. Passive obedience and non-resistance in the most unqualified and unlimited sense were their avowed principles in government, and the power of the church to decree rites and ceremonies, and the authority of the church in controversies of faith were expressly avowed. I know not where to begin nor where to end." The whole letter is itself proof sufficient of the fact in question, without citing other authorities, in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, or any on the Church of England side of the question.

One striking and curious piece of evidence from Connecticut must, however, be mentioned. The late Rev. Dr. John S. Stone, of Brooklyn, a son-in-law of Chancellor Kent, in a note to his *Life of Bishop Griswold*, after giving the number of Episcopalians in 1774, in Newtown, 1,084 ; in New Haven, 942 ; in Simsbury, 914 ; in Norwalk, 792 ; in Derby, 725 ; in Stamford, 714 ; in Wallingford, 626, says : " I found these statistics with others in a report made by the Rev. Elizur Goodrich, *Congregational* minister in Durham, Ct., September 5, 1774, and contained in the ' minutes of the convention of delegates from the synod of New York and Philadelphia, and from the associations of Connecticut, held annually from 1766 to 1775 inclusive ' ; a somewhat curious document, by the way, which, if I mistake not, contains evidence that the object of the aforesaid synods and associations in thus toilsomely and accurately numbering our *episcopal* tribes in their day, was to show the ground of their apprehension, that the growth of the church was hostile to the spirit of our American liberties, both in church and state, and favorable to the ultimate establishment here of monarchical government, with a legally associated hierarchy. *This effort of numbering was systematically and extensively made ; and seems to have had some influence, if not in expediting, at least in aggravating the war of the Revolution.*" And it most certainly did so in that colony.

Space will only permit a mere reference to the effect of skepticism in this connection, whether in the easy form in which it appeared in Franklin, and some other younger but prominent men in the colonies, or undisguised, as in Thomas Paine. The latter's famous pamphlet, *Common Sense*, which confessedly did more to rouse public feeling and effect the passage of the declaration of independence than any other publication of the time, or, in fact, than all others together, was *not* really written with

that object. Paine himself says, over his own name, in a memorial to congress, in 1808, for further compensation for his services in the revolution (which congress did not grant): "As to my political works, beginning with the pamphlet *Common Sense*, published the beginning of January, 1776, which awakened America to a Declaration of Independence, as the President and Vice-President [Jefferson and Madison] both know, as they were works done from principle, I cannot dishonor that principle by asking any reward for them. The country has benefited by them, and I make myself happy in the knowledge of it. It is, however, proper for me to add, that the mere independence of America, were it to have been followed by a system of government modelled after the corrupt system of the English government, would not have interested me with the unabated ardor it did. It was to bring forward and establish the representative system of government, as the work will show, that was the leading principle with me in writing that work and all my other works during the progress of the Revolution. And I followed the same principle in writing the *Rights of Man* in England." Thus, both dissenting believers and skeptics were practically united in opposing a constitutional settlement between England and America. This point has been dwelt upon somewhat at length because of the little attention that it has received from historical writers.

The effect of mercantile enmity in preventing any constitutional settlement of the quarrel has been so fully discussed that it requires but brief mention here. The British colonial system, by forcing colonists to trade with England alone and prohibiting them from all trade with foreign nations or their colonies, except through England, had practically made the American commercial classes perpetual smugglers. They would, and did continually, carry on an illicit trade directly with other nations and their colonial possessions, and had grown rich by it. Not until about the peace of 1763, however, did the English government make efforts to stop it. Then, however, the pressure of the expenses of the French war caused the British government to act with vigor, and the laws were thenceforth stringently enforced. This action of course led to great opposition by all engaged in trade. The revenue laws and the navigation laws and the various "Acts of Trade" as they were called, *some thirty in number*, were rigidly executed; and merchants everywhere in America, but especially in New England, and particularly in Boston, were constantly being prosecuted for illegal and illicit transactions, and their vessels and cargoes seized. In fact, all the earliest cases of forcible opposition to old England in New England were trade difficulties. The *Gaspé*, which was burnt by the

Rhode Islanders, was simply a cruiser sent to stop smuggling in Narragansett Bay. Boston was the leading smuggling port, and it was by defending her merchants in the courts for that offense that James Otis became the great lawyer he was, and the father, in fact, of New England opposition to Great Britain, and that John Adams first became known to fame. When the continental congress met, it was the mercantile influence that was predominant. Of the signers of the declaration of independence, says a late writer, "one-quarter part were bred to trade or to the command of ships, and more than one of them was branded with the epithet of 'smug-gler.' Samuel Adams was a bankrupt, with nothing to lose and everything to gain, by opposition to England; and John Hancock of course had no objection to appending his magnificent autograph in the most conspicuous place to the Declaration of Independence, when it is remembered that he was a defendant in suits by the crown in the court of admiralty, on account of his illicit transactions, to the amount altogether of almost half a million of dollars."

New York was the foremost of the European colonies in America in establishing, asserting, and maintaining the true principles of civil liberty and religious toleration—principles and toleration brought with them from Holland by her Dutch founders, and maintained zealously during the entire Dutch *régime*, and that sometimes against the arbitrary acts of her own rulers. The principles laid down in the grand preamble to that immortal declaration of the states-general of the United Provinces, of July 26, 1581, deposing the king of Spain from the sovereignty of the Low Countries—"the grandest state paper of that age," as it has been well called—were the principles planted in New York by the same people, nearly thirty years later, and long, long years before the feet of any "Pilgrims" or Puritans had pressed the soil of New England. And when the English succeeded the Dutch, they wisely made no attempt to change the Dutch polity, except as to the allegiance of the people of New Netherland. The great Bill of Rights enacted by the legislative authority of New York on October 30, 1683—the "Charter of Liberties" of New York—laid down the self-same principles of political liberty and political rights, the violation of which, by Great Britain and her king, resulted in the acknowledged independence of America just a century later, in 1783. This Bill of Rights, assented to by the Duke of York, anticipated that of Massachusetts eight years, and that of England herself five years. When that prince succeeded to the throne of England, a few years later, and his proprietary right was merged in that of the crown, he attempted to do away with the "Charter of Liberties," and the province was at once thrown into

those political contests and controversies which, increased by the neglect of this colony and the others by King William III., who was wholly absorbed in European questions, lasted in one form or other throughout the English rule. The principles of the Charter of Liberties were contended for during that *régime* by the conservative party, which was generally in power, and were, at its close, also embodied in the three powerful papers, above mentioned, which the loyal colonial assembly of 1775 sent to the sovereign and parliament of Great Britain.

In consequence of the facts that New York derived her origin from Holland, and that, as an English government, she was a royal province by conquest, not a specially chartered colony, her system being in fact a miniature of that of England herself, the true spirit of political liberty and toleration flourished throughout her colonial existence with more vigor, and was maintained with more determination, than in the other British American possessions. And the history of New York under the English rule, thoroughly, fully, and truly written, without political, religious, or party bias, and without a foregone conclusion to prove a case, would be a perfect delineation of that short-sighted and tyrannic colonial policy of Great Britain, the outgrowth of the peculiarities of her people and her insular position, and of the personal views and autocracy of her king, in which is to be found the true origin of the American revolution.

Edward T. de Laney

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

Editor of Magazine of American History :

While looking over the pages of one of the leading political and literary magazines in Japan, entitled if written in English *The Nation's Friend*, I noticed a remarkable article on the relations between the United States and Japan, containing so much sincere praise of our country while giving a stimulating conspectus of both American and Japanese history and their mutual relations, that I offer it to the readers of your magazine.

“ Man must choose his friends. For there are some beneficial friends and some injurious. When one associates with the beneficial, he receives benefits, while the injurious detract from his prosperity. This is not limited to cases of individuals, it is true also in national intercourse. Nations also have some beneficial and some injurious friends.

Whom shall Japan make her useful friend? Although those eighteen allies or nations [having treaties with us] exhibit their friendship for us, the intercourse is only ordinary. If we want a useful friend for our country; if we have any future hope of finding a beneficial friend to our nation—and not for our government only—we must hail it in the name of the United States. Seeking evidence in the past events, and relying upon future hopes, we do not doubt that this will be the case. We regret that there are some influential men who treat the United States as of so little importance, and that the officers in our foreign department have lost many opportunities to manifest our full appreciation of the perfect goodwill of the United States.

Let us also think of the event of February, 1875. The Japanese government reformed the tariff regulation without consulting with the foreign ministers. The ministers from those different lands censured the action. But who was the gentleman who defended the right of Japan in doing this act? Was he not Mr. John A. Bingham, the minister of the United States? In 1870, when cholera prevailed, the merchant ships coming from Nagasaki were inspected [and quarantined]. Other ministers objected severely to this movement, but Mr. Bingham said ‘To object to such a measure cannot be approved by the international policy of the United States. Is not this objection denying the right of the Japanese government, which endeavors to forbid the importation of the pestilence by foreign ships?’ And, during the next summer, when the German envoy

publicly employed the war-ships of his nation to break up the regulation of inspection and a proper medical treatment, General Grant said, 'In such an occasion it is proper [for the Japanese] to fire on and destroy those ships.' Mr. Bingham tried to do his best to warn his countrymen to obey the Japanese rules.

During October, 1879, our government published regulations concerning opium traffic. The foreigners residing in Japan hotly opposed it in newspaper discussion, and even the British and French ministers thought that this encroached upon their rights of extra-territoriality. But the American minister alone did not think so. When the Japanese government requested the foreign governments to sign the friendly treaty on the matters of postal and telegraphic business, the first country among the nations which did not hesitate to acknowledge the proposition was the United States. Moreover the United States acknowledged the new treaty on July 25, 1878, when Japan was anxious for the revision of the treaties, and this treaty admitted the independent right of tariff for our country.

Years ago General Grant paid a visit to our country. Though he was then merely a citizen of the United States, his great services for his country, both in time of peace as well as in time of war, made him as though he were an unofficial minister, sent as the representative of the people of the United States in order that he might strengthen the friendship existing between the two nations. When he was about to leave Japan, he addressed the following to our emperor: 'If you will not permit any foreign lands to interfere with your internal government, your prosperity is certain, and you need not beg foreign aid. I sincerely hope that your country may grow in wealth and military power, so that you may be able to maintain your independence equally with the western powers, without any interference of foreign lands; that your policy may be more liberal and true, so that it may demand the respect of civilized nations. This is not my wish alone, but also of the American nation.'

Ah, how true he was in expressing his deep conviction! Nay, his friendship did not cease with mere empty words; he proved it by giving many kind suggestions, and more substantially by reconciling Japan and China on the troubles about the Riu Kiu (Loo Choo) islands. Indeed, the return of the Shimonoséki indemnity, amounting to \$785,000, by action of the congress is remarkable. This too was done without any specification or restriction. It was in the month of February, 1883. We must also remember that the United States was always ready to accept the proposals of Counts Inouyé and Okuma on the revision of the treaty. Thus, judging from past facts, we must receive the United States as our best

friend. I should say the best friend of our nation, rather than that of our government. If they really try to fulfill the Golden Rule, that they will do to others whatever they want to be done by them, in the international affairs, how shall we answer them for their good-will?

The reason why we make the United States our friend is not limited to the matter of their good-will, but because they are worthy to compete with us as our friends in the field of social warfare. That country is a giant blessed with extremely favorable promise and fortune. If we observe past progress, the future events can be inferred. Just think of her population! It was little over 3,900,000 in 1790, but in 1880, 49,900,000, or a multiplication by twelve in one hundred years; and in 1890 her total population reached the figure of 66,000,000—an extraordinary progress! Her trade is also astonishing. In 1790, her income, money and raw metals included, was \$22,500,000; and in 1830, \$75,000,000. Her exports exhibit similar progress. In 1790, they amounted to \$20,000,000; in 1830, to \$60,000,000; and in 1880, to \$725,000,000. Counting *per capita*, the imports increased from \$6.25 to \$15.00, and the exports from \$5.00 to \$16.60 within fifty years. Is not this, indeed, astonishing? Nay, the material progress in the United States is the miracle of the nineteenth century, and it is premature to predict her greatness. Her activity is ever increasing. Two years ago Mr. Blaine, a hero, proposed the Pan-American Union, to consider the question of more intimate friendship and to complete the mercantile union with a tariff alliance, so that they might organize a great union. It cannot be questioned that to-day the United States heads and sways the political machine in the North and South American continents.

The movement of the Pan-American Union is further progressing now with the design of the tri-American Railroad. It is the purpose to complete railroads extending over nine thousand miles from New York to Buenos Ayres. It is to be maintained by eighteen national governments in South, North, and Central America, each of which will spend \$3,000,000. Though future success is as yet unknown, we can yet reasonably expect progress in the movements of the Pan-American Union. Recently the United States and Brazil signed a treaty of mutual commerce. By it Brazil is able to import into markets in the United States such essential products as coffee and gum, as well as sugar, without duty. Conversely, the United States is able to export into Brazil those manufactured articles which they could not export a few years ago, since they could not compete with English, French, and German merchandise.

This is not limited only to Brazil. She wants to complete the mutual

commercial treaty with all nations. The reason why she did not succeed in completing the treaty with Canada is, perhaps, owing to the hindrances and intrigues of a lately deceased Canadian who was so earnest to get political power. We cannot doubt that the United States is destined to be a great nation; and this is the reason, too, why we ought to make her our national friend and mutual helpmate. Once General Grant said: 'What influence the United States can exert upon Japan I cannot tell, yet I am always proud of the fact that our country's intercourse has been on the principles of justice and friendship.' When our emperor gave an audience to General Grant, he expressed the hope that there might be more friendliness among us, as the United States is our neighbor.

The amount of exports from Japan to the United States had increased fivefold in 1888 as against 1877, and the amount of imports from the United States to our country about threefold. The United States is our chief customer. In 1888 the total amount of our exports was 70,060,000 yen,* and the amount to the United States was 26,109,000 yen. That is, the United States paid thirty per cent. of the whole amount to our land.

Thus, we can see how willing she is to buy our goods. This is the fact, yet the citizens of that land regret that our country did not purchase from them equally. While we sold two hundred million yens' worth of goods, we barely bought six million yens' worth of goods—a cause for dissatisfaction among the Americans on account of the adverse balance of trade. About this the former minister, Hubbard, had given an emotional report, and the former general consul, Greathouse, had lamented that the United States bought more than one-third of the total amount of Japanese exports, and was sorry because the American goods were not received here in a similarly favorable way.

But this need not cause much complaint, for the United States buys much from Japan and sells much to England, and England sells much to Japan, while she buys much from the United States. Thus the commercial balance of three nations is equalized. Our one regret as to the United States is her tariff. That tariff made our commercial relations more distant; and its result is to hinder the good friendship in mutual commercial society, and is very injurious. Therefore if we desire more intimate intercourse between the United States and Japan, it is necessary that we should conclude the mutual commercial treaty.

Our wish is to omit, or decrease, duties on these articles most in demand, so that we may gain mutual benefits. If we observe what effects the recent McKinley bill gave to us, we must say that duties on almost

* The silver yen is worth eighty cents.

all things were remarkably decreased. Thus we see the bill did not work us as much injury as it did to other lands. Yet we cannot say that it removed very much the original inconvenience. We ought to propose the mutual commerce as soon as we can, and decrease duties on silk, lacquer ware, ceramic wares, and many other essential products and articles so that we may open a better channel of commerce. The custom house in San Francisco gives great inconvenience to our direct importers. Many a time have they lost opportunity to make money on account of the tedious inspection, while they attempted to import goods just in time for Christmas. The result was to have them sold at almost their cost price. Once we sent a copy of Hepburn's Dictionary, and copies of the Old and New Testament [in Japanese] to our friend, but the officer at San Francisco charged such a severe duty that it exceeded the original price. The evil hindrance to commerce is not the wild waves of the Pacific, it is that custom house on the Golden Gate. Perry opened our country for our benefit, and we must now reward the United States by opening the custom-house gate.

Another important thing which demands attention of our government is the enterprise of the ocean sub-marine telegraph. America is our neighbor, yet we cannot get messages from that country except by slow steamers, or by the tedious and roundabout way of Europe. The expenses are too great. Now the United States desires the establishment of the cable, and as a start she proposes to build it first to Hawaii. The committee on foreign affairs reported favorably to an appropriation, but some say that the House of Representatives denied it, while the Senate decided in its favor. By this we judge that the general public opinion is not necessarily against the movement. Moreover, the committee on foreign affairs in the House of Representatives reported that when the line reaches Honolulu, it will be easy to extend it to Fiji, Auckland, and Yokohama. We hope our government will bear some part of this burden if the United States government desires to complete the movement. We do not like to give too much money to feed vulgar officers, but we are anxious to spend it for such a good cause. When the establishment is completed, sensitive nerves will be stirred up with activity and alacrity, so that mutual commercial relations will be more intimate and pleasant.

Though the proposition to open the Panama canal failed, we hear that they are earnestly desiring to complete the Nicaragua canal. Should this be completed, our ships, which had to cross nineteen thousand miles around the southern extremity of South America, can reach the eastern shore of the United States over a vastly decreased distance. And this will put us in the same position as that of India to Suez. Another

important matter which might increase friendship between us, is the emigration of our people to that land. There are already in San Francisco about two or three thousand Japanese, yet they are mere wanderers, without public and political rights. Just think of those Irishmen!! Many of them are ignorant and wild, yet why is it that they are so powerful in the United States? Simply because they can be elements to foment social and political movements. The Constitution of the United States plainly admits the right of every one to be naturalized. When those Japanese are naturalized they are enabled to hold some offices, although they could not be presidents of that country, as the office is only given to native-born citizens. We have no doubt that our brothers could hold some offices. Think of Patrick Egan, a minister sent by the Harrison cabinet, though he is a member of that Irish party! To be loyal to Japan, does not necessarily mean to stay at home. If Japanese can maintain their race influence and dignity, it is well to migrate to that land. After they are naturalized they may, perhaps, be able to be elected as members to the House of Representatives, if they keep on doing good work patiently. Seven years' residence after naturalization for the House, and only nine years' for the Senate, are required for possible election.

The reason why we treat the United States as our good neighbor, is not only because she has good-will to our country, but also we believe that the future queens on the Pacific are not to be found anywhere else, except in the United States and Japan. We do not expect her to be our political ally; we only want to run with her in the race of civilization, as our beneficial friend toward social and commercial enterprise."

The above was written by the editor of *The Nation's Friend*, Mr. Tokutomi, a gentleman who has traveled in the United States and is familiar with American history and politics. We have abbreviated the article somewhat, by omitting statistics of trade, and a long and most deserved panegyric of our first American minister to Japan, the late Townsend Harris. Mr. Harris made the first commercial treaty with Japan and was a true friend to that nation in the days of her inexperience. The translation has been made by Mr. Takasugi, a Japanese student in Boston University, and revised by myself.

Wm. Elliot Griffis.

BOSTON, MASS.

AN HOUR WITH DANIEL WEBSTER

Everything relating to Daniel Webster is of interest, from his boyhood to the close of his life, October 24, 1852, at the age of threescore years and ten. The autobiography of his early life plainly shows "the stuff he was made of," exhibiting as it does the essential features of the best New England character. In the first school he attended, only reading and writing were taught, and as to these, he says, "the first I generally could perform better than the teacher, and the last a good master could hardly instruct me in; writing was so laborious, irksome, and repulsive an occupation to me always. My masters used to tell me, that they feared, after all, my fingers were destined for the plough-tail."

In May, 1796, young Webster was placed in Phillips Academy at Exeter, New Hampshire, where his instructors were Mr. Thacher, afterward judge of the municipal court of Boston, and Nicholas Emery, subsequently a distinguished counselor and judge of the supreme court, well known to the writer, at Portland. Says Mr. Webster: "I am proud to call them both masters. I believe I made tolerable progress in most branches which I attended to, while in school; but there was one thing I could not do. I could not make a declamation. I could not speak before the school. The kind and excellent Buckminster [his Latin teacher] sought, especially, to persuade me to perform the exercises of declamation, like other boys, but I could not do it. Many a piece did I commit to memory, and recite, and rehearse, in my own room, over and over again; yet when the day came, when the school collected to hear declamations, when my name was called, and I saw all eyes turned to my seat, I could not raise myself from it. Sometimes the instructors frowned, sometimes they smiled. Mr. Buckminster always pressed and entreated, most winningly, that I would venture; but I could never command sufficient resolution. When the occasion was over, I went home and wept bitter tears of mortification."

His instructors well knew how greatly success in life often depends on the ability to give free utterance to one's sentiments, without embarrassment, before a public assembly; and hence their urgency. What but that invaluable talent, or acquisition, assures the preference to many over their associates, who, in point of general information, are in all respects their equals if not superiors, but whose speeches when called for, lie hidden, as it

were, and only come to the mind with facility and triumphant effect when they are safe from observation, oftener than otherwise, in bed !

In 1802, at twenty years of age, Mr. Webster went to Fryeburg, Maine, "to keep school," at the rate of three hundred and fifty dollars per annum. This (he says) was no small thing, for "I compared it not with what might be before me, but what was actually behind me. It was better, certainly, than following the plough." At an earlier date, he says : "I was fond of poetry. By far the greater part of Watts' psalms and hymns I could repeat at ten or twelve years of age. I am sure no other sacred poetry will ever appear to me so affecting and devout." About the same time, when his father brought home a copy of Pope's *Essay on Man*, he says, "I took it and very soon could repeat it from beginning to end."

Webster was not only fond of poetry, as evinced by his poetic quotations in correspondence and speeches, but he sometimes courted the muses, his poetical inspirations not infrequently appearing in rhyme as well as in his prose productions. One of his earlier poems was addressed to George Herbert, supposed to be one of his college companions, on leaving Dartmouth college, December 20, 1798. He deplores their separation in twenty-two lines of heroic measure, and closes with this stanza :

Let love and friendship reign,
Let virtue join the train
And all their sweets retain,
Till Phœbus' blaze expire ;
Till God who rules on high
Shall rend the tottering sky,
All nature gasping die
And earth be wrapt in fire.

In a letter from Salisbury, February, 1809, to an associate whom he addressed familiarly as "Brother Bingham," there is a hint that a Mr. Clark, another friend, had heard that he "was just about to (try to) be married"; and he introduces these original lines, presumably to describe the maiden in the case :

Bright Phœbus long all rival suns outshone,
And rode triumphant on his splendid throne ;
When first he waked the blushes of the morn,
And spread his beauties o'er the flowery lawn,
The yielding stars quick hastened from the sky,
Nor moon dare longer with his glories vie ;
He reigned supreme and, decked in roseate light,
Beamed his full splendors on the astonished night.
At length on earth behold a damsel rise,
Whose growing beauties charmed the wondering skies !

As forth she walked to breathe the balmy air,
 And view the beauties of the gay parterre,
 Her radiant glories drowned the blaze of day,
 And through all nature shot a brighter ray.
 Old Phœbus saw—and blushed—now forced to own,
 That with superior worth the damsel shone.
 Graced with his name, he bade her ever shine,
 And in his rival owned a form divine !

It was about this time, 1801, writing to "Brother Harvey" Bingham, he got off the following distich. He says: "I expect to meet many disappointments in the prosecution of the law. I find I have calculated too largely on the profession. For this reason I have engaged a new auxiliary to support me under mortification ; it is tobacco."

Come, then, tobacco, new-found friend,
 Come, and thy suppliant attend
 In each dull, lonely hour.
 Then, while the coxcomb pert and proud,
 The politician learned and loud,
 Keep one eternal clack,
 I'll tread where silent nature smiles,
 Where solitude my woe beguiles,
 And chew thee, dear tobac.

He now addressess his friend Fuller again—this time "all in rhyme"
 —an epistle so good I should like to quote it entire :

Since, friend Habijah, you are thus distrest,
 Since Love's fierce fortunes thus inflame your breast,
 Since . . . 's charms forever haunt your dreams,
 And her fair form before you always seems,
 A little poetry, perhaps, might roll
 Love's boiling torrent from your troubled soul.
 I, too, with Muses straying through the grove,
 May soothe my pains, though not the pains of love.
 For those blessed fields, where Love's gay Graces reign,
 I once have tried, and tried, alas ! in vain.
 No longer on those verdant banks I tread,
 No longer wander o'er the flowery mead ;
 Those fragrant lawns of Love, which you explore,
 I once, perhaps, have known, but know no more.
 Come then, together let us beat the field,
 Where Arts and Science their best laurels yield,
 Together let us climb the ethereal height,
 Where Freedom's flambeaux shed a living light !
 To sing Columbia, then, shall be our care,
 Her arts, her arms, her heroes, and her fair.

Columbia hail ! thy glories fire my song,
 Thy worth deserves, to thee the bays belong !
 See Science glow within thy peaceful realm,
 See her bright blaze old ignorance o'erwhelm !
 See yon proud dome now register her name !
 See Dartmouth blazon the bright rolls of fame !
 Columbia's arms, too, soon shall awe the world,
 And kings and tyrants from their thrones be hurled,
 Her every hero shall a Eugene prove,
 And bow to no one, but the thundering Jove.
 Her fair now rival Argos' nymphs divine,
 Though all her daughters not like . . . shine,
 For when she gently rolls that sparkling eye,
 When her soft bosom heaves the tender sigh,
 Not Venus' self to Paris did appear
 Half so divine, so lovely, or so fair ! !

From a poem of ninety-two lines on the Course of Life, addressed to Mr. John Porter, June 4, 1802, the following is a characteristic quotation :

'Tis true, let Locke deny it to the last,
 Man has three beings, Present, Future, Past.
 We are, we were, we shall be ; this contains
 The field of all our pleasures and our pains.
 Enjoyment makes the present hour its own,
 And hope looks forward into works unknown ;
 While backward turn'd our thoughts incessant stray
 And 'mid the fairy forms of memory play.

The postscript of a letter of April 30, 1805, addressed to his brother Ezekiel, ends thus :

Fol de dol, dol de dol di dol,
 I'll never make money my idol ;
 For away our dollars will fly all.
 With my friend and my pitcher
 I'm twenty times richer,
 Than if I made money my idol ;
 Fol de dol, dol de dol di dol !

There are many of Mr. Webster's poems extant, but no one more remarkable, perhaps, than the lines on the death of his son Charles, in the winter of 1825, who died after a short illness, at the age of three years. In a touching notice of his death, Mr. E. Buckminster Lee observes that he was " a lovely child of singular attractiveness of mind and character. Shortly after his death, when the round contour of the cheeks had a little fallen away, his face and head were like a perfect miniature cast of his father. No marble bust can ever present a more perfect likeness of his

noble father." Two stanzas of the poem which the father penned in his sorrow, will be read with interest :

I held thee on my knee, my son !
And kissed thee laughing, kissed thee weeping ;
But, ah ! thy little day is done.
Thou'rt with thy angel sister sleeping.

Dear Angel, thou art safe in heaven ;
No prayers for thee need more be made ;
Oh ! let the prayers for those be given
Who oft have blest thy infant head.

Could anything be more touching? This tenderness of feeling and dependence on an overruling power are manifest throughout Webster's life. By nature, he was devotional; and while in seasons of gayety it was his wont "to lend himself gracefully and with infinite humor to the amusement of the hour," there was never any attempt to conceal the religious bent of his mind. He was a member of the Congregational church at Salisbury, which mode of worship, he said, he believed "on the whole to be preferable to any other," although, as he declared, he had "great respect for some other forms of service"; and we have his creed in fourteen brief articles of faith, as communicated by him in a letter to Rev. Thomas Worcester, former pastor of said church. Of these, the two following are the eighth and the last:

"I believe in the universal providence of God, and leave to Epicurus, and the more unreasonable followers in modern times, the inconsistency in believing that God made a world which He does not take the trouble of governing.

Finally, I believe that Christ has imposed on all his disciples a life of active benevolence; that he who refrains only from what he thinks to be sinful, has performed but a part, and a small part of his duty; that he is bound to do good and communicate, to love his neighbor, to give food and drink to his enemy, and to endeavor, as far as in him lies, to promote peace, truth, piety and happiness in a wicked and forlorn world, believing that in the great day which is to come, there will be no other standard of merit, no other criterion of character than that which is already established, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.'

In a letter to his nephew, C. B. Haddock, March 21, 1828, he writes:

"It does not appear to me unreasonable to believe that the friendships of this life are perpetuated in heaven. Flesh and blood, indeed, cannot inherit the kingdom of God; but I know not why that which constitutes a

pure source of happiness on earth, individual affection and love, may not survive the tomb."

Again, in his discourse on the life and character of his brother counselor and bosom friend, the late Jeremiah Mason, delivered about 1849, he observed that "nothing of character is really permanent, but virtue and personal worth. They remain. Whatever of excellence is wrought into the soul itself, belongs to both worlds. Real goodness does not attach itself merely to this life, it points to another world. Political or professional fame cannot last forever, but a conscience void of offence before God and man, is an inheritance for eternity. Religion, therefore, is a necessity, an indispensable element in any human character. There is no living without it."

It would be instructive to make other extracts from his orations and addresses, which found their way into my scrap-book at the times of their delivery, but limited space forbids. Often we see that this man did not hold himself above recognizing a higher power whose blessings he humbly craved for his country and humanity. Not the least interesting features, alike of his private letters and speeches, are apt poetical quotations—thus proving his love of poetry, which some writers, in their superior wisdom, nowadays presume to disparage—and these are not infrequently from *Paradise Lost* and Pope's *Essay on Man*, the latter of which, as already remarked, and much of the former also, it might seem, he committed to memory in his youth, when, as he states in his autobiography, "We had so few books that to read them once or twice was nothing. We thought they were all to be got by heart." He was accustomed, also, as stated to the writer by a retired justice of the United States supreme court, to keep a stock of good things, as well in prose as poetry, constantly in memory, to be used whenever occasion offered. Some of the best of these, as is well known, are gems from his own rich mine.

It will be remembered that in April, 1891, an article of mine was published in this magazine, in which I mentioned having long had in my possession an original pamphlet copy of an oration which I supposed the only one of the kind extant, delivered by Mr. Webster at Concord, New Hampshire, on July 4, 1806. I soon received a letter from Mr. C. W. Lewis, of Boston, informing me that a copy of the same is in the Boston Athenæum, and he sent me a pamphlet, copyrighted by him in 1882, containing a Fourth of July oration by Webster, made at Fryeburg, Maine, in 1802. The preface to this pamphlet states that this oration had slept for eighty years, when it found its way, with a large mass of Webster's private papers, to an old junk-shop in Boston, and "was there secured

from destruction by the proprietor, whose keen eye happened to catch the name of Webster on one of the papers." Mr. Lewis also called attention to the fact that some portions of both orations are much alike, and, what is more remarkable, that the last speech made by Mr. Webster in the senate of the United States, July 17, 1850, concludes with almost the same peroration with which he closed those two early orations.

In his autobiography Webster observes: "Like other young men, I made Fourth of July orations—at Fryeburg, 1802; at Salisbury, 1805; at Concord, 1806, which was published; and at Portsmouth, 1812, published, also." It is quite evident that he did not intend the one of 1802, and probably not that of 1805, either, should ever see the light. The following extract is taken from the oration of 1802. After extolling in glowing terms the privileges vouchsafed to the American people in point of climate, soil, rivers, hills, etc., with a Constitution above all price, he exclaims:

"Amidst these profuse blessings of nature and of Providence, beware! Standing in this place, sacred to truth, I dare not undertake to assure you that your liberties and your happiness may not be lost. Men are subject to men's misfortunes. If an angel should be winged from Heaven, on an errand of mercy, to our country, the first accents that would glow on his lips would be, Beware! be cautious! you have everything to lose; you have nothing to gain. We live under the only government that ever existed which was framed by the unrestrained and deliberate consultations of the people. Miracles do not cluster. That which has happened but once in six thousand years cannot be expected to happen often. Such a government, once gone, might leave a void to be filled, for ages, with revolution and turmoil, riot and despotism."

In the oration of 1806 the same expressions appear, and there is a similarity of expression all the way through it. He says: "A correct and energetic tone of public morals is the prop on which free constitutions rest. After all that can be said, the truth is, that LIBERTY consists more in the morals and habits of the people, than in anything else. When the public mind becomes thoroughly vitiated and depraved, every attempt to preserve public Liberty must be vain. Laws are then a nullity, and constitutions waste paper."

The closing sentences of the oration of 1802 are as follows: "A true patriot with his eye and his heart on the honor and happiness of his country, hath an elevation of soul that lifts him above the rank of ordinary men. To common occurrences he is indifferent. Personal considerations dwindle into nothing, in comparison with his high sense of public duty. In all the vicissitudes of fortune, he leans with pleasure on the protection of Provi-

dence and on the dignity and composure of his own mind. While his country enjoys peace, he rejoices and is thankful; and if it be in the counsel of Heaven to send the storm and the tempest, his bosom proudly swells against the rage that assaults it. Above fear, above danger, he feels that *the last end which can happen to any man never comes too soon if he falls in defence of the laws and liberties of his country.*"

Mr. Webster's last speech in the senate, July 17, 1850, was on the "Compromise Measures," and its peroration is in the following words: "I mean to stand on the Constitution. I need no other platform. I shall know but one country. The ends I aim at shall be my country's, my God's and truth's. I was born an American, and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career. I mean to do this, with absolute disregard of personal consequences. What are personal consequences? What is the individual man, with all the good or evil which may befall a great country in a crisis like this, and in the midst of great transactions which concern that country's fate? Let the consequences be what they will, I am careless. No man can suffer too much and no man can fall too soon, if he suffer, or if he fall, in defence of the liberties and constitution of his country." There is no need of apology for these quotations, since one could hardly be better employed than in committing to memory such noble sentiments.

I think I never heard Mr. Webster speak in the senate more than two or three times. I listened to his oration on the occasion of laying the corner-stone of the extension of the capitol, July 4, 1851, and his form and features, as he then appeared, are indelibly impressed on my memory, as they are, likewise, as I saw him at the President's reception, when Washington Irving and "Boz" were among the distinguished guests. The crowd was so great that it was difficult to get a good sight of either Irving or Dickens. Webster was evidently in a happy mood—he may have just come from a social dinner—for, when the people were passing through the parlors, he took position close against the wall by the door of the east room, and, with a roguish look, straightened himself back at full length, as if to have his height measured. I thought he was one of the noblest-looking men I had ever seen, and he was certainly not less remarkable physically than mentally. He speaks of his father, who died in 1806, as "the handsomest man he ever saw, except his brother Ezekiel, who appeared to him the finest human form he ever laid eyes on."

There is a little historical story connected with Webster as secretary of state under President Fillmore, about 1850 or 1851. Postmaster-General Nathan K. Hall one day took me with him to meet an engagement

he had made at the White House. The business in hand related to the foreign mail service, of which I had charge at the time, and I was to make a statement with a view to obtaining the consent of the President, as required by law, to a retaliatory order that the postmaster-general desired to make to counteract the practice of the British government in charging the same postage on letters between the two countries—the single rate was then twenty-four cents—whether the sea conveyance was by the United States or British steamers. As soon as the facts of the case had been presented by the postmaster-general, together with such explanations as were required from me, Mr. Webster raised himself up and, with a jovial manner, said, in his deep tone of voice: "Mr. President—as we boys used to say in our debating society—'*I motion*' that you give your consent to the proposed measure of retaliation." Whereupon the order was at once made, receiving the President's approval, and it soon put a stop to the unjust practice, by enabling Brother Jonathan to give John Bull "tit for tat."

"Mr. Webster," observes one whose relations with him were intimate, "was never seen to more advantage than within his own household, at the family board, or in strolling with him over his farm at Marshfield, or standing with him upon the sea beach and looking out upon the ocean before us, which, like the scope of his intellectual vision, appeared boundless. To hear him converse upon the past, the present, the future, in a familiar, colloquial manner—to listen to his great thoughts, expressed in purest words of our language, and wonder how he could thus speak and think, are joys which we can find no words to express."

Mr. Webster's kindness of heart was proverbial. A touching instance of this is shown by his letter of October 17, 1852, to President Fillmore—the last but one he wrote to him—asking that Mr. Conrad, secretary of war, who had given attention to Mr. Webster's department in his absence, be allowed to sign a treaty, saying he "should be glad to show him some mark of grateful respect," and that "it is a feather in the life of a public man to sign a treaty." His letter to President Fillmore, on the morning of the following day, was the last letter he wrote with his own hand. He had not then given up all hope of recovery; but after a comparatively comfortable night, he wrote: "At this hour (ten o'clock) I feel easy and strong, and as if I could go into the senate and make a speech!" Yet he sadly adds: "At one I shall sink all away, be obliged to go to bed at three and go through the evening spasms. What all this is to come to, God only knows. My Dear Sir—I should love to pass the last moments of your administration with you, and around your council board. But let not this

embarrass you. Consider my resignation as always before you to be accepted any moment you please."

But the end was fast approaching; and when, late on the afternoon before his death, this announcement was made to him by his physician, Mr. Webster "received the announcement calmly, and directed all the members of his family to be called in—the female members first—and then his male relatives and personal friends, addressing each of them individually, and bade each an affectionate farewell." Between ten and eleven o'clock at night he uttered, somewhat indistinctly, the words, "Poet, poetry, Gray, Gray," whereupon Mr. Fletcher Webster repeated the first line of Gray's *Elegy*—"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day." "That's it, that's it," said Mr. Webster, and the book was brought and several stanzas read to him, which seemed to give him pleasure; thus, to the last, showing his love of poetry. Having no fear of dissolution, he spoke of the difficulty of the process of dying, when Dr. Jeffries repeated the verse:

"Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me: Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me."

"Mr. Webster said immediately: 'The fact, the fact. That is what I want, Thy rod, Thy rod, Thy staff, Thy staff.'" Shortly after, at twenty-two minutes before three o'clock, he passed tranquilly, and with perfect trust, to the regions of the blest. In Edward Everett's speech of October 27, describing this closing scene, he said: "In the long and honored career of our lamented friend, there are efforts and triumphs which will hereafter fill one of the brightest pages of our history. But I greatly err if the closing scene—the height of the religious sublime—does not far transcend in interest the brightest exploits of his public life."

Who will doubt that, after a life devoted to the defense of "the Constitution, the laws, and the liberties of his country," this grand old patriot and statesman, "above fear, above danger, above reproach," reached his "last end," not, as in the providence of God, "too soon," but ripe for the transition; and that upon his entry into eternal life, he was, as he had prayed to be, welcomed by his angel son, who—

"stand'st in Heaven's account the oldest"?

Horatio King

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

STORMING OF STONY POINT, 1779, MILITARY OPERATIONS, 1780

BURNING OF WASHINGTON, 1814

The three following unpublished letters, the originals of which yellow and venerable in appearance have been courteously offered for editorial inspection by one of our well-known contributors, Hon. James W. Gerard, cannot fail to be read with exceptional interest by every true lover of our country's history. The first relates to the taking of Stony Point in June, 1779, and furnishes many details of that gallant action not heretofore chronicled. The second throws light upon the military operations of the early summer of 1780, the plundering and burning of the little village of Connecticut Farms, New Jersey, and the subsequent battle of Springfield, and the burning of that town. The third contains a graphic account, by an eye-witness, of the burning of Washington in June, 1814. Dr. Daniel Sheldon, in 1779, was a young medical practitioner in Hartford, Connecticut. Judson, known later as General Judson, was his brother-in-law, as was also Richard Sill. Daniel Sheldon, Jr., was Dr. Sheldon's son, who went to the treasury department with Oliver Wolcott, and was auditor at the time Washington was burned, and later on secretary of legation at Paris with Albert Gallatin. These antique letters are in good condition and the writing is clear and distinct.

FIRST LETTER, TO DR. DANIEL SHELDON

"HIGHLANDS, 1st *July*, 1779

Dear Sir: I have long had an intention of writing you a letter, but waited for something of importance to communicate, an opportunity now presents agreeable to my wishes. Perhaps you have heard of the prowess of our troops at Kingsferry, it may be from vague reports and hearsay. The morning of the 16th inst, General Wayne with a party of infantry attacked the enemy's works at Stony Point—the garrison consisted of about six hundred men—it being the dead of night they were not discovered until they had got within about sixteen rods of the works, the alarm was instantly given, but such was the dexterity of our men that they gained some part of the enemy's works before their picket guard. Our

men were distinguished by having white paper in their hats and by these words *The Fort is our own*. The fire for a few minutes was very fierce from them, but our people never fired a gun until they had gained the Fort—most of the enemy were killed with Bayonets after our people were in the works—we had nine men killed, and about thirty or forty wounded.

The enemy's loss was sixty killed and forty wounded—447 rank and file marched out of the fort the next morning with twenty-four commissioned officers. Doct^r. Auchmuty of New York was their surgeon—some few men made their escape in boats to the other side the River, others in attempting to swim were drowned—S. C. M. Johnson commanded the Britons. General Wayne's party tis said consisted of about 4200 men. There were five deserters from us in the fort, three of which they hanged with little ceremony—10 pieces of cannon, a large number of small arms, with military stores of all kinds fell into our hands. Sunday we should have attacked the fort on this side the River, but General Clinton's arrival at Croton Bridge with a large force prevented it. It must otherwise have fallen into our hands soon.

While these things were doing in the west we completed a march in the east, as far as Ridgefield which we did in exactly one week. Our main object of this was to draw the enemy's attention from this post. Shall expect the politicks of your country in your return by the bearer, which I esteem as certain.

Your Friend and Brother

RICHARD SILL

P.S. Particular Regards to Mrs. Sheldon and Captain Judson's family—By the late action we have convinced them we dare storm their works, and Monmouth witnesses our bravery in the field—This affair I look upon as a second Trenton.

RICH^d. SILL "

SECOND LETTER, TO DR. DANIEL SHELDON

" FISHKILL, 29th June, 1780

Dear Sir: I have spent this month of the most agreeable part of my life at Westfield, had no business to do but just take my [ease] and had the assistance of an agreeable country horse and carriage, and a number of genteel and well-bred ladies—but the scene is changed: 21st of May we marched to the huts near Mendham . . . 8th of June the enemy landed at Elizabethtown, we marched immediately to the Short Hills; the enemy penetrated near Springfield, burnt the village called Connecticut

Farms, but being met by our army they returned (unknown to us) the next night to Elizabethtown Point; the next day a Detachment was sent down which harassed their rear, killed and took some, but finding them fortifying on the Point, we returned back to the Short Hills, where we executed their spies . . . and continued on that ground till the evening of the 20th instant when we had orders to march at dark and continued our march till morning; lay still the next day and night and then marched near Pompton Plains: the 23^d we were ordered to march back to the lines as the enemy penetrated as far as Springfield, burnt that village, and returned that day; our people skirmished with them; our loss of Continental troops was about 50 or 60 killed and wounded. We marched about 12 miles toward them, but hearing of their retreat we returned back to Pompton the 24th, the 25th marched to Ramapo, 26th to Smith's Clove, 27th to West Point where they still remain. I was sent round with the Baggage by the way of Fishkill, and detained at present.

I suppose you wonder at my long absence, have many reasons, could have come home if I could have got money, but can't be spared at present, but could wish to see my friends and intend it as soon as possible. I rec'd a line from Polly the other day informing me of your welfare. . . . Could wish my Father or one of my Brothers could fetch me some summer clothes as I have not a pair of linen breeches or stockings with me—but have worn my winter clothes till they are so thin as not to be uncomfortable. My most affectionate love to my Parents and the family, your spouse and all friends.

Your friend and Brother,

DAVID JUDSON "

THIRD LETTER, TO DR. DANIEL SHELDON

"FREDERICKTOWN, MARYL^d, Aug. 26, 1814

Sir

As you will doubtless have heard of the occupation of Washington by the British, and might possibly feel some anxiety on my account, I write to let you know that I left the city on the 24th about three hours before the enemy took possession of it. My journey during almost the whole of the night was illumined by the flames of the public buildings, which at the distance of twenty-eight miles, where I stopped at one o'clock in the morning, were most dismally and most distinctly visible. I am now at Fredericktown (forty-two miles from Washington) with the Secretary of the

Treasury. The government is entirely dispersed, no two of the principal officers composing it being, as far as we know, together. The most important of the public papers have been saved; but nothing like the regular transaction of public business, can at this moment be attempted. We have no force competent in the smallest degree to resist the enemy. An action took place in the vicinity of Washington the afternoon of the day on which the British entered the city. Our force composed almost wholly of militia was dispersed in one hour. Gen Winder who commands them is attempting to collect them together at Montgomery Court House, fifteen miles from Washington; and a good many are hourly going on from this place and the adjacent country; but they are without arms and fifty thousand of them would not, in my opinion, be able to cope successfully with the enemy.

We may very possibly be driven from this place: and as it is the desire of the Secretary of the Treasury that I should accompany him, wherever he goes, I am unable to say anything of my future movements. It is asserted this morning that all the private buildings, as well as the public, both in Washington and Georgetown, were burnt last night by the enemy; but I do not believe it as we are 42 miles distant, we cannot know with certainty for some hours and the mail is now closing.

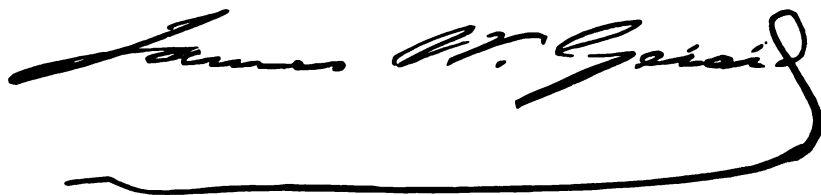
With my kindest remembrances to my mother and to the family, I am
very affectionately yours

D^r SHELDON, JR "

[*Note to the Editor*]

Editor Magazine of American History :

The writers of the above letters were all Connecticut men, of whom the Revolutionary and other records will furnish many additional particulars. These original letters have been treasured and carefully preserved in the family of one of the descendants of Dr. Sheldon.



THE UNITED STATES IN PARAGRAPHS

[Continued from page 391]

ALABAMA

1817, March 1. By act of congress the territory of Alabama is created by dividing "Mississippi territory" along the present western boundary of Alabama. William Wyatt Bibb, governor.

1818, January 19. The first territorial legislature meets at St. Stephens. It organizes many new counties and establishes two banks, the "Planters and Merchants" of Huntsville, and the "Tombigbee Stock Bank."

1819. Construction begun of Fort Morgan, Mobile Bay, named after General Daniel Morgan.

October. Meeting of the first state legislature at Huntsville.

November 9. William Rufus King and John Williams Walker chosen senators of the United States.

William Wyatt Bibb inaugurated first governor of the state, to serve till 1820.

December. The French colony settled upon the Tombigbee river, in Marengo county. General Desnoettes, a distinguished officer under the first Napoleon, among these refugees; several others, his peers in rank and distinction. Enterprise a failure by 1825.

1820. Population by fourth United States census, 127,901.

July. Thomas Bibb, of Limestone, governor.

1821-1825. Israel Pickens, of Greene, chosen governor *vice* Bibb deceased.

1822, December 12. William Kelly, of Madison, United States senator.

1824, March 4. Henry Chambers, of Madison, United States senator.

1825-1827. John Murphy, of Monroe, governor.

1826, February 27. Israel Pickens, of Greene, United States senator.

1826, November 27. John McKinley, of Lauderdale, United States senator.

1827. State university site at Tuscaloosa. Buildings erected 1828. Law passed prohibiting the importation of negro slaves.

April 24. Death of Governor and Senator Israel Pickens at 47.

Oct. 21. Great fire in Mobile.

1829-1831. Gabriel Moore, of Madison, governor.

1830. Population by fifth census, 309,527.

1831, March. Samuel B. Moore, of Jackson, governor till November. Gabriel Moore, of Madison, United States senator till March 4, 1837.

1831 (November)-1835. John Gayle, of Greene, governor.

1834 (?). College of Spring Hill (Roman Catholic) founded near Mobile.

1835-1837. Clement Comer Clay, governor.

1837, June. Governor Clay, elected United States senator till 1841.

1837-1841. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Autauga, governor.

1839, October 9. Destructive fires in

Mobile, supposed to be of incendiary origin; about five hundred buildings burned. Yellow fever then epidemic.

1840. Population by the fifth United States census, 590,756.

1841-1843. Arthur P. Bagby, of Monroe, United States senator.

1843, January 14. Governor Fitzpatrick, United States senator till January 11, 1861.

1844. April 22. Dixon Hall Lewis, United States senator till 1848.

1845-1847. Joshua Lanier Martin, of Tuscaloosa, governor.

1847-1849, November. Reuben Chapman, of Madison, governor.

November 10. Seat of government removed from Tuscaloosa to Montgomery.

December 13. Dixon H. Lewis reëlected senator of the United States.

1848, July 1. William Rufus King, of Dallas, United States senator by governor's appointment.

1848, November 25. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Autauga, United States senator, appointed by the governor.

1849, November 30. Jeremiah Clemens, of Madison, United States senator served till March 4, 1853.

1849-1853. Henry Watkin Collier, of Tuscaloosa, governor.

1851. *History of Alabama*, published in Charleston, S. C., by Albert James Pickett. 2 vols.

1853, March 4. Clement Claiborne Clay, of Madison, United States senator till January 11, 1861.

1853-1855. John Anthony Winston, of Sumter, governor.

1854, July 9. Alabama Historical Society founded at Tuscaloosa.

1855. Population by state census: whites, 464,456; negroes, 377,248.

1857-1861. Andrew Berry Moore, of Perry, governor.

December 24. State convention at Montgomery to consider "secession and coöperation."

1859, December 1. Andrew B. Moore, governor.

1860. Population by the seventh U. S. census, 964,201 (435,132 slaves).

1861-1863. John Gill Shorter, of Barbour, governor.

1861, January 4. Forts Morgan and Gaines, near Mobile, and the United States arsenal at Mt. Vernon, with twenty thousand stand of arms, seized by state troops. Revenue cutter *Lewis Cass* surrendered to the state authorities by her commander, who at once resumed command under state authority.

January 7. State convention meets at Montgomery to consider the expediency of secession. Southern counties favor it. Northern counties largely conservative.

January 8. A. P. Calhoun, commissioner from South Carolina, received.

January 11. Ordinance of secession passed by vote of 39 to 61.

January 21. Senators and representatives of Alabama withdraw from the United States congress.

February and March. First regiment Alabama infantry (C. S. A.) organized.

February 4. Meeting at Montgomery of the provisional Southern congress; adjourned March 16.

1861, February 22. William L. Yancey, of Montgomery, C. S. senator of the confederate states.

1861, March 4. George Smith Houston, of Limestone, and John Anthony

Winston, of Sumter, elected United States senators, but not admitted.

March 13. Ratification of confederate states constitution in convention at Montgomery. Vote, six to eighty-seven. Control of forts, arsenals, etc., transferred to confederate government.

April 10. Requisition from the provisional government for 3,000 troops.

April 29. Meeting of the confederate states congress at Montgomery.

During the year, eighteen regiments and several independent companies were furnished to the confederacy.

1862, February 22. Clement Claiborne Clay, of Madison, C. S. senator.

April 8. Huntsville occupied by federals under General O. M. Mitchell, and a considerable section of the Memphis and Charleston railroad seized.

April 24. Federals made to retreat.

December 12. During the year the confederate conscription act was passed, enrolling all men able to bear arms.

1863, November. Thomas Hill Watts, of Montgomery, governor.

1863, July 26. Robert Jemison, of Tuscaloosa, C. S. senator till 1865.

August 22. Robert Jemison, Jr., chosen senator of the Southern confederacy, *vice* Yancey, deceased.

December 16. Federals, marching from Pensacola, destroy large supply of confederate stores at Pollard.

1864, January. Fort Blakely, built by the confederates on the left bank of Blakely river.

1864, February 22. Richard W.

Walker, of Lauderdale, C. S. senator till March, 1865.

July 11 to 22. General Lovell Harrison Rousseau, U.S.A., destroys section of Montgomery and Atlanta R.R.

August 6. Rear-Admiral Farragut forces passage past the forts into Mobile Bay; defeats and captures most of the fleet under Admiral Buchanan.

August 7. Fort Gaines surrenders to federals under Farragut and Granger.

August 23. Fort Morgan surrenders to the army and navy of United States.

1864, December 15. United States troops under General Schofield, having defeated the confederates under General Hood, enter northern Alabama.

1865, March 4. Lewis E. Parsons, of Talladega, elected United States senator, but not admitted.

March 22. General James H. Wilson, U.S.A., with thirteen thousand cavalry and six batteries, marches southward on a raid through the state.

April to June. Interregnum of state government.

April 3. Spanish Fort captured by federals.

June to December. Lewis E. Parsons, of Talladega, provisional governor by appointment of the President.

Alabama furnished sixty-five regiments of infantry, twelve of cavalry, and about twenty batteries, battalions, and other miscellaneous commands, about one hundred and twenty-two thousand men in all, for confederate service. About fifty thousand survived.

Chas. Ledyard Norton.

(To be continued)

MINOR TOPICS

PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Editor Magazine of American History :

The enclosed letter from a descendant of Mr. Oswald, the British Peace Commissioner of 1782, coming too late for the information to be used in the centennial volume of Washington's Inauguration, I send it to you thinking it may be of interest to the readers of your magazine. The portrait of Franklin owned by the Boston Public Library and claimed to be by Greuze, is said to have belonged to Mr. Oswald, and was the portrait which Franklin gave to Oswald when the two men exchanged portraits. As the portrait now in Scotland in the family of Oswald, painted by Duplessis, is also said to be the portrait which Franklin gave Oswald, it seems that a mistake has been made. Perhaps if you publish this letter it will bring to light the portrait of Mr. Oswald—which may be in this country.

Yours very truly

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN

[THE LETTER.]

“AUCHINCROIVE, AYR, SCOTLAND, *April 14, 1892*

My dear Sir:

I have just sent my picture of Benjamin Franklin in to have a photograph taken of it and shall hope to send it to you in a day or so.

In the memoirs of Benjamin Franklin by his grandson, W. T. Franklin, in which there is a long, interesting account of the negotiations between Mr. Oswald and Benjamin Franklin, there is a print of Mr. Franklin from a picture of Duplessis, which is identical with my picture, and from the fact that with a magnifier I can trace on the back of the picture in red the remains of ‘Monsieur Oswald’ (sic) I have little doubt from the ‘s’ the picture is by a French artist and most likely Duplessis, and the Boston portrait you refer to is most likely a replica by the same artist. We have a legend that Mr. Oswald and Benjamin Franklin exchanged portraits, and if this is so I am most anxious to try and find the portrait of Mr. Oswald, and if possible obtain a copy of that to hang with Mr. Franklin. No one can read the correspondence between Franklin and Mr. Oswald without being struck with the fact that two more honest and honorable men could not have been chosen to conduct the preliminaries of peace which were so satisfactorily concluded, and it is a matter of the deepest regret to me that we have no portrait of Mr. Oswald, who always manifested a great repugnance to being painted. Therefore should you be able to send me any information as to the whereabouts of a picture of him I should be very thankful. I have here

a library, of which I am justly proud, and should it be possible for me to obtain a copy of 'The Memorial Volume on the Centennial of Washington's Inauguration' I should be very glad to place it on my shelves.

I have been told by my people that after the peace was concluded Mr. Oswald was offered an estate in Florida, larger than Yorkshire in this country, by the American government, as a mark of its admiration for the manner he carried out the preliminaries of peace, but that he declined it, as he was of opinion some might think his honesty was bribed. My feelings are somewhat mixed on the subject, as, though I certainly should have benefited by the gift, I cannot but feel very proud of so honest and straightforward an ancestor.

Excuse the length I have let my pen carry me and

Believe me yours truly

R. A. OSWALD "

OLD KING HENDRICK

In the Annual Report of the Buffalo Historical Society, made January 12, 1892, there is an interesting account of a portrait of "Old King Hendrick." It is added, "Old Hendrick was born somewhere from 1680 to 1690. His aboriginal name was not known, but he was called by the name given him by the English."

A few words may be said on these points. My references will all be to the New York Colonial History, published by the state, though others might be added. On May 31, 1698 (vol. iv. p. 345), there were taken the "Depositions of Henry & Joseph, two of the Maquase nation, who are of full age, & have been converts to the Christian Faith for about eight years past." The year before they had signed a deed, and three years before had been on the war-path together. He was thus probably born from 1673 to 1677, and was a prominent chief in 1701. In that year the principal chiefs of all the Five Nations signed the deed of the Beaver Lands. His name appears (vol. iv. p. 910) as "Teoniahagarawe alias Hendrick." It has a different spelling in December, 1746 (vol. vi. p. 315), being signed Teghkanagereghkough, but the sound differs but slightly. From one source I have had his name as Soi-en-ga-rah-ta, but the foregoing are official, and as they were written forty-five years apart, he was probably called thus through life.

The Canadian Indians had a different name for him. In Vaudreuil's report of Dieskau's defeat at Lake George, September, 1755 (vol. x. p. 323), he says of the Mohawks, "I know, besides, that not a single one of their chiefs escaped, and that White Head, a great Mohawk chief, who had made an attack on our settlements, last war, had also fallen." In 1746, as he was returning from Montreal, loaded with presents (vol. x. pp. 83, 89), he attacked a French lumber camp. In June, 1747 (vol. x. p. 82), he came to the island of Montreal with a war party, and is called "Thoianoguen, White Head, a Mohawk," but the name is spelled Thejanoguen three times on the same page. The same year a party scouting near Schenectady (vol. x. p. 122) thought they had "killed Toyenoguen, the Mohawk chief

who deceived us. All the Indians maintain that it is his scalp, which is remarkable in being clean and white." It proved to be that of Big Fish, another prominent Mohawk chief. This was in August. In May, 1748 (p. 159), a war party went to strike a blow, "and carry off, if possible, the Mohawk chief named Theyaoguin."

In dealing with the English he was rarely called anything but Henry or Hendrick, and but for his signing one paper we might have no clue to his Indian name in New York. I do not remember whether it is given with an early portrait.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP

BALDWINVILLE, NEW YORK.

THE ANTIQUE CHINA WATER-PITCHER, 1775

ITS MASONIC AND POETIC DECORATIONS

In the Masonic Lodge at Edenton, North Carolina, which was established in 1775 under a charter from the Duke of Beaufort, then grand master of masons in England, there is a very old and unique china pitcher, supposed to have been purchased as a water-pitcher when the lodge was first organized. It is beautifully decorated; on one side is a ship under full sail, on another some scene connected with the exploits of the Knights Templar, and on the third the following verses interwoven with the different masonic emblems:

"No sect in the world can with Masonry compare,
So ancient, so noble the badge which they wear,
That all other orders however esteemed,
Inferior to Masonry justly are deem'd.
We always are free,
And forever agree,
Supporting each other,
Brother helps brother,
No mortals on earth are so friendly as we.
The greatest of Monarchs, the wisest of men,
Freemasonry honoured again and again,
And nobles have quitted all other delights,
With joy to preside o'er our mystical rites.
We always are free, etc.
Tho' some may pretend we've no secrets to know,
Such idle opinions their ignorance show,
While others with raptures cry out they're revealed,
In Freemasons' bosoms they still lie concealed.
We always are free, etc.
Coxcombical pedants may say what they can,
Abuse us, ill use us, and laugh at our plan,
We'll temper our mortar, enliven our souls,
And join in a chorus o'er full flowing bowls.
We always are free, etc."

RICHARD DILLARD, M.D.

EDENTON, NORTH CAROLINA.

NOTES

OVERWORK—There has been so much justly said about the prejudicial effects of overwork, especially in using up the powers of man and cutting short his life, that it may be hastily assumed by some that work itself is opposed to the length of days. This, however, is a fatal mistake. Whatever may be proved concerning the comparative tendencies of different employments to shorten life, it will always be found that a life of idleness will surpass them all. The faculties of man, used and not abused, serve not only to benefit the world, but even more to benefit himself. His health, happiness, and length of life depend largely upon the regular, steady, and full—not excessive—employment of his powers. He who neglects this law and suffers them to run to waste, leading an aimless and vacant life, will reap the penalty quite as much in his own inferior condition, physical and mental, as in any external loss he may sustain.—*Montreal Star*.

ONE OF THE PERRIN FAMILY OF SOUTH CAROLINA—Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, vol. iii., says: "The Perrins of South Carolina were of Huguenot origin, and settled in that state at a very early day. The Burt family, of English descent, were likewise among the early settlers of the pet colony of England. The Perrins and the Burts were people of prominence and influence in the South. Edward Burt Perrin, a scion of both these families, was born in 1839, at Burton's Hill, a noted place in Alabama.

When fifteen years of age he was thoroughly prepared to enter the College of South Carolina, the standard of which at that time was quite as high as that of any other college in the United States." He was graduated with honor, and later on was graduated from the School of Medicine. After the war he became possessed with the spirit of pioneer enterprise and removed to California, where he bought extensive tracts of land. In 1870 and 1871 he began to get the idea of irrigating the Fresno plains, where his investments were located, clearly into his mind. There was no rain, when rain was most needed. There was sometimes a rain-cloud to be seen beyond the San Joaquin river, but it stayed there. "Who," exclaimed he, "would believe that a cloud could not have crossed a river!" Having obtained from his observation of natural law the initial idea of irrigation and being gifted with unconquerable will, tireless energy, and sanguine temperament, he made preparations on a large scale, and became one of the chief factors in the work of subduing the desert—developing the arid tracts of land on the Pacific coast into productive farms and gardens of beauty.

THE SECRET OF STYLE—"The secret of art is incommunicable," says Walter Blackburn Harte, in the March *New England Magazine*. "Every writer ultimately succeeds through his failures; that is, if he can recognize his failures. Some writers fail through their successes.

The study of models in literature is useless ; imitation is fatal, for it precludes the idea of native force. Style is simply individuality ; it cannot be acquired. A man with good intelligence can become a scholar if he gives his life to it,

but he cannot learn to write a sonnet, an essay, or a novel. A great writer is not made by the study of literature, but by the study of men. It is in the streets, and not in the library, that Fieldings and Dickens are made."

QUERIES

GREAT WALL IN CHINA—Who built the great wall in China, and how did it compare in length and the time taken in its construction with the Erie canal ?

WEBSTER MCCAULEY

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN.

THE MINE ROAD—Is the "Mine road," so called, which used to extend

from Esopus, near Kingston, New York, through the upper valley of the Delaware, still in existence ? And is it still known as the "Mine road" ? Did John Adams ever take the "Mine road" as an eligible route of travel in going from Boston to Philadelphia ?

H. P. FELLOWS

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

REPLIES

ORIGIN OF THE RING IN THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY [xxvii. 393]—The use of the ring in the marriage ceremony is so old a custom that no certain date can be given in regard to its origin. Tertullian, an ancient father of the Christian church, mentions it in his celebrated *Apology for Christians*. Tertullian flourished in the latter part of the first century and the early half of the second century of the Christian era. Another writer of the first century, Pliny the elder, speaks of it, and says that in his time the Romans used an iron ring without any jewel. Wheatly (a modern writer), in his *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England*, says : "In the old manual in the use of Salisbury, before the minister proceeds

to the marriage, he is directed to *ask the woman's dowry, (viz.) the tokens of spousage; and by these tokens of spousage are to be understood rings, or money, or some other things to be given to the woman by the man; which said giving is called subarration (i.e., wedding or covenanting), especially when it is done by the giving of a ring.*" The italics are the author's. Wheatly further says : "The reason why the ring was pitched upon for the pledge, rather than anything else, I suppose was, because anciently the ring was a *seal*, by which all orders were signed, and things of value secured ; and therefore the delivery of it was a sign that the person to whom it was given was admitted into the highest friendship and trust." To omit the ring in the marriage ceremony is really

to weaken the bride's (or wife's) claim to her "right of dower." For the wedding ring, in ancient times in England, was a proof of legal marriage. Clergymen are often asked (even by brides) to omit the "ring ceremony," as it is commonly called. It may be done; but the ceremony is really more unquestionably *legal* with a ring. I give these answers to the questions asked in your magazine, as they are often asked me personally, before solemnizing the wedlock of parties about to enter the marriage state.

CHARLES H. GARDINER
BRIDGEHAMPTON, NEW YORK.

ORIGIN OF THE RING IN THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY [xxvii. 393]—Wedding rings seem to have been worn by the Jews prior to Christian times. It has been said, that as the delivery of the signet ring to any one was a sign of confidence, so the delivery of a ring by the husband to the wife indicated that she was admitted into his confidence. Another explanation is, that the form of the ring symbolizes eternity and constancy; and it has been alleged that the left hand was chosen to denote the wife's subjection to her husband, and the third finger because it thereby pressed a vein which was supposed to communicate directly with the heart. A ring has been much used at betrothal as well as marriage, and in many parts of the continent of Europe a wedding ring is worn by the husband as well as the wife. In Iceland the ceremony of betrothal used to be accompanied by the bridegroom passing his four fingers and thumb through a large ring, and in this manner receiving the hand of the bride, as represented in

a woodcut in an old edition of *Olaus Magnus*. As lately as 1780, the practice existed in Orkney of a man and woman plighting their faith at the standing stones of Stenness, by joining their hands through the perforated stone of Odin.

WILL CHADDOCK
BENTON HARBOR, MICHIGAN.

ANSWER TO THE QUERY—"Origin of the Ring in the Marriage Ceremony," May number, 1892. The practice of putting on a wedding ring was introduced about A.D. 600. The ring is emblematical of eternity, constancy, and purity. Wheatly, in his *Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer*, says, "With this signification it has been used by Christians in all ages, and all parts of the church." There can be little doubt that the *ring* was selected rather than anything else, because anciently it was a seal by which orders were signed and things of value secured. That it was used among the old Romans is vouched for by the most undoubted authorities. Tertullian is perhaps the most ancient of the Christian fathers—see *Apology*, c. 6., p. 7—who has discoursed particularly upon this subject. Bishop Jeremy Taylor, styled "the Shakespeare of Theology," preached a famous sermon (to be found in his works), entitled "The Wedding Ring." Originally the ring was placed on the first finger of the bride's right hand, with the words, "in the name of the Father"; then on the second, with the words, "and of the Son"; and next on the third, with the words, "of the Holy Spirit"; but afterward it was transferred to the left hand, to make a distinction from the bishop's, which is worn on the

right hand. It was an old belief that a particular vein proceeded from the fourth finger of the left hand to the heart.

Mary, "Queen of Scots," was married with *three* rings, the middle one a diamond. President Lincoln inscribed on the inside of the wedding ring he gave his wife—which was taken from her finger as she lay in the coffin by her son Robert—this sentiment: *Love is Eternal*, than which it would be difficult to find in the literature of the wedding ring anything more beautiful.

GEORGE G. HEPBURN

NEW YORK CITY.

PORTRAIT OF LA SALLE [xxvii. 393]—The portrait catalogue in Hackley public library of Muskegon, Michigan, refers "W. A. C." to *Winsor's Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iv., page 244, where appears a woodcut of La Salle, with the following note regarding its original: "This follows a design given in Gravier (pp. 1, 202), said to be based on an engraving preserved in the Bibliothèque de Rouen, entitled 'Cavilli de la Salle François,' and is the only picture meriting notice, except possibly a small vignette of which Gravier gives a facsimile in his 'Cavelier de la Salle.' Mr. Parkman has a photograph, given to him by Gravier, of a modern painting drawn from the first of these two pictures."

S. H. MINER, *Librarian*

PORTRAIT OF LA SALLE [xxvii. 393]—The frontispiece of *The Magazine of American History* for May, 1882, is a fine steel engraving of the portrait of La Salle, from a photograph of the original painting, furnished by Gabriel Gravier,

honorary president of the Normand Geographical Society, who contributes to the same number of this magazine an interesting article on La Salle.

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE

FAIR WOMEN [xxvii. 315]—The names of the characters referred to in Tennyson's "Dream of Fair Women" are as follows: Helen of Troy, Iphigenia, Cleopatra, Jephthah's daughter, "Fair Rosamond," Margaret Roper, daughter to Sir Thomas More, Joan of Arc, and Eleanor of Castile. E. C. J.

COOPERSTOWN, NEW YORK.

FAIR WOMEN [xxvii. 315]—In Tennyson's "Dream of Fair Women," verses 21-24, Helen of Troy is described; and Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, is introduced in verses 25-29. Cleopatra appears, through a very thin disguise, in the following verses. "That maiden pure," who "died to save her father's vow," was Jephthah's daughter. "Fair Rosamond's" real name was Jane Clifford, daughter of Lord Clifford, loved by Henry II., and by him concealed in a labyrinth. She was poisoned by Henry's queen, the "angered Eleanor." "Morn broadened . . . ere I saw her, who clasped in her last trance, her murdered father's head," refers to Margaret Roper, daughter of Sir Thomas More. Joan of Arc was also called the "Maid of Orleans." She who "drew forth the poison with her balmy breath," was Eleanor of Castile, first wife of Edward I. of England; and this touching incident is said to have occurred at the time of Edward's crusade.

ALICIA DE BIRD

WOOSTER, OHIO.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The stated meeting for May was held on Tuesday evening, 3d instant, Hon. John A. King in the chair. The librarian reported the receipt of the bequest of Colonel Thomas F. De Voe, consisting of twenty-seven volumes of manuscripts, one hundred and four volumes of scrap books, and a number of specimens of American and foreign copper currency. Also, that the president had presented a facsimile of a view of New York city engraved in 1717. The president read the following letter from General de Peyster :

“ May 3, 1892.

HON. JOHN A. KING,

President of the N. Y. Historical Society :

Honored and Dear Sir : I take great pleasure in presenting to the New York Historical Society a collection of manuscripts preserved by the De Peyster and Watts families for many generations. The collection consists of deeds, letters, accounts, etc., etc., dating from the time of Governor Stuyvesant to the present period. I desire that they be designated *The de Peyster Papers*, as my gift supplements the manuscripts presented heretofore by my beloved and honored father, Frederick de Peyster, Esq., who was so long identified with the work and progress of the society.

I remain, dear sir, with great regard,

Respectfully yours,

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.”

The following resolutions, offered by Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, were adopted :

“ *Resolved*, That the thanks of the New

York Historical Society be, and hereby are, given to General John Watts de Peyster for the unique and most valuable gift of the ancient historical manuscripts, documents, maps, and deeds, so long in the possession of this distinguished New York family, of which he is a well-known representative, a gift which illustrates in the clearest and strongest manner New York as a Dutch colony and English province, an independent sovereignty, and the greatest member of the present republic of the United States of North America.

Resolved, That the collection be added to that formerly given to the society by the donor's honored father, one of its presidents, and that in honor of the father and son the joint collection be denominated *The de Peyster Papers*.”

The paper of the evening, entitled “ Historical Reminiscences of Our New Parks,” was read by Mr. Fordham Morris.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY celebrated its seventieth anniversary on the eleventh of April, by a dinner, and many interesting speeches and reminiscences. A phonograph in one corner of the dining-room discoursed orchestral music during the courses of the banquet, while the long-distance telephone, connected with New York, Worcester, Boston, and Providence, brought congratulations from the historical societies in those places.

President Baxter, after the dinner, made a very able address, in which he called attention to the honorable men who had been concerned in the life and

prosperity of the institution since its birth. He said: "To-day the Maine Historical Society has reached the age of three-score and ten years, and it has been thought fitting to commemorate the event in an appropriate manner. Seventy years ago to-day the first meeting of the society was held in the council chamber in this city, and Albion K. Paris, afterwards governor of the state, was chosen president; Benjamin Hasey, recording, and Edward Russell, corresponding secretaries; Prentiss Mellen, treasurer; and Edward Payson, librarian: men of honored memory." After naming many of the society's officers during the seventy years, he said: "Can any society exhibit a roll of officers extending over a like period of time, containing more honored names than these? Societies are made or marred by the men who manage them, and the present honored position of the Maine Historical Society is wholly due to the high character of the men who have composed its board of management. Had it fallen into bad hands, how different would have been its record! . . . I doubt not that I but echo your own opinions, when I declare that I believe no man has ever occupied office in the Maine Historical Society, who has for a moment permitted self-interest to interfere with his duty to the society." Among other speakers of the evening were Rev. Dr. H. S. Burrage, Hon. J. H. Drummond, Franklin C. Payson, a descendant of the first librarian, Mr. J. S. Locke of Saco, and Mr. Clarence Hale.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting on the even-

ing of April 19, in its hall in Dearborn avenue, Chicago, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. Interesting reports were read covering a long list of valuable donations, and following these reports Mr. Wm. J. Onahan read a memorial paper on the life and works of the late distinguished historian, John Gilmary Shea. At its close, Mr. S. H. Kerfoot, in moving the usual vote of thanks, complimented the author and spoke of the permanent value of such papers as contributions to current history. In seconding the motion, the secretary remarked that no historical library would be complete without the works of Dr. Shea, and of their great comparative value in having been written from a particular standpoint. The motion was unanimously adopted; after which the members and visitors present had the pleasure of viewing the elevation and interior plans of the society's proposed new building, now exhibited to the public for the first time.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on May 3, listening to a paper by Mr. William D. Ely, entitled "A Keyhole for Roger Williams's Key; or A Study of the Tenth Chapter 'Of the Earth and the Fruits Thereof.'" The subject indicated a historical paper, and was at the same time sufficiently enigmatical to excite curiosity among students of history as to what it was all about. The majority of the audience were surprised to find that the real topic for which they required a key was "beans." Roger Williams, on his voyage to England in 1643, wrote a chapter on the fruits of the earth in this new world, but he omitted "beans."

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE INAUGURATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AS FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. Edited by CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Ph.D. Folio, pp. 673. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1892.

This magnificent volume, announced in our May issue, is now before us. As a record of the great celebration in New York of 1889, which occupied three days and attracted the attention of the whole civilized world, it is beyond price, and will be treasured by its fortunate possessors through their lives and handed by them along into the centuries to come with patriotic pride. It is a sumptuous folio, containing seven hundred or more illustrations of historic importance, elegantly printed on calendered paper, with full descriptions in the text of the different features of the exercises, parades, entertainments, and exhibits of portraits and relics. It is a bewildering book because of its magnitude. But the reader who wishes to find specific descriptions and data and pictures may easily do so by turning to the table of contents, as, for instance, to that of "the march up Wall street, the entertainment at the Lawyers' Club, and the public reception at the City Hall" on April 29, the sketch of which was prepared by William Gascon Hamilton, chairman of the committee on states, himself the grandson of Alexander Hamilton. This is a chapter of intense interest, where the illustrations forcibly assist the memory in recalling the whole scene, and where fifty-two pages are devoted to chronicling the varied proceedings. Nothing could be more welcome for preservation than the facsimile of a photograph of the banquet of that day at the Lawyers' Club in the Equitable building, in which many of the principal guests are readily recognized in the portraiture.

Opening the work at random, the ninth chapter attracts special admiration, prepared by Asa Bird Gardiner, LL.D., chairman of the committee on navy, in which we have the brilliant scene on New York bay reproduced for a perpetual delight in word pictures and in photographic pictures, with the names of all who were specially concerned in its success, and many of their portraits. It is a wonderful and an imperishable showing of the progress of the country in a hundred years, in population, wealth, prosperity, in the arts and sciences, and its influence among the nations of the earth. Again, the table of contents leads the explorer to the description of the centennial ball, prepared by William Jay,

the great-grandson of Chief Justice John Jay, a ball that was attended by over seven thousand persons, and will stand out in history as one of the striking events of the centennial.

In the twelfth chapter the exercises of the 30th of April, inauguration day, are described at length by the editor, Dr. Bowen, and the text is profusely and felicitously illustrated. Impressive services in the churches formed the first feature of that memorable morning, the historical St. Paul's chapel being opened for President Harrison and other distinguished guests, on which occasion Bishop Potter said: "One hundred years ago there knelt within these walls a man to whom, above all others in history, this nation is indebted. . . . We are here this morning to thank God for so great a gift as our country, to commemorate the incidents of which this day is the one hundredth anniversary, and to recognize the responsibilities which a century so eventful has laid upon us." The literary exercises at the Sub-treasury building in Wall street are sketched in vivid language, and accompanied with several photographic pictures of the scene. The oration of Chauncey M. Depew is quoted in full, also the beautiful prayer of Rev. Dr. Storrs, and the poem by John Greenleaf Whittier "The Vow of Washington," which was read by Dr. Bowen. The military parade, described in the succeeding chapter, was prepared by General S. Van Rensselaer Cruger, and forms a very stirring account, with its admirable views along the route, which provide excellent portraits of nearly all the most prominent men from the different states. The seventeenth chapter concerns the banquet of that evening at the Metropolitan Opera House, with the names of all who participated, and the brilliant speeches of that evening are reported in full. General Cruger contributes the chapter on the civic and industrial parade, conducted by Major-General Daniel Butterfield, which, like all portions of the work, is profusely illustrated, and Dr. Bowen adds an interesting chapter on "The Celebration throughout the United States." The closing portion of the volume (nearly one-fourth of the whole) is devoted to scholarly "Notes on Portraits." It should be mentioned, however, that Richard Watson Gilder has contributed an exceptionally welcome chapter on "The Washington Memorial Arch," illustrated with a fine picture of the laying of the corner-stone of the new structure, and also with an excellent facsimile of the drawing for the permanent arch by the architect, Stanford White. The index to the work is elaborate and well arranged, and proves an unfailing guide to names and subjects. Those who were interested in the art exhibits of the centennial will do well

to read the chapter on "The Loan Exhibition of Historical Portraits and Relics," by William A. Coffin, manager of the committee on art and exhibition. This remarkable volume has so many features of special value, each one seemingly the best and of superior interest, that we can only call attention to the whole in this brief manner. The edition is limited to one thousand copies; thus, as the years roll it will unfortunately be a very scarce book, for the price is so low, only \$30, that the few copies remaining at the present time will be very quickly sold.

THE FOUNDER OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND, and Other Sketches. By HARVEY RICE. 12mo, pp. 238. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1892.

"Cleveland, the Beautiful City," is the cover title of this pretty memorial volume, the frontispiece of which is a photograph of the statue erected in honor of that sturdy pioneer, General Moses Cleveland, founder of the city that bears his name. It is well to have the historical facts connected with every town preserved in fitting shape, and it would be still better if every town required of its school children frequent recitations and examinations in the matter of immediate local history. It is more than likely that nine out of ten pupils in the Cleveland public schools have a misty idea that their native town is named after the ex-president, and possibly a large proportion of the adult population is no better informed. Nearly all the other sketches are in the historical vein, and the author may be congratulated on having produced a book that will be acceptable to all who know the beautiful town whose praises he has thus brought before the public.

JUSTICE: Being Part IV. of the Principles of Ethics. By HERBERT SPENCER. 12mo, pp. 291. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

It is sad, and yet in the natural order of things, to record the probable inability of Herbert Spencer to finish the work that he had marked out for himself. It is now twelve years since the world learned that his important studies in ethics must be interrupted. The actual collapse did not come until 1886, when the distinguished author was obliged for four years to rest entirely from his literary work. When, in 1890, he was able once more to resume his pen, he decided that the subject of the present volume demanded his first attention, since he could not reasonably hope to complete the

schedule that he had marked out for himself. Should health permit, he has no intention of abandoning the comprehensive scheme so brilliantly inaugurated more than a generation ago. All friends of progressive thought will hope that this valuable life will be prolonged to effect, at least approximately, the completion of the task that he alone can satisfactorily realize.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By ROBERT REID HOWISON. 12mo, pp. 936. Richmond, Virginia: Everett Waddey Company. 1892.

This well-conceived work is intended for studious boys and girls in schools and academies, for students in colleges and universities, and for home reading in all the intelligent families of the country. It embraces in one volume a minute and comprehensive statement and view of all the most important facts in our history. It has no maps and few illustrations—the author remarking that it "is a work on history, not geography," and expressing his belief that object lessons of such character contribute to lower the standard of historical erudition. It is written in a rapidly flowing, concise, and engaging style, and is one of those books which could be read aloud with pleasure and profit in the class-room, the reading circle, or at the winter fireside. The story of the revolution is admirably told, the author having apparently made himself familiar with scores of authorities on the subject and used them to intelligent advantage. "George Washington's Presidency" is perhaps one of the best chapters in the book; and following it, the administration of each president forms a chapter, down to the present time. In the "Concluding Summary" the author says: "When the United States became a confederated republic only three other republics existed in the world; viz., Switzerland, Holland, and San Marino. . . . But in 1844, after the lapse of barely a century, we find forty-one controlling sovereignties in the world, and of these not less than twenty were republics. Since 1884 another great republic has been added to the world's sovereignties; that of Brazil, which has an area of three million two hundred and eighty-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-four square miles. . . . It is a mere question of time when other monarchies will become republics. As fast as the people gain the education and morality needed for self-government they will discard kings and establish republics." The volume is provided with a good index, which adds materially to its value. It is a work we can heartily commend.

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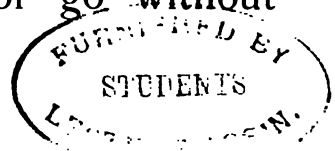


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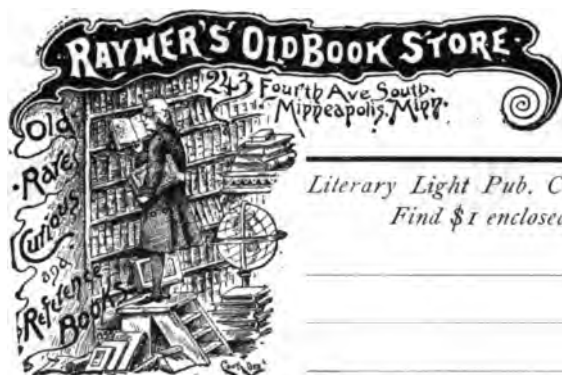
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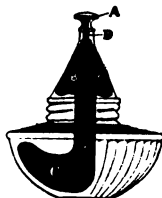


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